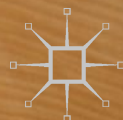# CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETING

Edited by

Théophile Munyangeyo, Marina Rabadán-Gómez, and Graham Webb

Challenges and Opportunities in Public Service Interpreting

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General Introduction

Marina Rabadán-Gómez

Interpreting has probably existed ever since human beings from different groups first encountered each other and attempted to communicate. Long before the invention of writing it was human speech that needed to be interpreted so that groups from separate locations that had developed different languages could begin to communicate and engage with one another. One can only imagine that at a period when language itself was still in its infancy the first individuals to encounter and begin to relate to another group that spoke a different language might become familiar with some of their key words or expressions, and then act as mediators or "interpreters" when larger numbers of the different groups began to interact on a more established basis.

The activity of interpreting, diachronically summarised in Baigorri-Jalón (2015) is practically as old as speech itself and its fundamental difficulty has never diminished. Of all the languages that have existed no two have ever developed in precisely the same way or matched each other perfectly in terms of the units they use or the way in which they are structured to produce meaning. The essential problem of interpreting, and translation for that matter, always was and still is, how

to transmit faithfully the meaning of something said in one language into another language.

In recent years, a growing body of reports, books and academic papers published throughout the world have researched and continue to explore and attempt to explain the bewilderingly complex and ultimately indefinable process of interpreting between two languages.

This volume is yet a further contribution, an update on the state of one particular branch of interpreting, Public Service Interpreting (PSI). It refers mainly to the UK but also provides some insight into the development of the profession in other parts of Europe. It aims to provide a reflection on the current state of PSI, together with the industry that surrounds it and the individuals involved in it.

Termed as *liaison* (Gentile et al., 1996), *community* (Hale, 2007) and *public service* (Corsellis, 2008), interpreting within social services contexts has been defined over the years in terms of how it differs from conference interpreting. Taking into account that remote interpreting and cross-border legislation means that some legal interpreting is now international, Corselli's definition still applies: "communication between people of different languages and cultures within national borders and concerned with the events of people's everyday lives" (2008:1) and it is every bit as important and relevant to the future of the interpreting profession as conference interpreting in international settings.

According to Gentile et al. (1996), authors agree that this type of interpreting, as opposed to conference interpreting, is the most frequently used in the world and is probably the oldest form of interpreting, but it is also less professionalised as it has been traditionally performed ad hoc basically by volunteers, friends or family members, including children.

PSI is the term most commonly used in the UK to refer to the, mostly, consecutive interpreting of spoken language to enable people who do not speak or are not fluent speakers of the official language(s) of a country to engage with a range of public services in that country, such as legal, health, education, employment, housing and other social services. The term community interperting is widely used as a synonym in the UK and in this book. It differs fundamentally from business or conference interpreting in that the interpreter is normally unaware of the precise

content of the communication they will be interpreting, it is consecutive and immediate and the interpreter is normally the only person present that has command of both languages being used.

Although not as high profile politically as research on financial markets or climate change, PSI actually encompasses the same range of issues as those other major areas of political and social concern, namely, economics, politics, education and ethics. Furthermore, because these same issues are shared by every other country in the world, research on PSI can be said to have an international perspective as examples of practice in some countries can be extrapolated and used in order to provide alternative viewpoints and offer possible solutions to the problems being faced in others.

In the UK all national and local government social services (immigration, justice, health, housing, social services, employment and education) must, by law, be accessible to all members of the community irrespective of their native language. These public services (and many charities) therefore provide interpreting services either face-to-face or by telephone to enable immigrants, asylum seekers and other non-/limited English speakers to engage with their services. It is an extensive and nationwide industry with an estimated 10,000 interpreters involved in hundreds of thousands of assignments each year. It is also a fragmented industry as it is thought that around 95 % of interpreters are freelance and find work through signing on to agencies, Language Services Providers (LSPs) or the databases of individual governmental or local authority departments.

There is little or no national regulation of the industry and most interpreting service users set their own standards and criteria for the level of qualification and experience of the interpreters they use. Furthermore, there are very few specialised training opportunities for Public Service Interpreters, which means that many are practising without having had any training at all. Established interpreter training courses mainly focus on Conference Interpreting, whereas, as highlighted above, the vast majority of interpreting taking place in the UK is PSI (Graham, 2012:28).

Following the Comprehensive Spending Review in October 2010 all UK government departments plus many local authorities and health authorities reviewed their interpreting services and renegotiated their

terms and conditions, causing significant changes to the marketplace. For many years the Chartered Institute of Linguists has been the main accrediting body for Public Service Interpreters (PSIs) through their Diploma in Public Service Interpreting. However, with the recent changes, other bodies and institutions have become involved in looking at how to develop PSIs as professionals in the most effective way that is relevant to PSI rather than Conference Interpreting. The sector is in desperate need of debate and clarity following its rapid development and recent turbulence. There are many stakeholders involved, often with contrasting objectives and priorities, but all increasingly reliant on an often not trained but flexible and willing workforce of freelance interpreters. There is a need for analysis of the current situation to try and gauge the extent to which the demand is met and the supply of appropriate interpreters is assured, and also to determine what new proposals regarding the type of training, development, qualifications and standards should be available to PSIs.

Between 2010 and 2012 the editors developed and launched a highly innovative range of online training courses for new and already-practising interpreters in the PSI industry. These courses, offered and accredited by Leeds Beckett University, were designed specifically to meet a particular need identified through a survey undertaken among interpreters, Public Services Providers and LSPs in 2010. In essence the survey findings showed that, whilst many linguists wanting to enter the profession had the required level of competence in two languages, accessing training on the role and function of the PSIs was often hampered by the cost and inflexibility of existing courses. In particular, respondents said that courses were offered at a very limited number of locations, required regular attendance and were quite expensive. A further issue was that most courses were language specific and therefore likely to be unviable from an economic point of view for all but the most common language combinations.

The interpreting courses devised by Leeds Beckett University staff directly addressed these issues by being delivered online and not being language specific. This meant they could be taken by speakers of any languages, as long as one was English, and that they should remain economically viable as they were not dependent on demand for specific

language combinations and they could be followed in the students' own home and own time, thus not conflicting with other work or family commitments. By being innovative and different to the traditional training courses that had become the industry standard the Leeds Beckett University courses were also considered controversial. They were, however, developed as a direct result of research undertaken among existing and "would-be" interpreters and in close cooperation with a range of service providers and academics involved in language and interpreting training. The courses challenged all past and current practice on interpreter training and through their development the editors have learned a great deal about the PSI industry and the major challenges it is facing. During the course of the project to develop the courses the editors delivered a series of seminars, based on their research and collaboration with other academics from several universities where PSI courses were also delivered. The editors were encouraged by the very supportive feedback they received to collate their research, experience research and observations into this book.

Thus, we set out to explore the key features of this large and fragmented industry and, in particular, we aim to identify its changing needs and how they can be met by the training and development of professional PSIs. The book analyses the current marketplace, the challenges created by recent changes and the resulting opportunities that have arisen for new courses, standards and frameworks to be developed to provide a more fitting regulation for such a growing industry. In particular it explores the tension that exists between clients (meaning the bodies that commission interpreting services, rather than the individuals that need the services of an interpreter) and interpreters. In essence, the increasing downward pressure on the fees paid to freelance interpreters and their conditions of employment mean that interpreters are unable or reluctant in many cases to invest in appropriate training to develop or enhance their skills. This, in turn, means that LSPs who win contracts based on the standards they claim to uphold and the quality of their interpreters are finding it increasingly difficult to achieve their stated quality on a consistent basis. We intend to offer a valuable insight into the roles of all stakeholders involved in the provision and delivery of PSI, primarily in the UK but also across the world.

Part one will explore issues dealing with the roles of the stakeholders such as the changing relationship between public sector bodies and the agencies or LSPs they contract to provide interpreting services; the insistence by some UK government departments that interpreters should be "graded" according to their experience and specialisms so that they comply with criteria over differentiated pay rates for different types of interpreting assignment; the impact of European legislation on PSI, and of the national and international existing standards on the industry. We also focus on training and qualification issues such as the rapid rise of telephone interpreting and other uses of IT; the changes in the variety of languages needed as the nationalities of immigrants and asylum seekers also change; the fact that there are currently no opportunities for interpreters of many lesser taught languages to gain formal accreditation (Kurdish, Farsi, Oromo, Tigrinya, Amharic, Somali, Tamil, etc.); how and if the available training courses and qualifications are fit for purpose within the ever-changing panorama of the PSI industry; and, finally, we look at how other countries are tackling similar or related problems.

In part two the focus will be on a contrastive analysis of theory and evidence-based practice. It looks at the increasing social and political sensitivity to the issue of immigration and the cost of providing interpreting services; the complex ethical issues surrounding immigration and asylum seeking and how interpreters need to remain objective; how and if interpreters cope with stress when dealing with emotional and controversial issues (explaining a person's forced repatriation, withdrawing a child from a family, telling a patient they may die, interpreting harrowing evidence in asylum tribunals, etc.); and we also offer a reflection on the role of the interpreter and the particular ethical dilemmas which arise in Business Negotiation Interpreting.

The editors of this work, current or former academic staff at Leeds Beckett University (formerly Leeds Metropolitan University) led by Dr Théophile Munyangeyo, have extensive experience teaching the consecutive/liaison interpreting used by PSIs and of researching the needs of the industry and the training and development needs of interpreters. This experience is complemented by that of the contributors, who are all expert PSI practitioners, reputed academics and trainers. Together, we

aim to provide a wide perspective on the key contemporary issues facing the PSI industry.

As well as being themselves stakeholders in the industry through their professional and academic interests, all the authors have also maintained very close association with all or some of the other key stakeholder groups. It is from an appreciation of this varied and comprehensive perspective that this book was conceived and constructed in the hope and expectation that it can serve to answer questions such as: What is the current state of PSI? What are the key challenges likely to face the industry and stakeholders from 2015 onwards? And what, if anything, can those stakeholders do to preserve (not to say enhance) the skills and reputation of those individuals who act as interpreters or are involved in those interpreters' education, training and development?

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Part I

The Present and the Future of the Public Service Interpreting Marketplace

Introduction to Part One

In this first part, we look at the past and present of the Public Service Interpreting (PSI) industry in order to make informed recommendations about its future. It seems that there is an urgent need to re-assess the industry, addressing issues such as the current stakeholders' needs, expectations and concerns; the pressures driving prices down but quality up; the power balance in the marketplace; the training and qualification options; the need to secure a sustainable profession; the role of "end-users" in framing the industry; the politics of interpreting costs; and the financial viability of the profession.

Chapter 1 contains the analysis of a nationwide survey that editors have undertaken among Public Service Interpreters (PSIs) in order to gauge their perceptions and attitudes towards training, quality control, ethics, conditions of employment and the industry as a whole. This chapter feeds into the Chap. 2, dealing with the professionalisation and standardisation of PSI provision.

Chapter 2 looks at several aspects pertaining to the professionalisation of the PSI industry, starting with what the current professional standards are, then focusing on the importance of training and describing the options available at present in order to conclude with suggested solutions to the problems identified in these areas.

Next, Chap. 3 explores a range of issues relating to the understanding of PSIs' expectations of PSI; training and education options for CPD; gaining experience and employment. It also analyses the needs of the end users of PSIs, focusing on how to use PSIs so as to maximise the latters' value; how to contract the right PSIs; and how to provide guidance and appropriate working conditions. From an overview of the way Language Service Providers (LSPs) contract PSIs, this chapter will propose a framework for how to select, recruit, train and manage PSIs by setting up key performance indicators, with the aim of gaining and retaining clients.

In Chap. 4, the author illustrates how, as part of their preparation to sit for either of the two main PSI examinations, trainee interpreters will undertake a course of study provided by a variety of teaching centres. These teaching centres, whilst being independent from the examining body, are also independent from each other and their standards vary

enormously. This article outlines an approach to PSI interpreter training which challenges this traditional exam-focused teaching preparation. It suggests ways in which a course can be designed and customized to help students prepare both for an exam, and at the same time for work in the real world, thus making them truly fit-to-practise.

Finally, in Chap. 5 the author describes the background and the content of a project undertaken by the Directorate of Integration and Diversity of Norway, which resulted in important findings, such as the realisation that public servants need to learn more about how to communicate via interpreters. Through real-life examples from the Norwegian public sector, this chapter shows the importance of drawing clearer borders between the interpreter's and the interpreter user's areas of responsibility and expertise in order to facilitate effective communication during institutional dialogues.

2

Assessing Current Stakeholders' Needs and Expectations

Graham Webb and Marina Rabadán-Gómez

Background

All national and local government social services in the UK must be accessible to all members of the community irrespective of their native language in accordance with different policies most recently listed under the Equality Act in 2010.[1] The wide scope of Public Service Interpreting (PSI) activity and the fact that it takes place in relation to key areas of society and has very clear social and economic consequences means that there are many stakeholders involved, primarily the government, through its many departments, bodies and local authorities providing such public services. This, in turn, means that as an industry PSI is affected by changing political and economic priorities and therefore the stakeholders need to be permanently aware of the environment within which PSI operates and of the issues that affect its present and future performance. As the term "stakeholder" implies, all involved in the PSI industry have a vested interest in the way it operates and develops. Ideally, then, there

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[1] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents

should be a shared understanding of the roles, priorities, needs and expectations of and between all stakeholders.

However, the fragmented and highly competitive nature of the industry, combined with the confidentiality issues inherent to most interpreting assignments, makes it almost impossible to calculate the volume of interpreting undertaken or the number of Language Service Providers (LSPs) or interpreters involved in those assignments in a given period. Furthermore, the fact that it is a relatively easy industry to enter or to leave means that the numbers of LSPs or interpreters is not stable. As this most basic data is unavailable, categorising the range of scenarios or languages used can only be the result of guesswork or extrapolation based on snapshot surveys undertaken periodically by interested parties from the industry or academia. What is known from relevant surveys and existing registers is that the vast majority of Public Service Interpreters (PSIs) are independent and freelance, getting commissions by signing on with one or several clients or LSPs.

This chapter aims to provide an objective overview of the roles, priorities, needs and expectations of those involved in the sector so that stakeholders can all appreciate each other's positions in a way that enables them to consider and develop their strategies for their own wellbeing, but also for the general good of the industry. The methodology used included a comprehensive review of the existing literature on PSI. Furthermore, this information has been compared, contrasted and complemented with primary data obtained from practising PSIs via a national survey designed by academics from Leeds Beckett (formerly Leeds Metropolitan) University, in consultation with local government users of PSIs in the Leeds area. A link to the survey was distributed through forums and social media sites used by PSIs. It remained open between November 2011 and January 2012, in a trial phase, and then again between October 2014 and February 2015 collecting answers from interpreters throughout the UK and Republic of Ireland (RoI). The aim of the survey was to gain insight into how respondents perceived the industry and to see if their views supported the evidence presented in secondary sources. The results from both surveys were very similar, even in terms of the demographics; therefore, we are referring here to the most recent results collected during the last quarter of 2014 and beginning of 2015 with a total of almost 100 answers.

Who Are the Stakeholders in PSI?

The term "stakeholders" is used here, as explained above, to refer to all those individuals and institutions involved in PSI that have an interest in and are equally important to the industry. Table 2.1, based on Corsellis (2008), de Pedro Ricoy, Pérez, and Wilson (2009) and D'Hayer (2012), details the key stakeholders and their principal role in the PSI sector in the UK.

For the remainder of this chapter we discuss roles and relevant issues pertaining to the different stakeholders in relation to the figure of the PSI, who is the central element in our description of the industry and its professionalisation routes.

For our analysis, we divided the stakeholders into three groups articulated around PSIs. In the first place, we look at PSIs' *clients or end users* such as: (1) speakers of other languages, and (2) central or local government departments and charities or support groups providing public services.

Next, we look at PSIs' *employers*, which are: (1) public service providers, and (2) LSPs. These are external stakeholders but with influential roles within the PSI industry.

The last group is the largest and is composed of those institutions, professional bodies and companies that control access to the profession and set the qualifications and standards of practice. These are: (1) training providers, (2) qualification-awarding bodies, (3) professional bodies and associations representing PSIs and (4) national registers and other directories of PSIs.

Figure 2.1 below summarises the three groups and illustrates their relationship.

Before we move on to each of the stakeholders identified above, we need to establish the profile and role of PSIs.

PSIs' Profiles

Based on the previously mentioned survey we can draw some conclusions in relation to the average PSIs in the UK.

Table 2.1 PSI stakeholders in the UK

Stakeholder	Description	Role
Public Service Interpreters (PSIs)	Linguists or other professionals that train to be interpreters and undertake interpreting commissions	Undertake assignments to interpret between two languages on behalf of a person or persons who have no or only a limited of proficiency in the English language when they engage with a wide variety of public services or associated bodies
Non-English speakers	Individuals with no or a low level of competence in English	These are the people at the heart of this industry who want or are required to engage with public services but who have no or only a limited of proficiency in the English language
Departments of central or local government	• Justice (courts, police) • Immigration • Health • Housing • Education • Employment	Provide public services and commission interpreting services when needed, to enable non-English speakers to interact fully with their service or process
Other support agencies and charities	• Asylum • Housing • Education • Employment	Commission interpreting services when needed, to enable non-English speakers to interact fully with their service or process
Language Service Providers (LSPs)	Private/commercial companies which offer different linguistic services, generally not only interpreting for public services	Maintain databases of professional interpreters to meet the needs of their clients. They may enter into long-term contractual agreements with departments of central or local government
PSI Training Providers	• Universities and colleges • LSPs • Private/commercial training providers • Local Authorities • Support agencies and charities	Deliver training and education to linguists to enable them to perform as consecutive/liaison interpreters in either general or specific scenarios and, possibly, prepare them to gain a formally recognised award

(*continued*)

Table 2.1 (continued)

Stakeholder	Description	Role
PSI Accreditation Bodies	• Chartered Institute of Linguists Educational Trust (CIoLET) • Universities and colleges • Other awarding bodies (i.e.: Ascentis)	Establish performance criteria for professional interpreters and set standards that can be assessed by exam or other process. Confer their awards on those that meet the standards
Professional bodies and unions representing PSIs	• Chartered Institute of Linguists (CIoL) • Institute of Translation and Interpreting (ITI) • Association of Police and Court Interpreters (APCI) • Society of Official Metropolitan Interpreters UK Ltd (SOMI UK Ltd) • Association of Qualified Translators and Interpreters (AQTI) • Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English National and Regional Networks • National Union of Professional Interpreters and Translators (NUPIT)	Establish codes of practice for performance for PSIs and represent the interests of interpreters including their employment terms and conditions, their general status as professionals and ongoing professional development
Professional registers and directories	• NRPSI • NRCPD • ITI, APCI… and all of the above professional bodies • LSPs' own registers	Maintain databases of linguists, their qualifications and the services they provide. The databases may be accessed freely, or upon payment, by individuals or institutions

Location, Nationality and Languages Offered

Responses were received from interpreters working in all regions of the UK although they were not directly proportional to the population in these areas. Responses were also submitted from interpreters serving more than one region and the percentages were: London and Home Counties (28.74 %), Yorkshire and Humberside (27.59 %), South West
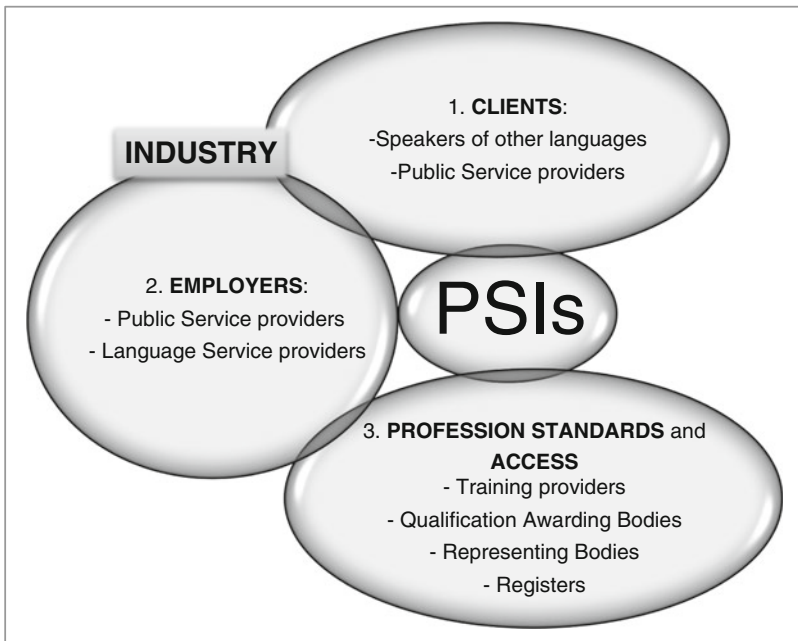
Fig. 2.1 Stakeholders in public service interpreting

(19.54 %), South East (16.09 %), East Midlands (14.94 %), North West (12.64 %), West Midlands (12.64 %), North East (8.05 %), East Anglia (6.90 %), Scotland (3.45 %), Channel Islands (2.30 %), Northern Ireland (2.30 %) and Republic of Ireland (1.15 %).

In terms of nationality, as would be expected, the majority were British (43 %). Next came Czech, Polish and Slovakian, each with 7 %, followed by Portuguese and Romanian with 6 %. Brazilian, Kurdish and Spanish each accounted for just over 2 % and the remaining nationalities appeared only once in the survey, accounting for just over 1 % each: Belgian, Canadian, French, German, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Pakistani.

The most frequently offered languages were Czech and Slovak (11 % of all the languages mentioned); followed by Spanish (9 %); Italian and Russian (8 %); French, Polish and Portuguese (7 %); Romanian (4 %); Arabic, German, Hungarian, Punjabi and Urdu (each just over

2 %); and Chinese, Dari, Dutch, Kurdish and Latvian (1.5 %). The following languages were also offered, but in each case by just one interpreter; Bosnian, Bulgarian, Catalan, Croatian, Farsi, Fulfulde, Limbum, Lithuanian, Mirpuri, Pashto, Potwari, Serbian and Turkish.

Some respondents offered more than one language combination and overall, including all of the different combinations, a total of 129 languages, plus English, were offered by the almost 100 interpreters that provided information. Of these respondents almost 30 % offered just one language (English being constant), 46 % two languages, 16 % offered three languages and 3 % offered four, and over 5 % offered five languages or more. However, only just over 20 % of them considered the language pairs that they offered to be a rare combination.

Unsurprisingly, the native languages used by these PSIs reflect, in the main, their nationalities. However, as there is no comprehensive, reliable data published in the UK on the demand for interpreting in (or between) specific languages there is no way to ascertain whether the languages offered by the respondents to our survey are proportionately representative of the actual demand for each language.

Experience, Employment Type and Remuneration

The length of time the respondents had worked as PSIs ranged from 6 months to 43 years with the average experience being 10½ years. Those with 0 to 5 years' experience represented 31 %, those with 6 to 10 years' experience almost equal at 30 %, whilst 20 % had 11 to 15 years' experience, a further 11 % had 16 to 20 years' experience and, finally, 8 % had worked as PSIs for in excess of 20 years.

The assumed predominance of freelance interpreters in the sector is supported by the fact that 89 % categorised themselves as entirely freelance, with just 1 % saying they worked wholly "in-house", the remaining 10 % combining both "in-house" and freelance work. Of all the respondents, however, only 14 % were totally independent freelance interpreters who did not get their work through any agencies or LSPs. Meanwhile, 6 % confirmed they worked for just one LSP, a further 32.5 %—the largest proportion—worked with two or three LSPs, 29 %

with four to six LSPs, 8.5 % with seven to ten LSPs and almost 10 % recorded that they worked for ten or more LSPs.

When responding to the question on the number of end users they worked with in a typical year just over 40 % said they had over 40 clients a year, 25 % had between 11 and 40 clients and the remaining 35 % worked with one to ten clients.

The rates of pay respondents received ranged from £9.63 up to £49 per hour. No one claimed to receive £50 per hour or more. The greatest proportion (45 %) was paid between £16 and £24 per hour, followed by 32 % who earned between £25 and £34 per hour. Just 6 % confirmed they received between £35 and £49 per hour, whilst at the lower end, 8.5 % worked for less than £15 per hour. One respondent with 11 years experience who works as both an in-house and freelance interpreter refused to indicate the pay rates they received, stating they did not trust the way in which such figures would be used, even though they understood the survey was entirely anonymous. This level of suspicion, although anecdotal in this survey, is indicative of the anger and sense of frustration that many PSIs feel towards the industry currently and which is referred to elsewhere in this chapter and book.

Overall, the average number of interpreting assignments the respondents undertook in an average week was between 1 and 5, with 55 % confirming this was their typical volume of work. A further 32 % averaged 6 to 15 assignments each week with just 6 % acknowledging they undertook in excess of 15 jobs per week. At the other end of the scale just over 7 % said they had no assignments in a typical week.

It is possible that this latter group operated principally as translators rather than interpreters, as over 92 % of all respondents confirmed they offered translating as well as interpreting, whilst 43 % explained they offered conference interpreting. In relation to other language services, 21 % offered voiceovers, 13 % offered subtitling and 11 % localisation services. A few individuals also said they worked as part-time language teachers and/or proofreading or transcription services. All of this seems to indicate, on the one hand, that PSIs are certainly entrepreneurial and tend to exploit their linguistic skills in the widest possible way. However, it might be taken as an indication of the presumed need to widen their

opportunities to gain income due to the unreliability of freelance PSI work as a stable source of income.

The Role of PSIs

Interpreting is more than transposing one language to another … it is throwing a semantic bridge between two people from differing cultures and thought-worlds (Namy, 1977:25).

According to Pöchhacker interpreting is "an activity that consists (mainly) in the production of utterances (text) which are presumed to have a similar meaning and/or effect as previously existing utterances in another language and culture" (2004:12). Along these lines, descriptions of the role of the interpreter have become increasingly focused on its communicative, social and ethical aspects rather than on the linguistic one.

In *Interpreting as Interaction* Wadensjö sets out to explore the social order of real-life interpreter-mediated conversations as it focuses on

"what people present in these take as normal, adequate, correct, etc. in the normal way to act given the current situation. For whom, when and why are what norms of language use valid? (1998:5)

She proposes to draw norms of use out of examples of actual (good) practice and build a body of research based on actual practice, which, in time, would replace older, prescriptive works. She refers to the social role of PSIs and defines them as gatekeepers in multicultural societies in the sense in which this role was described by Erickson and Schultz in 1982 (Wadensjö, 1998:67)

Dean and Pollard also highlight the importance that existing research has given to interpreters' judgement, and the ability to make ad hoc decisions that will influence the outcome of their work:

Interpreters function more like practice professionals than technicians due to the significance of situational and human interaction factors on

their ultimate work product; that is, factors beyond the technical elements of the source and target language … Like all practice professionals, they must supplement their technical knowledge and skills with input, exchange, and judgment regarding the consumers they are serving in a specific environment and in a specific communicative situation (2005:259).

Following from Wadensjö, de Pedro Ricoy et al. (2009) insists on the need to redefine the role of interpreters by looking closely at real-life examples of interpreter-mediated interactions in public services and analysing their practice as well as the perceptions and expectations of the other stakeholders involved, that is, the public service providers and the other-language speakers. She proposes a move from the traditional "invisible" stance of the interpreter to a more participative one based on evidence from the reasearch of De Pedro Ricoy et al.

In the same volume, Hanneke Bot reflects on three different models for the role of the interpreter: (1) the translation machine interpreter, (2) the interaction model of interpreting and (3) the interpreter as participant, and advises that these are three positions in a continuum rather than three different roles or stances the interpreter may adopt.

Her research concludes that (Bot 2009):

the translation machine model is, in essence, an ideology, but that translation machine techniques are used in practice. It also concludes that the translation machine ideology denies the interactional realities of the interpreter-mediated talk, which leads to the unwarranted assumption that interpreters actually make equivalent renditions that do not need any repair strategies. The interactional approach, however, leads to the questioning of the concept of equivalence and to the use of repair strategies in the practice of interpreter-mediated talk. This ultimately leads to the mutual understanding at which this type of talk aims. (Ibid.:115)

Bot's research refers to mental healthcare contexts; however, it can be easily extrapolated into other interpreting contexts. The point on the continuum between "machine-interpreting" and "participant" at which interpreters position themselves might be expected to be naturally determined by their setting. One may expect that in police and court settings

interpreters will always stay closer to the "machine" end. However, this may not always be the case. Martin and Ortega Herráez in their investigation on the self-perceptions of court interpreters in Spain conclude that legal interpreters also perform a much more interactive role than one might expect: they often provide legal advice and even in some cases, social work (Ibid.). Bot's final conclusion is that

> the translation machine model leads to the development of useful techniques, but [that] the interactive paradigm should be the point of departure for interpreter-mediated encounters … because the interactive stance includes the use of repair strategies, which are vital in dealing with the unavoidable divergent renditions given by interpreters. (Ibid:126)

Gentile (1996) and Corsellis (2008) also highlight the social aspect of the interpreter's role and explain how *advocacy* is much more accepted in countries with a longer tradition of PSI, such as Canada, the USA and Australia. By contrast, in the UK, and in Europe in general, the traditional theory and the idea of the invisibility of the interpreter is still very much present. An example of this would be the recurrent advice present in training courses and codes of professional conduct that advises interpreters to dress discreetly so that their outfits contribute to their invisibility. Whilst the need for the interpreter not to intrude, or create further discomfort to any of the clients can be easily understood and shared by all interpreters, one should not ignore the fact that by (consciously) not clarifying a misunderstanding between the participants of a conversation who do not understand each other's language, an interpreter would simply not be doing their job. In this sense, Corsellis (2008) proposes the concept of "cultural brokers" for PSIs.

There seems to be a general consensus that we need to conduct more of this research in order to inform course syllabi and assessment standards, which would allow us to "officially" redefine the role of the interpreter. As with many other disciplines, research seems to move faster than the application of the theories it develops, even when that research comes from observation of actual practice. However, to apply these ideas is a non-validated practice and therefore susceptible to controversy, or to simply not being accepted. The question remains: Who should step in? Who

should bridge the gap between research findings and practice? To us the answer, as suggested in Chap. 4 of this volume, is clear: course designers and training providers must incorporate actual, real and contemporary examples of best practice, and awarding bodies should do the same, redefining their exams and other qualification criteria accordingly.

On the other hand, clarifying or updating the role of the interpreter *for* the interpreter is only part of this task. Their role needs to be clear to not only researchers, trainers and eventually interpreters themselves, but also, and most importantly, end users. Dean and Pollard put the question across very clearly: "*Where do interpreters learn to deal with limited consumer perceptions of interpreting and the burdens they impose on effective work?*" (2005:261). Although training courses may include information on how to deal with this issue it is, in effect, one of many skills that interpreters need to develop with practice. Briefings are useful for pre-assignment clarification, such as identifying each party's role. However, these are not possible in certain circumstances. Interpreters need to learn when and how it is appropriate to determine their role whilst at the same time, it is equally important to develop a system promoting the education of end users.

Status of the Profession, Status of the Interpreter

According to Gentile

> Just as international conference interpreters gain their status from the reflected status of the clients they serve, so do liaison interpreters in their varied work settings. The question of status and reflected status in turn profoundly influences how their roles and contribution are understood: prevailing social and institutional norms will strongly affect the way in which the interpreter's function is understood (1996:11).

The question of a profession's status, or perceived status, is hugely important to not only determine the numbers of people wanting to join the profession, but also, as indicated by Gentile, affect the way in which the role of the interpreter is understood. In the preface to Corsellis, 2008, we find that

"The social embeddedness of PSI practice, together with the status of its often-disadvantaged clientele, has contributed to its lack of prestige. It is often wrongly assumed by the users and commissioners of interpreters in the public services that little more is involved than a chat in two languages, whereas other forms of interpreting such as conference interpreting require years of professional training" (2008:viii).

The reason for the perception that interpreting between two countries' representatives when discussing international affairs is much more important than doing so between a patient and the doctor who may save their life has been long discussed. These perceptions entail not only a lower status for the profession, but also certain restrictions as to when and how interpreters are allowed to comment on the difficulties of their profession: "low-status afforded the interpreting profession, an assumed ethical prohibition from engaging consumers in discussions of the complexity of interpreting work" (Dean & Pollard, 2005:263).

Chapters 2 and 3 will discuss at length some suggestions to help achieve a higher status for interpreters by defining their role "officially" and legally.

Clients or End Users

Speakers of Other Languages

Of all of the stakeholders involved in PSI speakers of other languages are those who, on the one hand, are most in need of the interpreting service but also, on the other, are probably the least likely to know how interpreting works—or even of how to access the service—unless they have used an interpreter before (Alexander, Edwards, & Temple, 2004).

In any case, there is no doubt that those who do not speak the language of the country where they live are the engine of this industry. Figures and (more or less) current data on their numbers, who they are and where they are located can be found on the Office for National Statistics' website. According to the 2011 Census,[2] 92.3 % of people aged three and over in England and Wales report English or Welsh as their main language. This leaves an estimated 7.7 % of other language speakers, which

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[2] http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_302179.pdf

amounts to 4.2 million people reporting another main language, with Polish being the most frequent and London having the highest proportion of the population with another main language (22.1 %). However, not all these people reported not being able to speak English. The percentages for England and Wales were as follows: 726,000 people (1.3 %) reported that they could not speak English well and 138,000 people (0.3 %) reported that they could not speak English at all. London and the West Midlands reported the highest percentage of people who could not speak English well or could not speak it at all (4.1 % and 2.0 %, respectively). Examples of language concentrations included the London borough of Hackney, which had the highest proportion of Yiddish speakers, and Birmingham, with the highest proportion of people with Pakistani Pahari (or Mirpuri or Potwari) as their main language. This information may be useful for all stakeholders involved when considering access to and the distribution of services. However, these figures may in fact be higher if we take into account new arrivals coming into the country, for example refugees who may not be on the census yet. The occasional expansion of the European Union (EU) and the eventual impact on immigration of people from new member states as well as asylum seekers fleeing wars, conflicts and other significant events, all contribute to fluctuation in demand for different languages or, indeed, demand for languages not previously required at all.

Changing patterns of immigration do not simply alter the demand for interpreting in specific languages but also for the area of specialism of required. The correlation is undoubtedly complex to establish. Unplanned or "spontaneous" immigration, as a result of racial or armed conflicts in non-EU countries, tend to increase demand for interpreting in immigration and possibly health contexts, whereas the more "planned" or anticipated influx of citizens of EU member states once restrictions are lifted probably leads to greater demand in the areas of social services, such as housing and employment.

This leads to the wider question of how the supply is matched to a demand which changes constantly in response to key political and economic currents affecting the influx of non-English speakers from different countries, and of how the service is perceived by these users.

The answer to the first question is again a complex one, as it is difficult to prepare for those often-sudden changes and influxes of migration. However, the perception from both users and interpreters tends to be that very little, if anything, is done on by the government or public services to prepare for such changes.

The number of studies concerned with public services users of interpreters is quite limited. However, there seems to be some common conclusions to extract from those that are published. Essentially, interpreters are deemed necessary and so are welcomed. However, they are also perceived as a hindrance as interlocutors would prefer not to use them. Other language speakers' attitudes towards interpreters are also dependent on the attitude of the latter and their personality—some users report not trusting interpreters who do not explain the service to them. Interpreters are mostly perceived by users as being a communication aid and a guide in terms of information and practical issues (Alexander et al., 2004; Hadziabdic et al., 2009).

Because of the wide range of people who do not speak English—or the language of any given country for that matter—but live in that country and may access its public services and also because of the impossibility of predicting who will actually need these services, it is impossible to think about educating all potential clients of interpreting. Informative briefing sessions are needed for everyone's sake but, as we have just mentioned, they are often impossible to arrange, depending on the context. It makes sense therefore to expect that it should be part of public services' role to provide information on how to access and use interpreting services.

Public Service Providers

For the most part the bodies that contract and, as a result, pay for PSI are, as the term suggests, public entities whose funding comes ultimately from the state. In terms of central government, they include the Ministry of Justice (courts, tribunals, administrative justice, prison and probation services), the Home Office (police, immigration and security) and Department of Health (hospitals, health services and doctors in general practice). Although central government may also have an input

in housing, education and employment policies, these are more often the realm of the local government.

Each of these central government bodies delivers essential services to all residents in the country and, as previously mentioned, the 2010 Equality Act requires them to provide access to their services for limited or non-English speakers that need to engage with them. These non-English speakers will mainly be new or recent immigrants to the UK or asylum seekers, although some may be longer-term residents that have not learned English. The provision of interpreting for all of these groups implies an additional cost to a service provider in comparison with that of dealing with a native English speaker and, as a result, there are both political and economic pressures affecting the way they deliver the required interpreting.

Before 2012 these departments mostly maintained, and at times shared, their own databases of interpreters who had the necessary language skills and specialist knowledge (legal, health, immigration, *etc.*) and called upon them to undertake the corresponding assignments. They often had established codes of practice, which the interpreters had to accept and abide by, and which determined what qualifications and experience an interpreter should have before being contracted. Operationally they would employ an administrative team to maintain a database of interpreters who met the required criteria and contact and allocate appropriate interpreters for every assignment required by their face-to-face service providers. Every assignment would be initiated by a doctor, police or immigration officer and so on who needed to deal with a non-English speaker in the course of their professional duty. The interpreting administration department would also be responsible for paying each interpreter for their work and dealing with issues of standards of performance.

Increasingly over the last decade or so government departments have outsourced the administration of their interpreting services to LSPs. Outsourcing of interpreting usually reduces overall costs because the LSPs offer the advantage of economies of scale, servicing a range of clients and maintaining databases of interpreters nationally or over a wide area. LSPs are specialising more and more in managing the activities of the freelance interpreters to reduce travel and waiting time, in order to increase efficiency.

For many years the cost of providing this service to non-English speakers, either through an internal system or through LSPs, was absorbed by the bodies as part of their general running costs and the public was not generally aware of it. However, in recent years, scrutiny of the policies and expenditure of all government departments has become much more prevalent. Such scrutiny has also become easier, due to the Freedom of Information Act (2000), in force since 2005, which entitles any member of the public to request specific information from public authorities and receive a detailed response as long as the information is not deemed to be a matter of national security. The combination of an increased concern about government expenditure and the ability to obtain information about it has led to the politicisation of the provision of interpreting services, with individuals or organisations highlighting and criticising the cost of providing such services.

In recent years the relationship between the UK and Europe and, indeed, the wider world, has been constantly at the forefront of political debate. A large part of this debate has centred on the social and economic impact of migrants to the UK, in particular from the EU. The longer the UK's economic decline and stagnation has continued the more certain commentators, interest groups and political organisations have aired the argument that immigrants have contributed to the problem through taking the jobs of UK citizens and/or claiming benefits. This view has been taken up by parts of the UK population to such an extent that not only has the issue become a major factor for the main political parties to address, but it has also led to the growth of other political parties, for which immigration and the UK's place in the EU are central ideological tenets and not merely contemporary social or economic issues.

However, the UK's relationship with the EU is just one facet of divided political opinion in the country. Policy on immigration in general has come under increased scrutiny as the coalition government acknowledged in December 2014 that it had not met its own targets to restrict net immigration. This acknowledgement led to immigration becoming a major policy issue for all political parties and a key area of debate prior to the general election of May 2015. The narrative offered by many interest groups during 2014 and the early part of 2015 already included the notion that the combination of ongoing economic problems, the continual cutting of

public services and the "crisis" in the NHS were all linked to, or a direct result of, immigration from the EU or beyond.

One fundamental issue that underlies the controversy about the cost of providing interpreting (and indeed translation) services is that of the issue of entitlement of non-English speakers to have access to public services in their own language. This issue is directly related to services' and indeed governments' interpretation of the Equality Act.

In March 2013 Eric Pickles MP, as Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government published a written ministerial statement saying that: "… *councils spend as much as £20 m a year for translation services that actually reduce the incentive for some migrant communities to learn English.*"[3]

He went on to say that:

> Of course, local authorities must comply with the duties set out in the Equalities Act 2010 including the duty not to discriminate and the public sector equality duty. But this is not a legal duty to translate documents into foreign languages. Even if publishing only in English could put some people at a particular disadvantage, such a policy may be justified if local authorities can demonstrate that the integration and cost concerns pursue a legitimate aim and outweigh any disadvantage. The equality duty does not require a particular outcome, merely that public authorities consider all the relevant factors.

Mr Pickles did concede in his statement to MPs that local councils need to communicate with groups that have poor levels of literacy or learning difficulties. However, he says this can be addressed by using plain English, easy-read versions of documents and using pictures instead of translated text.

This statement not only makes a clear call to reduce, or perhaps eliminate entirely, the cost of providing translation and interpreting services to non-English speakers, but also questions how government departments and local authorities have traditionally interpreted the Equality Act. To ensure equality and avoid discrimination in terms of access to health,

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[3] https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/translation-into-foreign-languages

legal and social services all local authorities have, to a greater or lesser extent, provided translations of key documents, especially around entitlements, and interpreting services for non-English speaking residents. In the majority of cases local authorities provided these services long before the Equality Act came into effect, and on many occasions were supported in doing so by not-for-profit groups or charities, precisely because it was deemed the right action to take to ensure fairness and, possibly, to encourage the integration rather than the marginalisation of immigrants.

The National Audit Office in its January 2014 report *The Ministry of Justice's Language Services Contract: Progress Update* states:

> When participants in the criminal justice system do not speak English as their first language, it is essential for justice that they are provided with interpretation services. The requirement partly stems from articles 5 and 6 of the European Convention of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. These state that anyone arrested must be told the reasons for arrest and any charge in a language that they understand, and that they are entitled to access certain interpretation and translation services throughout the judicial procedures to which they are subject.

The issue of translation and interpreting costs is clearly a concern for every local authority and government department but, in the main, the question centres more on how the cost of delivery of the language services can be reduced rather than on those services' wholesale elimination. It is precisely this consideration that led to the decision by the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) to put out to tender all of its translation and interpreting needs on a national basis. The effects of this decision are analysed below.

Employers

Public Service Providers

All stakeholders will be aware that a particular series of economic and political issues within the UK caused significant changes in the industry following the Comprehensive Spending Review in October 2010,

which further reduced public spending. As a result, all UK government departments plus many local authorities and health authorities determined to review their interpreting services, among other services, in an attempt to reduce their expenditure. The resulting focus on renegotiating their procedures, terms and conditions caused, and is still causing, significant changes to the PSI marketplace.

In August 2011, the Ministry of Justice signed a four-year Framework Agreement for language services with Applied Language Solutions (ALS, now Capita Translation and Interpreting) and on 30th January 2012 the contract became operational, delivering interpreting and translation services to HM Courts and Tribunals Service.

As part of the process, a consultation was carried out with a wide range of PSI industry stakeholders during the final round of the procurement process, when only ALS was left in the running for the contract. According to the 2013 report *Interpreting and Translation Services and the Applied Language Solutions Contract* from the House of Commons, many concerns were voiced during the consultation, which included:

> the company operating as a regulator and supplier, creating a conflict of interest; the appropriateness of the tiered structure in relation to existing standards, and perceived limited scope to use tier 3 interpreters in the courts; the introduction of assessment centres, which were seen as costly and unnecessary given existing recognition of appropriate qualifications and professional registers; the dilution of qualification requirements, for example, the inclusion of a degree in the target language; and the implications of the changes for future training arrangements.[4]

It seems like the decision of the MoJ to go ahead with the Framework Agreement, although justified by the establishment of a central system that would standardise and subsequently improve the service, was also very much based on economic factors. As expected by many, it faced the new arrangement difficulties from the beginning and led to serious discontent among different stakeholders involved in the PSI industry.

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[4] http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmjust/645/64503.htm

A review was then undertaken by the National Audit Office (NAO), which published a memorandum in September 2012, "The Ministry of Justice's language services contract", with their recommendations. The NAO concluded that whilst the MoJ engaged with a range of stakeholders throughout 2011, including the interpreter community, it "*did not give sufficient weight to the concerns and dissatisfaction that many interpreters expressed, even though having sufficient numbers of skilled interpreters was essential to the new arrangements' success*".[5]

A number of reports and reviews, both from the government and from independent advisors, have been published since the contract became operational to provide updates on its progress, and all have included a series of recommendations. A progress update on the MoJ's languages services contract by NAO from January 2014 includes the advice to obtain more Tier 2 and 3 interpreters and to pay more attention to the due diligence process in the future. As a response to all reviews and recommendations, the MoJ and Capita have attributed most issues to 'teething problems' and an interpreters' boycott.[6]

Tier-Based System

The core of the Framework Agreement, which as well as specifying operational procedures also covers issues such as the qualifications and experience PSIs should have and, controversially, includes a scale of three tiers which classifies different interpreting scenarios and links them to differing requirements for skills and experience of PSIs. The fees paid to interpreters for assignments they undertake are determined by the tier each assignment is allocated to. To be allocated jobs in the higher bands or tiers interpreters need to demonstrate higher levels of qualifications and experience. Many interpreters found this rationale for categorising assignments according to "difficulty" and paying different rates for them totally unacceptable, pointing out that every assignment is different but equally complex and very often unforeseen difficulties and challenges

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

arise. As a result, a less experienced interpreter may be assigned to a lower-band job but find their skills insufficient to handle the situation that they are faced with or that develops during the assignment.

The 2013 House of Commons report summarises the problems of the tier-based system under various points, the first and key one being: "*The highest level, tier 1, effectively mimics the previous minimum standards, which, under the National Agreement, represented only the first step on a continuous professional development ladder*".[7]

For many years, until the introduction of the MoJ Framework Agreement, it appeared that the system for procuring PSIs worked relatively well or, at least, it was never particularly contentious. All parties knew their roles and, one way or another, the scenarios requiring interpreters were covered without undue difficulty. However, several complex and time-consuming issues were caused by this hugely fragmented system. For example, freelance interpreters had to identify and apply to each separate hospital or court in order to be considered for work, doing so in the knowledge that the criteria they would have to meet for each application would probably be different. This was because the entities that commissioned interpreters had no common approach to some of the core issues, such as which professional qualifications they had to hold and what levels of experience they had to have before they could be offered work.

The current Framework Agreement expires in October 2016 and the MoJ will be retendering. In addition, Crown Commercial Services (CCS) is currently drafting a wider framework to cover all interpreting services.[8]

LSP

There are probably hundreds of national and thousands of international LSPs. These private companies typically supply not only interpreting services but many others, including: translation, localisation, subtitling, dubbing, voice-over, proofreading, editing, processing texts, transcription, language tuition and assessment and even cultural consultancy and

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[7] Ibid.

[8] http://b.3cdn.net/unitevol/479d44c183a5393fb9_jbm6ibft6.pdf

cross-cultural training. They represent a "middle man" connecting public service providers with interpreters, whenever the former do not have their own in-house interpreters or maintain their own interpreter database. Due to the previously mentioned fragmentation and lack of legislation in the PSI industry, private LSPs are free to set their own criteria to select interpreters as well as to allocate them to assignments. Although most of them would be expected to try and adhere to the highest standards and provide the best service, they are, of course, business which remain solvent, competitive and hopefully, profitable.

What Do Interpreters Think of LSPs?

Respondents to the survey made many comments concerning what they saw as the roles and responsibilities of LSPs in relation to PSI, in particular to the question of the initial and ongoing training of interpreters. However, a related issue is what, if any, actions LSPs undertake in relation to predicting and responding to the changing demand for specific languages over time. Indeed, it is not clear that LSPs currently do anything at all in terms of analysing trends, much less predicting changes to demand for languages or to the specialist sectors in which they may be required.

Of major concern to many stakeholders in the industry, particularly to highly qualified and experienced interpreters and academics involved in the initial and ongoing training of consecutive interpreters, is the use by LSPs of interpreters with no or low-level qualifications. Whilst LSPs naturally try to assure their clients that they will only supply the highest quality interpreters for each assignment it is very difficult to see how they can possibly achieve this when they do little or nothing to predict changing demand, or to respond to it by providing appropriate training and development opportunities.

Among other comments made in response to the issue of pay rates, one freelance interpreter who also worked for 2 or 3 LSPs complained "*… unfortunately [I get paid] less when working for Language Service Providers*".

There were also suggestions by some respondents that LSPs should provide the infrastructure to encourage networking and collaboration between individual interpreters, whilst others stated that LSPs

deliberately avoid encouraging communication between interpreters as this might lead to them discussing pay and conditions.

Profession Standards and Access

Professional Bodies Representing PSIs

> The first public service interpreters and translators (PSITs) therefore found themselves in the unenviable position of having to work without a functioning professional context; they were also aware that, although they might be doing their jobs properly, the public service was often not being delivered effectively. The interpreters had no support or protection and no one to turn to. (Corsellis, 2008:5)

Networking and Communication

PSI is often referred to as a fragmented profession in which individuals are isolated from others working in the same industry. For this reason we asked questions in our survey of PSIs about organisations or networking groups they were involved with and also whether they felt there should be more networking opportunities. Interestingly, 64 % said they were currently not engaging with organisations or networks within the sector and virtually the same proportion, 68 %, said they felt there should be more networking opportunities. This suggests that for those not currently engaged in networking it is a question of there being insufficient networks currently available to them, or perhaps that what is available is inappropriate or hard to engage with. Some respondents referred to belonging to informal groups organised using social media channels. This technology provides a convenient and flexible platform for interpreters to maintain contact and exchange views but it does not appear to meet all of their needs. Respondents commented on the fact that interpreting assignments are confidential and that this limits their ability to share their experiences with others. Others referred to the highly competitive nature of the industry, which seems to make many reluctant to share information about their clients, how they get work or how much they are paid.

As well as asking about respondents' involvement in informal networks, we also enquired as to which formal organisations they were affiliated to. The survey revealed that 44 % of respondents were members of the Chartered Institute of Linguists (CIoL). The CIoL website states

> CIoL is the pre-eminent UK-based professional membership body for language practitioners. It aims to enhance and promote the value of languages and language skills in the public interest and provides accredited qualifications through the IoL Educational Trust.

The website advises that the CIoL was founded in 1910, has around 6000 members worldwide and its aims are to:

1. Serve the professional interests of its members
2. Set standards and provide nationally accredited and other professional qualifications through its associated charity and Ofqual-recognised Awarding Organisation, the IoL Educational Trust (IoLET)
3. Be an authoritative voice promoting the learning and use of languages, and the professional status of language work
4. Advise on policy and strategy affecting languages.

Linguists normally become members because for many years the CIoL (formerly the Institute of Linguists—IoL) has been recognised as the main organisation for promoting their interests and also because the qualifications it offers have been regarded as the core professional standard for the industry, in terms of general linguistic competence but for those working as translators and interpreters. It is not surprising therefore that 60 % of our survey respondents held the Diploma in PSI (DPSI). The fact that in comparison to this figure, just 44 % were members of the CIoL demonstrates that interpreters feel that having the qualification is of greater benefit than actual membership.

The second most popular organisation after the CIoL is the Institute for Translation and Interpreting (ITI), of which 39 % of respondents were members. According to its website the ITI was founded in 1986 and has around 3000 members. It styles itself as "*the UK's only dedicated association for practising translation and interpreting professionals.*" Its remit

is therefore rather narrower than that of the CIoL. However, in common with the CIoL, which publishes its members' journal the *Linguist* each month, the ITI also issues a bi-monthly magazine, called the *Bulletin*.

Both of these organisations through their magazines, websites, meetings and so on provide information on the language industry to their members, together with codes of professional conduct and opportunities to undertake Continuous Professional Development (CPD). They both aim to set and maintain professional standards for linguists, promote language skills to end users and generally represent the interests of linguists in the marketplace.

Whilst it is important, perhaps even vital, that such organisations exist to represent the interest of their members and, indirectly, of linguists that are not members, their effectiveness in doing so has been called into question by many linguists, mainly since the introduction of the Framework Agreement and the MoJ contract, which has led to lower pay rates and deteriorating conditions for many PSIs.

To continue with the list of organisations respondents belonged to, the third most popular is the Association of Police and Court Interpreters (APCI) with 22 %, which indicates the importance of the legal system as an end user of interpreting services.

In recent years, and as a result of the MoJ Framework Agreement, new organisations have been formed in order to represent interpreters, attempt to protect their income and status and to lobby wherever possible for either a return to the previous system or for improvements to the pay and conditions offered by ALS to work on the MOJ contract.

Many interpreters felt so strongly about the way the MoJ contract was awarded and the subsequent deterioration in their terms and conditions that they immediately boycotted ALS. Many withdrew from the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (NRPSI), did not register for work under the new contract or simply refused to work. Furthermore, several interpreters referred to their involvement in networking groups as a valuable way of providing information and mutual support among individuals involved in litigation against the MoJ and/or Capita. The most representative of these group is Professional Interpreters 4 Justice and they are strongly backed by UNITE, the union most translators and interpreters belong to in the absence of their own union.

PSI Training Providers

When demand increases rapidly for interpreters of specific and less widely used languages as a result of the immigration of individuals fleeing conflict zones there is no mechanism in the industry for reacting to this by identifying people with the required levels of linguistic skills (in both English and the foreign language) and qualifications as consecutive interpreters. Nor is there any mechanism for providing instant, flexible and economically viable access to training as an interpreter to those already offering the appropriate language skills.

The accepted industry standard qualification for PSIs is the DPSI. However, this award can be achieved only through periodic examinations, normally after the individual has attended a preparatory training course, which is offered only in key locations around the UK and therefore not accessible to everyone. Furthermore, the general consensus is that this process is expensive (there are costs for taking the course and then for sitting the examination) especially when seen as an investment for entry to a profession where there has been significant downward pressure on rates of pay in recent years. Finally, the DPSI award is only offered in a restricted range of languages.

The situation described above is at the heart of the conflict and confusion that currently reigns within the industry. Increasingly the end users of interpreters (courts, hospitals, immigration services, social services, *etc.*) seek to save costs by contracting LSPs to meet their needs (rather than maintain their own databases, terms and conditions for freelance interpreters) but with clauses in those contracts to assure the quality of the interpreters provided. However, the infrastructure to deliver a consistently high quality of interpreting between all languages in all specialisms across the whole of the UK simply does not exist.

Finding ways to predict changes in training demand should be a key part of training providers' role, but even more importantly, the standardisation of the training offer is an issue that urgently needs to be answered. This is especially important as PSI is constantly being undermined as a profession, particularly when compared to other areas of interpreting. The National Careers Service website advises that

> If you want to work in conference interpreting, you would usually need a degree or postgraduate qualification in a foreign language or in interpreting. If you want to work in the community, although you may not need a degree, qualifications in public service interpreting or community interpreting may help you.[9]

Chapter 2 further investigates the role of the Chartered Institute of Linguists Educational Trust (CIoLET), Higher and Further Education Institutions and private training providers in contributing to the professionalisation of the PSI industry.

PSI Course Accreditation Bodies

Several universities offer undergraduate and postgraduate courses in translation and interpreting but only few of these focus on PSI. On the other hand, a "Community Interpreting" certificate, at levels 1, 2 or 3, is a common entry-level qualification to the profession. Preparation courses are usually offered at Further Education colleges and awarding bodies are private, educational and usually Ofqual-recognised, such as Ascentis or the Open College Network (OCN).

For many years the CIoL has been the main accrediting body for PSIs through their DPSI. However, over the years and in response to the recent changes, other bodies and institutions have become involved in looking at how to develop and accredit PSIs as professionals in the most effective way that is relevant to PSI rather than conference interpreting.

Continuous Professional Development (CPD) courses, offered by Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) as well as professional bodies and private LSPs, have played a key role in providing flexible and appropriate training to already existing PSIs. However, the lack of a formal qualification or other means of accreditation associated with these courses is an issue we will also discuss in Chap. 2.

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[9] https://nationalcareersservice.direct.gov.uk/advice/planning/jobprofiles/Pages/interpreter.aspx#sthash.2Ak3bvaQ.dpuf

Most Popular Interpreters' Qualifications

Bearing in mind the complexity of many of the situations PSIs find themselves in, their general level of education needs to be good in order for them to accurately assess the context in which the interpreting takes place, whether it is at a police station, courtroom, hospital and so on. In addition to this they need to have specialist knowledge appropriate to the environment, for example knowledge of legal procedures, or vocabulary necessary for medical questioning about symptoms to aid diagnosis and so on. Among the 70 respondents that provided details of their general educational qualifications 57 % confirmed they had a first degree (BA/BSc) or equivalent, 46 % held a Masters award and three respondents (representing 4.4 % of this sample) had gained a PhD. This data seems to confirm that interpreters generally possess an above-average level of general education, which, in most instances, is also a published prerequisite for undertaking interpreting work through LSPs.

As mentioned previously, though, in the absence of an official accreditation to become a Public Service Interpreter in the UK, the key requisite for operating as a professional PSI is to have a recognised and accepted interpreting qualification. Of the respondents to our survey 63 % held the DPSI (mentioned above as the "industry standard") whilst 26 % held a Master's degree in Interpreting, 20 % had passed the Metropolitan Police Interpreting Test (now the Diploma in Police Interpreting) and 15 % possessed a Community Interpreting Level 3 Certificate. A total of 11 respondents mentioned a range of other qualifications they held: among these were MAs in Translation, various "certificates" at unspecified levels and first degrees in areas such as "Clinical Language Sciences". Several explained that they had gained "parts" or "some modules" of particular awards and one interpreter claimed to have "EU Accreditation". It is unclear if these respondents also had other, formal qualifications, but the results demonstrate that as well as the DPSI, Master's degrees and the Metropolitan Police test, interpreters are likely to offer a wide range of "lesser" or at least less specific or less relevant qualifications as well in order to gain work.

This leads to the question of which are the best or most appropriate training courses and qualifications for PSIs, an issue which will be dealt

with in greater detail in Chaps. 2 and 4. However, the issue is not only what are the best qualifications currently in existence but also, whether these are appropriate and entirely fit for purpose, whether they are accessible and, of particular importance in the current climate, whether the cost of obtaining them represents good value or a worthwhile investment for linguists wishing to enter the industry. A further complication is, of course, how to determine the equivalence of awards obtained outside the UK. By their very nature linguists and particularly interpreters are likely to have travelled, lived or been born outside the UK. In our survey 57 % of respondents were not UK citizens and it is likely that of the 43 % who held British citizenship a proportion had become British or possibly held dual nationalities. Consequently, there is a good chance that a high proportion had been at least partly educated outside the UK and had undertaken training as an interpreter and obtained relevant qualifications outside the UK.

The Ministry of Justice (MoJ) Framework Agreement recognises that for "rare" languages the normally accepted qualifications are not available. In its Appendix A on Quality and Skills Assessment for Interpreters and Translators it therefore states that:

> In the case of rare languages where the DPSI or equivalent qualification is not available, the interpreter must have the Cambridge Proficiency in English Certificate, or NRPSI registration (rare language category) 100 hours of public sector interpreting experience, evidence of continuous professional development, references and a pass at the assessment centre.

The subject of the range and validity of currently available qualifications is dealt with in Chaps. 2 and 3, whilst Chap. 4 directly addresses the issue of the DPSI's "fitness of purpose" as the standard training and accreditation in the UK.

Registers and Other Directories

For many years the national or local government departments responsible for arranging interpreters to attend interviews or hearings were

required to establish their own arrangements, which amounted to either creating and maintaining their own database of interpreters, using a local LSP or, in many cases, using a combination of the two. This meant that nationwide there were hundreds of discrete databases of interpreters and a plethora of different procedures for identifying and hiring interpreters, setting professional standards, terms of employment and pay scales. Each hospital, local authority, police force and so on. devised their own policies and procedures to meet their specific needs with very little, if any, contact with other similar bodies.

Until 2012 and the introduction of the MoJ Framework Agreement, it appeared that this system worked relatively well or, at least, it was never particularly contentious. All parties knew their roles and, one way or another, the scenarios requiring interpreters were covered without undue difficulty. However fragmented, the system appeared to work well. In general, all parties knew their roles and acted upon them; in spite of the evident inconvenience for PSIs having to take into account various registrations to access work. As already mentioned, the introduction of the MoJ Framework Agreement in 2012 was intended to improve such fragmentation and to standardise the criteria to allocate interpreting work.

NRPSI

Just in excess of 65 % of the respondents to our survey confirmed they were members of the NRPSI, although "membership" is probably not the correct term for their relationship with this organisation as the NRPSI is, according to their website,

> …the UK's independent voluntary regulator of professional interpreters specialising in public service. We maintain a public register of professional, qualified and accountable interpreters. The register is free of charge to access and searchable online.

The NRPSI was originally managed by the CIoL and since April 2011 has been wholly independent.

Whilst the CIoL and the ITI have wider objectives in terms of representing the interests of linguists or interpreters, the principal aim of the NRPSI is to act as a register of qualified interpreters that can be searched freely by any individual or organisation seeking to contract the services of a professional freelance interpreter. Anyone interpreter wishing to join the register needs to fulfil a set of criteria regarding their qualifications and experience as well as agree to a "Code of Conduct". The NRPSI is also the only organisation in the profession that provides quality assurance procedures and some degree of accountability for interpreters. It offers a free service to listen to and manage complains about their registered interpreters.

The importance of having a central register or body to provide both official membership and public accountability is highlighted in all related literature. This strategy is key to all the longest-established and most successful PSI industries. The Norwegian Public Register of Interpreters, described along with the Norwegian national PSI system in Chap. 5, provides an example of the ideal role of national registers in the PSI industry.

Conclusions

There are many stakeholders involved in the PSI industry. These range from PSIs to speakers of other languages, to government and professional bodies, to private companies providing training and/or employment. It is a complex landscape in which many different agendas and priorities need to be coordinated and to coexist for the common good of the industry.

As a consequence, we constantly hear that this is a fragmented industry, not only in the UK but in most countries. Chapters 2 and 3 offer deeper insights into the professions involved, and advises on how best to manage the roles of all stakeholders in order to work together towards a professionalisation of PSI in the UK.

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3

Professionalisation and Standardisation of Public Service Interpreting

Marina Rabadán-Gómez

Background

It is widely said amongst academic researchers, professional bodies, Language Service Providers (LSPs) and even the interpreters themselves that public service interpreting (PSI) in the UK struggles to adhere to professional standards. In 1996 and 1998, respectively, Gentile and Wadensjö claimed that this was a profession in its infancy in terms of how established and standardised it was, and almost 20 years later, according to the latest QUALITAS report[1] on PSI in 2014, this is still very much the case in most countries in Europe. In the UK there is a clear need to standardise all aspects of the profession: from qualifications and awards to training, monitoring and improving its status. The call to do so has been supported by numerous reports, articles and books published over the last 15 years in spite of, and in some cases because of, structural changes such as the MoJ Framework Agreement discussed in Chap. 2 (Corsellis, 2005, 2008; Graham, 2012; Giambruno, 2014; Hale, 2007;

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[1] QUALITAS Project: http://www.qualitas-project.eu/sites/qualitasproject.eu/files/Final%20Country%20Profile%20Report_0.pdf.

de Pedro Ricoy, 2010; Pérez & Wilson, 2006, 2009; Sandrelli, 2001; Skaane & Wattne, 2009; SOMI UK, 2015; Straker & Watts, 2003; Townsley, 2009).

According to reports by the Institute of Translation and Interpreting (ITI) and other professional bodies,[2] many agencies and end users are not meeting the minimum benchmark requirements as recommended by these bodies and by expert practitioners and academics. The main point of contention appears to be the use of unqualified interpreters, which leads to mistakes being made during interpreting. At times these mistakes become highly visible; for example, when miscarriages of justice occur in the court system, cases of which have been reported on in the national and international press during the past 3 years. When looking deeper into the reasons for such use of unqualified interpreters, these often seem to depend on the particular context, and a handful of them appear repeatedly: unavailability of an effective system for booking an interpreter, unavailability of trained interpreters, the impossibility of booking a professional interpreter at short notice of training in certain languages. To this list we may add other reasons which are not always clearly stated but can easily be read between the lines: the profession's lack of status and the perceived high costs involved.

There appears to be a disparity between what academics and professionals prescribe should happen in the profession, what clients and LSPs want interpreters to do and what the interpreters actually do (Townsley, 2009). At worst, misunderstanding of the PSI profession leads end users to think that mere bilingualism is sufficient for interpreters (Perez & Wilson, 2006).

What Are Professional Standards?

Holly Mikkelson's (1996b) article on the professionalisation of community interpreting could possibly be considered outdated, yet many of the points made are still relevant, especially concerning Tseng's Model of Professionalisation (see Table 3.1 below):

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[2] ITI: http://www.iti.org.uk/uploadedFiles/articles/CCP%20Interpreters%20-%20Michael%20Benis.pdf
SOMI UK: http://somiukltd.com/blog/?p=196.

Table 3.1   Tseng's model of professionalisation in Mikkelson (1996a, 1996b)

Phase I. Market disorder
Phase II. Consolidation of the profession and the development of a consensus about practitioner's aspirations
Phase III. Emergence of professional associations, ethical standards and control of admission to the profession
Phase IV. Public and legal recognition of the profession

We can look at this model and try to assess the state of the PSI industry in the UK and to compare it with other Anglophone and European countries.

In those countries with a longer tradition of developing and delivering PSI services, such as Canada, the USA or Australia, certification programmes are common nationwide.

According to Hlavac, 2013, the situation is the USA is complex, reflecting the particular political organisation of the country. Notwithstanding, each state has their own court-interpreting regulations and certifications, and 40 out of 50 states have signed up to the national Consortium for Language Access in Courts. There is a national medical interpreting scheme supported by the National Council on Interpreting in Health Care (NCIHC) and there are various other councils and interpreting bodies across the country.

Canada, being a bilingual country and with an Official Languages Act dating back to 1969, has a system in place to ensure standardised professional accreditation across the country for which The Canadian Translators, Terminologists and Interpreters Council (CTTIC) is responsible.

Australia is another example of nationwide professionalisation, with certification at four levels and a not-for-profit National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) overseeing them.

These countries would feature at the later stages of Tseng's model, between phases III and IV.

In most European countries, by contrast, there is a longer tradition of training for interperters-to-be being offered at tertiary level, mainly as undergraduate courses. Postgraduate qualifications are also common, although usually it is Western European languages that are readily available in most of these degrees, whilst other minority languages, which are especially required when working with new migrants and refugees, are not usually available. Some of these countries, like the Netherlands, favour the creation of short

Continuing Professional Development (CPD) courses to complement initial undergraduate degrees in translation and interpreting and to cater for the need for public service interpreters (PSIs) with new minority languages.

The "sworn translator" status—or equivalent—is also common in many European countries, where it is a protected title—Belgium, The Netherlands, Norway, Spain and Sweden.

Sweden is a good example of a country at the far end of stage IV in Tseng's model. It is the only European country to have an official policy on multiculturalism. This means immigrants have access to language classes, but they also have automatic access to interpreters when using public services. The national authority overseeing this policy is the Kammarkollegiet, The Legal, Financial and Administrative Service Agency. There is an official examination, set by The Swedish Federation of Authorised Translators, to be passed after completing a degree in translation and interpreting which, in turn, grants the status of "authorised translator". This authorisation has to be renewed every 5 years and the title is protected by law.

For a fully detailed survey of the PSI training and accreditation standards as of 2013 in 21 countries worldwide see Hlavac, 2013.

Professional Standards in the UK

The UK, on the other hand, has traditionally been more fragmented and protracted in its progress through this model. Despite having various professional associations promoting professional and ethical standards, these are all slightly different from each other, and their attempts to regulate admission to the profession have not been entirely successful. There is a struggle to develop a consensus of practitioner aspirations, although there is a text which provides guidelines to follow—the National Occupational Standards in Interpreting. Moreover, the variation in the training provision across the board means that training may have little impact. Although the Diploma in PSI (DPSI) remains the most widely accepted and recognised qualification, its status is not protected by law. The DPSI does grant access to the National Register of PSIs (NRPSIs); however, the latter is neither the only nor the official register for interpreters in the UK, despite its name. It can be said that the UK is making some

progress along phases II and III of Tseng's model, but is lacking the official support that could bring legal and public recognition and might help standardise the profession.

As mentioned above, in the UK at present there are several professional associations and agencies that aim to provide standards for the PSI industry. Unfortunately, these bodies' failure to cooperate with each other and with other agencies does not favour such standardisation. The following are the current UK operating standards.[3]

In 2006 The National Centre for Languages (CILT) published their latest revision of the National Occupational Standards in Interpreting, which had been previously reviewed in 2001. These standards are intended to be a benchmark to describe the interpreting profession in the UK and to be used by employers, course designers, awarding bodies and all stakeholders in one way or another. However, and rather unfortunately, there has been a real lack of engagement with them, to the extent that they have not achieved their standardising or unifying purpose. This may be because many or most PSI training programmes and exams existed before these standards were published, or because they were not specific to PSIs.

Moreover, November 2014 saw the publication of the ISO 13611: 2014 *Interpreting—Guidelines for Community Interpreting* and, subsequently, the BS ISO 13611—*Community Interpreting*, which has now been published by the British Standards Institute. The elaboration of the ISO standards took several years and involved 27 countries, with Canada as a leading figure. The ISO 13611: 2014

> establishes and provides the basic principles and practices necessary to ensure quality community interpreting services for all language communities, for end users, as well as for requesters, and service providers. Furthermore, it provides general guidelines that are common to all forms of community interpreting. This International Standard is applicable to settings wherever speakers of non-societal languages need to communicate to access services (ISO 13611: 2014, p. 1).

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[3] As of August 2015. Nevertheless, we would like to fully acknowledge the flexibility and rapid growth of the industry as well as new developments such as the publication of the BS ISO 3611 or the expected new tender for the MoJ Framework Agreement in 2016, which may result in further changes to these standards sooner rather than later.

The text details all the settings included in "Public Services" including public institutions, social services, healthcare, business and industry, faith-based organisations, emergency response and legal services. It is too early to say if these new standards, which have a clear focus on community interpreting, as opposed to the previous National Occupational Standards (NOS) in the UK, will have a real impact on the qualifications and training on offer. In any case, Critical Link advises: "*ISO 13611:2014 does not supersede any national standard or legislation that already addresses other forms of interpreting*" (Critical Link, 2015 [online]).

At both national and regional levels within the UK, there are several professional associations that cater for PSIs, as we detailed in Chap. 2, the main ones being CIoL, ITI and APCI. They all have different membership criteria and also their own Codes of Practice, as does almost every private LSP. Whilst their codes are consistent in many ways, they are also ultimately different; a situation that does nothing to promote cohesion or standardisation. Reading and comparing these different codes of conduct, one may wonder why it is that there is not one agreed text already. As most share common parameters on professionalism and behaviours, it appears that it would not take a long time for all these institutions to elaborate a consented text that all PSIs had to abide by. The answer probably lies, yet again, in the absence of legal regulation of the profession, and therefore of a figure or overarching body which could undertake or coordinate such tasks. Consequently, the issue currently rests with the representative associations, but there remains the question of whether there is a real willingness among them to achieve the much needed standardisation that would resolve many of the industry's problems.

In relation to training, assessment and qualifications the DPSI is the generally accepted but still unofficial benchmark for PSI in the UK. However, this is in effect only an exam and despite the publication of its candidate and centre handbooks, and of other literature available to help prepare for the exam, the fact remains that there is no official syllabus as such, just a very broad list of topics with no indication of specific vocabulary or other core skills necessary to pass. Therefore, training courses are widely disparate in what they include. Chapter 5 provides a personal insight into the appropriateness of the guidelines for DPSI exam preparation courses.

The suitability of the DPSI and other qualifications to meet the needs of a changing industry was directly challenged as a result of the contract ultimately accepted by the MoJ. Under the MoJ Framework Agreement Capita established a system of tiers to classify interpreters according to their qualifications and experience and, depending on their capabilities, allocate them to different assignments classified by their level of complexity and which would also be paid at different rates, as already discussed in Chap. 2. They initially contracted with Middlesex University to run specific assessment centres to facilitate the tiering of existing qualified interpreters. However, it appears that this initiative, which could be seen as an attempt by one LSP to modify or establish new professional standards in the industry in order to deliver one contract, was not very well received by the PSI community. It was seen as particularly unwelcome by existing qualified and experienced PSIs, who overwhelmingly rejected the idea of having their abilities assessed once again and allocated to tiers which would directly result in a reduction in rates of pay.

Finally, as regards interpreters' registration, the NRPSI has been an independent, not-for-profit organisation maintaining the largest database of PSIs in the UK since 2011. Previously, between 1994 and 2011, the NRPSI was housed within the CIoL. The NRPSI aims at regulating the profession by setting professional standards. In their own words their core role is "*to ensure that good standards within the profession are consistently maintained for the benefit of the public and interpreters*" (NRPSI, 2015 [online]). According to the NRPSI their membership criteria allows them to accept only interpreters who have the appropriate qualifications and experience for the PSI industry, and their code of conduct ensures good standards in their professional practice. Nevertheless, the admission criteria diverge for different languages, varying in the qualifications and experience required but also granting access to different degrees of membership: interim options *a* and *b* and full status. In the case of rare languages, interpreters can access the register with no qualification but with 100 h of experience. The NRPS also manages complaints about their registered interpreters free of charge via their website. In total, they have around 1900 interpreters on their books covering around 100 languages in the whole of the UK. Registration with the NRPSI is, however, not a legal or compulsory requirement to work as a PSI in the UK.

Looking back at Tseng's model and all the literature generated from it we can identify several elements that need to be fully considered in order to progress towards the true professionalisation of PSI. In the first place, the *role* of the interpreter needs to be clearly identified in order to define the profession; a consented *ethical code* needs to be produced by professional associations; *qualifications* and the *training courses* leading to them must be stipulated in order to regulate admission to the profession; and finally an official means for *registration* of professionals and maintenance of the *quality standards* must be determined in order to achieve public and legal recognition.

The roles of the different stakeholders, including the interpreters, are fully described in Chap. 2, whilst Chap. 4 deals with recommendations to all of them for the common good and the future of the profession. The second part of this book focuses on discussing the role of the interpreter in different scenarios when ethical dilemmas may arise. In the remainder of this chapter we will focus on the importance of achieving a consented system of training, qualifications and registration in order to ascertain the professional standards, which are so urgently needed in the UK.

De Pedro (2010), Ozolins (2010) and Toledano (2010) agree that the fragmentation of the PSI industry in the UK is due to the unequal application of interpreting norms and standards across sectors and geographical boundaries. An excellent example of this would be training opportunities and training content, which vary enormously across the country, with little or no standardisation in training. Whilst across the public sectors it is considered acceptable that on the one hand court interpreting requires a minimum of the DPSI Law option qualification lest there be miscarriages of justice due to poor interpretation, on the other hand the same consideration is not given to medical interpreting, which could cost a patient their life. Nor is such consideration given to social care interpreting, for example, where a child could be wrongly removed from their parents. Often, less qualified or unqualified interpreters are sent to the latter type of assignments. Likewise, a DPSI, which is a Level 6 qualification, grants access to the NRPSI; however, it is unclear which of the Master's programmes in interpreting offered by universities throughout the UK are accepted by the NRPSI. Hence, we consider it crucial that training and qualifications should be the first issues to be tackled along the pathway to standardisation. The following is a summary of existing qualifications and training courses in the UK and how they compare to each other.

Training and Accreditation Provision in the UK

The Chartered Institute of Linguists Educational Trust (CIoLET) sets and runs the exams and confers the awards for the DPSI in its Law, Healthcare or Local Government options. Also since 2014 they have delivered the exams for the Diploma in Police Interpreting (DPI), which replaces the previous Metropolitan Police Test. These diplomas are Ofqual-accredited, nationally recognised and are, generally speaking, the standard qualification at which PSIs aim. The DPSI and the DPI are both level 6 qualifications in accordance with the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) Framework for Higher Education Qualifications in England, Wales and Northern Ireland, which is equivalent to a degree level. They also offer a level 3 ('A'-Level) Certificate in bilingual skills, which provides an introduction to different modes of translation and interpreting for those wanting to start using their language skills whilst working in the public services. Although there is no set curriculum, there are numerous centres across the UK that offer DPSI preparation courses. According to the CIoL website in 2015 there were 26 centres accredited to deliver preparation courses and in, some cases, to offer the exam. These were universities or language schools which were distributed as follows: 19 in England, 4 in Scotland, 2 in Northern Ireland, 1 in Wales and 9 more that offered their services online. All offered different combinations of languages and options, with English Law being the most frequent.

Pass rates for the DPSI are relatively low, with only one-third of the students passing at the first attempt. The fact that the syllabus and the delivery method for the preparation courses is not standardised is seen as a problem by many in the sector (Graham, 2012).

The second most common route to access the profession is via Higher Education or university language courses. There are many universities in the UK which include interpreting as part of their undergraduate or postgraduate degrees, although when limiting the search to PSI the choice is much smaller. Over 20 universities include interpreting and translation in their degrees within compulsory modules or as separate optional modules, with different combinations of languages and some specialised content. Usually translation and consecutive interpreting are included in

undergraduate language courses as vehicles for general language development rather than with the aim of enabling students to achieve professional levels of competency. However, they do serve to make students aware of the profession and provide a useful foundation for further development of the skills required to enter this line of work. At the time of publication of this book, there are six universities in the UK offering undergraduate degrees in interpreting, in combination with translation and with one or more languages: Heriot-Watt, Leicester, Middlesex, Newcastle, Surrey and Swansea (Wolverhampton offers a BA in BSL Interpreting); however, not all of them include public service related content.

Over 20 institutions also offer combined Master's in Translation with a component in Interpreting. Nevertheless, only 13 explicitly refer to Interpreting in the course title and only two of them, Heriot-Watt and Manchester, seem to offer courses with a clear focus on PSI. These are courses where the assessment is embedded in the curriculum and which do not necessarily lead to a final qualification exam. Most usually there is a combination of formative and summative assessment and their duration is one (full-time) or two (part-time) academic years. For a fully detailed list of HE institutions offering any combination of translation and interpreting see Graham, 2012. The course-finder tools in the UCAS and UKPASS websites offer the most up-to-date information on undergraduate and postgraduate courses available in the UK.

There appear to be several issues limiting the provision of interpreting within undergraduate and postgraduate courses in the UK. The first one would be the general decline in availability of language (especially applied language) degree courses at UK universities. The reduction in the number of university language degree courses in the UK in recent years can be perceived to result from a lack of vision on behalf of government, education policymakers and senior managers in universities. Whilst UK export trade and the nation's standing in the world diminish, the call from many quarters for more language provision remains unheeded by key decision makers, despite the significant benefits to the economy and society that such provision might bring.

Where language degree courses do remain, there is the issue of availability of the range of languages taught to a high level, which hardly ever matches the market demand in the PSI sector. Again, this is a problem

caused largely by political and financial considerations, in that managers insist it is not viable to hire a specialist language teacher if not enough students sign up for the course.

The paucity of interpreting course provision within UK universities is also related to a lack of qualified trainers in the languages required. This has become one of the main concerns for all translation and interpreting, and indeed all language-specific, courses in general and is a very unfortunate "Catch-22" situation: the fewer the specialist language courses available means fewer qualified interpreters who could, in turn, be potential trainers.

A further problem relates to limitations in the curriculum because of the inflexibility of certain procedures in Higher Education Institutions, such as their own quality assurance methods. A university lecturer quoted in Graham articulates the issue very well when (s)he complains that universities limit innovation in the curriculum greatly, because all new courses have to be partially based on what is already on offer within the institution (2012:39). In the same way, university courses have to be firmly based on academic theory and with a limitation on the number of credits and modules one can have in a degree, there is also a limit to how much practice these courses can include, despite the consensus that it is through practice that vocational professions are best mastered. Along these lines, it is worth mentioning another common problem that HE shares with all other training course providers: the fact that, due to confidentiality issues in most assignments, it is extremely difficult for universities to arrange a real practicum for PSI students, and therefore the universities are hardly ever fully prepared for the real-life pace of work and stressful situations they encounter in most areas of PSI when they graduate.

Finally, there is also the widespread belief among many university staff that senior management at most institutions do not understand—or are not willing to make—the investment needed to assure a good provision for these courses (Graham, 2012). It appears that the withdrawal of public funding from Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in recent years is only making the situation more difficult, with not just languages courses but whole language departments closing down throughout the country and others having to apply "cuts" and an "austerity policy" to the courses they offer (The Guardian 2013). One can only speculate whether universities would have a more positive and progressive attitude to the delivery of

interpreting, and perhaps language courses in general, if the industry were perceived as a true profession in a similar way to that in which marketing or public relations have presented themselves in recent decades.

Below university and DPSI levels (6 and 7) of education there is also the possibility of studying a Community Interpreting course. These aim to be an introduction to the profession and tend to be benchmarked at levels 1, 2 and 3 of the National Qualifications Framework. They are available at a wide number of colleges and language schools throughout the country. As an example, the *hotcourses*[4] website returns 34 courses for 2015 at different levels (1, 2 and 3) and with different modes of delivery and different combinations of languages, whenever these are language-specific. The main awarding bodies are Ascentis and the Open College Network (OCN). Another option is the Certificate in Community Interpreting, an Ofqual-accredited course in accordance with the National Occupational Standards for Interpreting.

These are seen as a good option to start a career in interpreting at a lower level; however, despite their providers tending to sell them as entry-level courses, which allow students to start working immediately, the fact is that they are usually not considered to be of appropriate quality to grant access to the profession by most employers, mainly due to the discrepancy in skill levels displayed by students after completing different courses (Graham, 2012:32). These courses tend to focus on interpreting skills and are usually non-language-specific, since they face the same problems related to financial viability and lack of trainers that have been mentioned before in relation to DPSI and Higher Education courses. There is also a lack of agreement on what should comprise their curriculum and, whilst most of them include a basic introduction to the profession,[5] codes of conduct, the role of the interpreter and the topics listed in the DPSI exam, time constraints prevent an in-depth study of such topics.

There are also PSI courses offered by private LSPs. These usually do not lead to any formal award or accreditation but are rather in-house training. There has been a recent trend for LSPs to develop or outsource such courses when they are faced with the need to train either employees or, more frequently, freelance linguists who lack a basic knowledge of the

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[4] http://www.hotcourses.com.

[5] http://www.emagister.co.uk/introduction_community_interpreting_courses-ec170403773.htm.

profession but offer languages which are in high demand and for which there is no other training available. In some cases private LSPs team up with awarding bodies or HEIs to offer accredited courses which, in essence, will be similar to the already described community interpreting.

Finally, Continuing Professional Development (CPD) courses are available from all training providers and also from professional associations (CIoL, ITI and ACPI). These are actually considered very important within the PSI industry given the need for continuous updating to keep up with developments in the public sector, but also because of the fact that a good number of interpreters access the profession without sufficient or, at times, any initial training.

The benefits of CPD include its flexibility and lower price since the courses are usually short, ranging from a one-day seminar to several months and from face-to-face practical sessions to online courses.

To summarise, we can conclude that all training courses for PSI include a core of common skills, besides preparing for, or most often expecting, a certain level of competency in at least two languages. These are divided into a variety of interpreting skills (which may not be language specific) including liaison interpreting, sight translation, glossary creation, note-taking and, in some cases, telephone or video interpreting. Additionally, ethical and intercultural skills as well as subject knowledge related to the public services also tend to be included. This is a non-exhaustive list of the most recurrent elements that can be found when inspecting syllabi for different PSI training programmes and it must be taken into account that they are offered to varied degrees or levels.

Other similarities between PSI courses reside in the central problems that they all face and which can be summarised as follows: the lack of available training for certain languages, usually caused by a lack of trainers in such languages and the fact that they are often not financially viable either for the institutions providing them or for the students that would like to access them.

In the next section we will describe the editors' experience of developing and delivering an innovative suite of four online CPD courses for PSIs between 2010 and 2015.

Development and Delivery of a Suite of PSI CPD Courses

Background

PSI training, as we have just seen, although available in the UK, can be challenging to access depending on a number of factors including working languages, desired level, prices and even location. Over a decade ago, Phelan stated that a university qualification in interpreting was "*a prerequisite to a career as an interpreter*" (2001:3) and more recently, in the introduction to *The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting*, Jourdenais and Mikkelson reflect on the current paradox regarding the supply and demand for interpreters' services and training:

> Perhaps ironically, at a time when the need for well-trained interpreters is being recognized—particularly in the United States—we have also noticed that language studies programs are at a juncture in this country, with fewer students studying languages, yet greater articulated needs from government and industry for competent multilingual professionals (2015:1).

The same can be said of the UK, where fewer and fewer students in recent years have been able to access language degree courses but where a university qualification—whether it is a degree in modern languages, or a specialised translation and interpreting degree, where available—has been seen as a starting point, if not a prerequisite, to enter the profession.

However, the reality in the UK is that there are large numbers of PSI practitioners without formal PSI qualifications. They may be new entrants, or veterans for whom an appropriate exam was not available at the time when they started working as interpreters; they may have other further or higher education qualifications or none at all; their competence in the foreign language can be at different levels, as can their ability to use different registers in their native language and, of course, their ability to interpret between the two languages. Last, but not least, their familiarity with the codes of conduct and the development of their professional (non-linguistic) skills can also be very varied. This situation is

probably what has encouraged the recent "*increase in short programs and academic course offerings designed to introduce people to and train for careers as interpreters*" that Jourdenais and Mikkelson (2015:1) also refer to and which can be, once again, extrapolated to the UK. Such short courses are most commonly delivered in the form of Continuing Professional Development (CPD). However, in the UK they are also far from being consistent or standardised. Some are offered by professional bodies (ITI, CIoL) or regional networks, by Further Education colleges, or by private LSPs who usually tailor them to their specific needs, one may say sometimes even excessively.

Despite all the above issues, CPD remains a valuable resource for both new and more experienced interpreters (Pérez & Wilson, 2009). With this in mind we will now describe how the particular courses the editors were involved in at Leeds Beckett University came to be designed and implemented. One initial reason and motivation for us to embark on the project to create new, alternative PSI training courses was the results of a series of surveys and short interviews undertaken in the Yorkshire area during 2010 where professional interpreters, LSPs and end users of interpreters in the public services, both local government and NGOs, all pointed to the need to professionalise and agree the standards of practice in the industry.

Inception and Development of the PSI Courses at Leeds Beckett (Formerly Leeds Metropolitan) University

For many years both translation and consecutive interpreting skills were delivered as part of the curriculum of a range of applied language degrees at Leeds Metropolitan University, known from 2014 as Leeds Beckett University. The courses had a very "professional" focus and were intended to enable graduates to use their language skills in a wide range of jobs and sectors. A particular feature was the close relationships forged between some course tutors and local industry and employers, which provided students with authentic scenarios within which to develop their language skills and to enhance their subsequent employability.

Among the employers that worked with the then School of Languages was a local LSP that delivered interpreting and translation contracts nationally and internationally for UK government departments and a wide range of large corporations and local authorities. Furthermore, this LSP had recruited a number of the university's graduates in recent years. During conversations with this company an opportunity was identified to collaborate on the design of short CPD courses for the company's freelance interpreters as a component of their internal quality control processes.

Eventually the university and the company decided to apply for funding through the Knowledge Transfer Partnership (KTP) scheme to enable them to jointly identify their specific training needs, followed by creating the appropriate content and determining the most appropriate delivery method. The KTP project was approved in 2010 and represented the first ever such project that featured linguistic competence at its core.

The project consisted in developing a suite of four short CPD courses, worth which are equivalent to 20 European Credit Transfer (ECTs) each, at levels 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the QAA Framework for Higher Education Qualifications in England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

The initial project, framed within the KTP model, was to design and deliver effective CPD to practising PSIs, in the most accessible and cost-effective way possible. As well as the project team, comprising academics from the university and managers and practitioners from the company, the initiative also benefited from incorporating consultation with external subject matter experts, with whom the course development team worked closely to produce and review the course materials. Focus groups composed of practising interpreters, both experienced and new, also informed course development.

A KTP, as explained on the initiative's website, is a funding framework provided by the government and designed to support UK businesses wanting to improve their competitiveness, productivity and performance by accessing the knowledge and expertise available within UK universities and colleges.[6] The key features of a KTP include: (1) both parties have *KNOWLEDGE* of benefit to the other, (2) the project must provide for the *TRANSFER* of knowledge and (3) it must be an equal

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[6] https://www.gov.uk/guidance/knowledge-transfer-partnerships-what-they-are-and-how-to-apply.

PARTNERSHIP. It should also aim to provide experience for a recent graduate, who is appointed as the KTP Associate to coordinate and deliver the project. KTP funding is generally awarded to projects that deliver a new product or a technical solution or innovation to enhance productivity in industry and it was therefore a significant achievement that, for the first time ever, KTP funding was awarded to a proposal focused on languages.

As mentioned above, the initial aim of the project was to develop a series of short courses as part of the ongoing CPD of the company's freelance interpreters. The LSP made a significant financial investment as its contribution to the project, as part of its ongoing commitment to providing high-quality services to its clients. However, as the project progressed it became clear that there were wider potential applications for the type of flexible and accessible training units being designed for in-house purposes. The KTP project therefore ultimately led to the creation of a comprehensive programme of new and innovative PSI training courses, designed and validated by Leeds Beckett University.

The key objectives of the KTP project were achieved and, indeed, exceeded, within the approved 18-month duration. Not only was the core content created and structured into two separate courses, comprising two modules each that could be taken individually or together according to an individual's training needs, but both courses were fully validated by the university. Furthermore, as the delivery method was through an online platform, it meant that these courses could be made available to anyone meeting the entry criteria irrespective of whether they worked for that particular LSP or not. If the courses were completed and assessment criteria achieved they would lead to the award of a Level 4 Vocational Certificate in Interpreting and a Level 5 Vocational Diploma in interpreting.

The syllabus design and content development of the courses was led by university staff and the Vocational Certificate and Diploma were originally approved under its Short Course Accreditation Scheme in 2011. They were later refocused into a Continuous Professional Development Awards (CPDA) framework which replaced the previous Short Course Accreditation Scheme, following a review of the latter in January 2012. In that review the University Board concluded that credit-bearing awards

of less than 60 credits remained attractive for professional development in the industry and that the respective awards of Vocational Certificate (L4), Vocational Diploma (L5), were appropriate to meet market demand.

Aim and Objectives

Reflecting the needs of the LSP that provided the initial training stimulus the Vocational Certificate in Interpreting and Vocational Diploma in Interpreting were designed to improve the skills and knowledge of already practising interpreters, with limited experience and limited or no previous qualifications. The certificates' main aim was to enable practitioners or students to identify and explore the fundamental professional skills required for an interpreter to carry out their job within the legal framework that covers interpreting and to provide opportunities for them to practise and reflect on their performance. These courses also explored the need for individuals to undertake continuous personal and professional development to keep up to date and to continually enhance their employability.

As opposed to other available HE courses, these online courses were non-language-specific and indeed did not include assessed language practice. Core consecutive interpreting skills were developed theoretically and resources for individual or group practice were made available. Entry requirements for these levels included evidence of proficiency in at least two languages, one of them being English. In the case of English native speakers, a degree level in the foreign language was necessary, making these courses especially appropriate for recent language graduates whose degrees did not include any PSI content but some liaison interpreting practice. The four modules at levels 4 and 5 were ideal as options to be offered in years 1 and 2 of undergraduate courses. In the case of native speakers of other languages, a GCSE grade C in English or a grade of 6.0 in IELTS, with no skill below 5.5 (or equivalent), was needed. These are common English-language requirements for non-natives applying for a university degree in the UK, and so they ensure a good proficiency in English, in order to enable students to successfully follow a course in Higher Education.

Our aim, given the nature of the qualifications already on the market, was to complement the offer rather than to compete with other courses available. In particular, in the case of the CIoL Certificate in Bilingual Skills (L3) and DPSI (L6) the idea of being complementary seemed quite obvious: whilst the CIoL awards are language-based exams our new awards were non-language-specific courses based on developing professional standards in PSI practice. They focused on the development of a professional attitude and specific interpreting skills—as linguistic competence was a prerequisite for entry to the courses—and they offered interpreters with limited experience the possibility of starting or continuing their professional development.

Finally, the courses also filled a clear gap in the market, as previously there were no or very few courses available at levels 4 or 5 since the most common offer moved from Level 3 Community Interpreting, offered at colleges, to Level 6 DPSI—with some community interpreting courses benchmarked at level 4 and two of the five units of the DPSI at level 5.

Once the KTP came to an end, along with its allocated funding and the direct collaboration with the LSP, the university team secured new investments from the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) via their Higher Education Innovation Funding[7] (HEIF) programme to develop their own level 6 and 7 courses to complete the offer of CPD.

The Level 6 Professional Diploma in PSI and Level 7 Advanced Professional Diploma in PSI were designed with more experienced interpreters in mind. Language competence requirements were to be the same but in terms of professional experience applicants needed to have at least 100 h of work as a PSI and a qualification, whether it be the previous levels 4 and/or 5 of this suite, other community interpreting or CPD courses or a DPSI/DPI. These levels were also designed with undergraduate students in mind, to be offered as optional modules in years 3 and 4 of modern languages degrees and as introduction or foundation modules for a Master's in PSI.

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[7] http://www.hefce.ac.uk/kess/heif/.

As with the previous levels, the courses were divided into two modules each and delivered online, with mentoring and feedback provided by qualified language tutors. They included elements for the development of both professional and academic interpreting skills through an understanding of the industry sector, the specific skills that need to be used and applied in different PSI contexts, and the ability to reflect and undertake continuous personal and professional development. In the case of the level 7 course students were introduced to academic research on PSI and encouraged to contribute to this body of knowledge from their very practical perspective as practising interpreters. In this way, they were guided towards developing an ability to present, evaluate and interpret qualitative and quantitative data in order to produce lines of argument and make sound judgements in accordance with the basic theories and concepts of interpreting. All of these high-level competencies corresponded to the levels of achievement required for HE awards at the appropriate levels.

Content Development

The Course Development Team (CDT) for the courses was composed of staff from Leeds Beckett and an associate representative from the collaborating LSP for Levels 4 and 5. In order to ensure that the content contained within the CPD courses was current and appropriate, the CDT also engaged with various external subject matter experts in interpreting. These included lecturers at other HEIs, interpreter trainers', end users of interpreting in various fields such as the Refugee Council Yorkshire and Leeds Teaching Hospitals, and interpreters working in all areas of PSI. Finally, as required by HE regulations, the university contracted independent experienced and expert academics as External Examiners to oversee and ultimately endorse the overall quality of the provision at its point of validation and during its operation.

As it is common practice at UK universities all four courses were validated by a team of internal and external academics and industry experts. Likewise, all modules were reviewed at least once a year by an External Examiner who is an academic in the same field at a different university. Language academics at Leeds Beckett also acted as External Examiners

for other institutions and as such experienced many opportunities to share good practice and ideas with colleagues across the UK, the fruits of which they subsequently brought into this project.

The development of the courses took into account the CiLT National Operating Standards in Interpreting and this can be seen in the lists of topics included in each module and course. Students are required to discuss intercultural concepts and problems as a major part of the course, reflecting on the effect that such issues have on their professional career as interpreters. They are also required to demonstrate knowledge of interpreting theories and develop the ability to critically evaluate these theories in relation to their professional experience.

The decision to produce non-language-specific modules was not an arbitrary one. Leeds Beckett is one of the few institutions in the UK teaching over 15 different languages and many of the language tutors are or have been interpreters as well. Hence, it could be said that the university was well placed to develop the language component. However, as we have seen in the previous section, the lack of availability in certain language-pairs is consistent throughout the provision and this represents one of the main barriers to the delivery of PSI courses generally. It would not have been different at Leeds Beckett, had the courses been language specific; we would have experienced the same difficulty in identifying tutors offering all of the languages required by the sector. Furthermore, even if tutors were available for all languages it may still have been impossible to meet minimum thresholds for financial viability with possibly low student cohort numbers. In addition, it is worth remembering that among the main reasons for developing these courses and delivering them online was the aim to make them accessible to the widest number of applicants, specifically speakers of rare languages, and in a format that was flexible and economically viable to applicants. Hence, our decision to remove all language-specific barriers to the courses.

However, in order to avoid the risky consequence of language not being practised at all. After extensive consultation with language experts and end users, it was decided that language would not be assessed in the courses, but that it would be developed. There would be certain prerequisites regarding the level of language competence of the applicants as detailed above and opportunities would be offered for language proficiency to be

developed independently. Language practice was facilitated via a series of independent and pair-work activities taking place in the course forum or using SCIC, the Speech Repository of the European Commission.[8] SCIC is a tool developed to practice interpreting training and consists of a "*vast collection of speeches, on varying subjects and with different styles,* [and] *contains real-life speeches which have been collected from national institutions and international organisations*" (European Commission, 2015 [Online]). Although the tool was originally developed with conference interpreters in mind, the fact that it provides practice in consecutive as well as in simultaneous mode, and that material covers 24 languages in very varied topics and registers, makes it an excellent method for PSI interpreters to practice their language skills.

Teaching and Learning Approach and Delivery Mode

All the courses in the suite were designed in accordance with Leeds Beckett's overarching Learning and Teaching Strategy and tailored specifically to online, independent learning. As is most common in courses designed for mature, working professional students, the teaching and learning approach of the courses was based on the Reflective Learner model. Following the experience of Skaaden and Wattne in developing an internet-based PSI course for the university of Oslo, we also opted for Kolb's model and the experiential learning theory, which means that "*the students and their experiences are the main resource in learning*" (Skaane & Wattne, 2009).

This approach seemed the most appropriate choice given the nature of the course: CPD, part-time and delivered entirely online. Unlike Skaaden and Wattne's course, which was a combination of on-campus and online classes (2009:77), all our teaching was delivered online and adapted for self-paced study in order to maximise the flexibility of the delivery. There were optional seminars and networking events organised on campus, but attendance at these was not required to progress through and complete the course.

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[8] http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/scic/cooperation-with-universities/speech_repository.htm.

Throughout the course students were required to relate all the theory, information, advice, guidance and opportunities for analysis it provided to their own experience within their professional practice. At the same time, they were closely supported by personal tutors rather than module tutors, who were the second major resource—after their own reflective practice—in facilitating the academic and personal development of the student. Each student was assigned a personal tutor who remained with them through the whole course. The role of the tutor was mainly to stimulate reflection and provide guidance on how to do so in a structured and valuable manner.

Whilst the majority of the learning was student-led, students were also able to participate in pair and group activities thus fostering networking between interpreting professionals. Interpreters quite often become isolated due to the nature of their profession, and this is one of the issues that our courses tackled. Despite not being all in a common physical space, the online environment was used to encourage interaction both with fellow students and with other peers within the interpreting industry in order to complete group and individual projects and research. Students were encouraged to undertake peer assessment and give feedback, enabling them to critically assess both their own and others' performance. They were also expected to maintain their independent learning portfolio and to demonstrate their commitment to their professional development.

Through the logically structured course units and modules students developed their knowledge, their ability to apply that knowledge and their ability to develop themselves personally and professionally. At the same time they improved their IT skills, their independent study skills, their communication skills and their networking with other professionals in the sector.

The portfolio was the main tool for assessment as well as for learning, as it provided plenty of opportunities to undertake formative assessment and receive constant feedback from their tutors. Summative assessment was also used but it was shaped very similarly to the formative, in the form of short reflective essays responding to a series of questions arising from a given scenario. In this way, students could maximise the feedback they received from their tutors.

The obvious main benefit of choosing online delivery was that of allowing professional interpreters to engage with our training courses irrespective of their geographical location or their work commitments. Moreover, students on this course benefited from innovative distance learning methods as the teaching, learning and assessment materials were all produced specifically to be effective via a purpose-built Virtual Learning Environment (VLE). Students initially progressed through the modules in a linear way but were also able to return to any part of the course that had already been covered for review and clarification at any time.

The VLE that hosted Leeds Beckett's courses was not the university standard VLE. It was created during the KTP project and its development and management was undertaken mainly by our LSP partner. The purpose of creating a dedicated VLE that would continue to be used in the future by both the university and the LSP partners was twofold: on the one hand, to offer a much more appropriate tool than the university's VLE, for the simple reason that it was built from scratch for the specific course materials and delivery mode, alongside the development of the contents for each module, therefore allowing a perfect synchronisation between the demands of the contents and the learning activities and the offer of the VLE. At every step, the appropriate applications, tools and add-ons were selected so that the website would be completely tailor-made for the course.

On the other hand, separating the delivery of the courses from the websites of both collaborators gave the project its own entity and made it easier to showcase without the influence—positive or negative—of the affiliated parties.

Through the VLE students accessed course descriptions, information—in the form of handbooks and instructions—content, documents, materials, resources, a personal blog, various forums and a student area which provided the opportunity to exchange experiences with their peers on the course and "socialise" in a more relaxed way and in a different space from that in whch they collaborated on their assignments.

Although the courses were validated following the very strict quality assurance procedures of the university, which included the support of two experts acting as external reviewers, we were obviously also interested in

achieving industry recognition. We contacted the NRPSI and the main professional bodies to introduce the courses and discuss how they would fit into the current offer. Unfortunately, despite experiencing significant positive collaboration and support from colleagues at other institutions, local public services and some private LSPs whilst developing the courses, we also experienced criticism and negative reaction from some quarters. Among complaints were that the names of our courses, especially the L5 Vocational Diploma in PSI and the L6 Professional Diploma in PSI created quite a lot of confusion. We responded to this by reminding detractors that the term "Diploma" in the level 5, 6 and 7 courses was imposed by the National Qualifications Framework, in the same way that our level 4 course had to be termed a "Certificate". Confident of not just the validity of our courses but the conviction that they contributed to the sector by meeting needs not met elsewhere, we corresponded or held meetings with any party prepared to listen to us and eventually started to gain momentum at a national level, including receiving the endorsement of the Institute of Translation and Interpreting (ITI).

Key Issues Arising from the KTP and Lessons Learned

The development and delivery of this suite of CPD courses for PSIs was, on the whole, an extremely positive and enriching experience. We benefited greatly from it and so present a summary of those lessons we learned in the hope that they can be of use to others embarking on similar projects.

As with any collaboration, even within the same industry, there will be differences in the expectations, management styles, interests and engagement of the parties involved. In our case, one of the main difficulties was the ponderous, inflexible and highly bureaucratic route that universities generally have to follow in order to approve new courses. In terms of the investment in time, the lengthy timescales involved in course approvals are far from ideal when working with private LSPs or other companies, which move much faster when it comes to creating innovation

and bringing products to the market. Likewise, the quality assurance procedures of the university created yet another point of friction: the requirement for external assessors and examiners to be involved when they represented existing or potential competitors in the marketplace conflicted with the commercial sensitivity of the LSP.

Limiting financial investment, controlling costs and delivering profitability are clear and understandable priorities for all private LSPs and, increasingly, for UK universities, since education policy now dictates they must run along basically corporate lines, with schools and departments seen as "profit centres". This situation contributed to difficulties in achieving the highest possible standard of creation and delivery of the courses, for example, in areas such as the number of hours of online contact each student could have with their personal tutor.

In the aftermath of any externally funded project, agreements have to be signed specifying what happens with the resulting product after the collaboration ends. Ideally, the collaboration results in an autonomous product that would continue to exist after the project finishes, that would be marketable and saleable and produce income, and hopefully profit, to be shared by the collaborators. However, that is not the case for training courses as they cannot be produced and stored until sold. They need to be continuously managed, updated, marketed and delivered. The collaboration therefore needs to continue beyond the initial agreement for the survival of the courses. In our case, Leeds Beckett University tutors assessed the students and delivered the content, which was also updated and periodically reviewed by the university. However, the VLE was owned and managed by the LSP. Our experience was that, after the KTP project finished, communication between the collaborating institutions started to break down, causing significant issues affecting course marketing, students, tutors and course administrators.

This situation, in turn, led to a degree of confusion and, ultimately, a lack of engagement among some students. However, this lack of engagement is not all to be blamed on the communication issues between staff in the collaborating institutions. Sadly, it is still common in education that online courses are perceived by students as less serious, less real and less valuable than face-to-face ones, hence, making it easier for course participants to disconnect. Given the current

panorama at universities and the proliferation of online modules, courses Massive Online Open Courses (MOOCs) and full degrees we feel that this perceived lower status of online learning may reduce in the years to come as it grows to be increasingly accepted and valued.

Despite some negative experiences, several features of the course were consistently praised by students, External Examiners and the tutors working on them, namely:

- The flexibility offered by online, independent learning modules;
- The flexibility of having four starting dates and entry points a year;
- The interconnectedness and coherence of the modules and courses;
- The fact that the courses could all be taken independently and each led to an independent award;
- The quality of the teaching materials;
- The expertise of the tutors;
- The availability of language resources, even with a lack of language assessment;
- And last but not least, the price, as we managed to keep fees down and thus achieve the very specific objective of making them represent a viable investment for entry into a profession where pay rates are under considerable downward pressure.

Unfortunately, despite their sound academic foundation and the fact that they met a very real and identified market need, Leeds Beckett University decided that their online PSI courses would be phased out from 2015 and no new students enrolled. This decision on the part of the university mirrored their decision to withdraw all their applied language degree courses from 2013. As mentioned above, the editors can only speculate as to whether Leeds Beckett University would have had a more positive and progressive attitude to the delivery of interpreting, and perhaps language courses in general, if the industry were perceived as a true profession. Perhaps those leading the professionalisation of interpreters and linguists in general should analyse how those representing the disciplines of marketing or public relations have presented themselves in recent decades.

Conclusions

In the first section of this chapter, and following Tseng's model, we pointed out a number of issues that we believe should be addressed by all stakeholders in the PSI industry in order to promote its professionalisation. Such issues, related to the role of the interpreter, the role of professional associations, provision for the training of interpreters, trainers and end users, regulation of quality standards and the ethical code, and the legal recognition of the profession, have all been highlighted by various researchers for many years now (Corsellis, 2008; De Pedro Ricoy, Pérez, & Wilson, 2009; Mikkelson, 1996a, 1996b; Roda, 1994; Tseng, 1992) yet the industry in the UK, and in most other countries, remains seriously fragmented and these issues continue to be current. The following are our conclusions and recommendations derived from observation and experience of the industry, framed within the already existing research.

The Role of the Interpreter

Traditionally, the role of the interpreter was defined by its invisibility and many training courses still describe it in this way. However, the reality is that interpreters are also people affected by the circumstances of the interpreting event as much as the interlocutors are. Although the interpreter may not quite be another interlocutor in the dialogue, they are indeed a participant in a significant communicative event; a participant who is filtering the message both ways and who is also partly responsible for the construction of the meaning of such messages. Wadensjö (1998) describes interpreting as a dialogical process where meaning is indeed created by all participants and refers to the "Gate-Keeper" role of PSIs in society.

De Pedro Ricoy refers to Angelelli's contribution to the third edition of the Critical Link conference in Vancouver in 2001, when the latter made a case for the acknowledgement of the visibility of the interpreter, which she then developed in *Revisiting the Interpreter's Role* (2004). De Pedro Ricoy goes on to summarise current changes in attitude in relation to the perceived role of the interpreter and what research can do for it:

It is well-known that the (in)visibility of translators and interpreters became a focus of scholarly work in the fields in the latter part of the 20th century; however, it is important to underscore the importance of examining translation and interpreting in the public services as mediated communication, and to leave aside notions that translators and interpreters are neutral conduits, since their interactions play a crucial role in the communicative event 2009 (it is De Pedro´s 2009, not Mikkelson's).

The author refers to the need to educate both end users and interpreters themselves into accepting this new definition of the role, given the fact that in our modern and globalised world the need for interpreters is expanding enormously. It is perhaps time to look at what actually happens in practice before prescribing what such roles should be like. In certain areas of PSI, especially in healthcare, the idea of the interpreter as an advocate is more frequent. In the USA and Canada health interpreters are trained to be advocates and in the UK the term "bilingual advocates" is also being used. Whilst there are ethical issues provoked by the notion of the interpreter as advocate and this concept cannot be equally applied to all interpreting scenarios across the board in PSI, it is true that we seem to be moving away from the idea of the interpreter as a machine that translates conversations between people who speak different languages in a word-for-word fashion (Bot, 2009).

The Role of the Professional Associations and Registers

As described by the NRPSI on their website, the role of professional bodies and registers should be that of setting standards and providing quality assurance procedures. However, this may not be of much use if such standards are not equally acknowledged by all stakeholders. Many authors (Corsellis, 2008; De Pedro Ricoy et al., 2009; Hale, 2007; Pöchhacker, 2004; Wandensjö, 1999) highlight the importance of professional associations and registers when it comes to setting standards to regulate the profession. Although the influence of such associations is wide in the UK, the fact that a professional registration is not necessary to work as an interpreter there undermines the practitioner's power and their status as a professional.

Corsellis (2008) suggests the creation of a professional language body, which should be not-for-profit to avoid conflicts of interest. She also points out that "*there are differences in function between membership, regulation and qualification within the overall structure of any one profession*" (2008:90) and so she suggests that three separate bodies perform these tasks.

Based on their own analysis of the industry in Scotland in 2006 Pérez and Wilson (2009) propose a model where training, professional representation and research are all managed by different departments, with a single unit to be in charge of quality control, monitoring, standards and accreditation.

Whether the long-established experience of certain bodies within the UK (NRPSI, ITI, CIoL and the DPSI) becomes the base of a similar system to be created, or whether it is decided that new agencies perform these tasks, what is urgently needed in the UK is a steering group composed of representatives from all types of stakeholder but led by professional associations to achieve government support in the process of standardising of training, qualifications, ethical codes, registration and recognition of PSIs.

Finally, there is a role that has been overlooked by some authors but highlighted by many others (Mikkelson, 2009; Pérez & Wilson, 2009), which should be performed by professional bodies and registers since they are often the 'middleman' between interpreters and their employers: the education of public services providers and other end users of interpreters. There seems to be a huge lack of awareness about the interpreting profession, and more often than not end users confuse bilingualism or mere language proficiency with translation and interpreting skills. In the same way that a GP is not a surgeon although they are both doctors, a language teacher, for example, is not an interpreter and should not be expected to perform like one.

Training

There have long been complaints that training for PSIs is inadequate. As Tseng's model shows, training is one of the foundation steps of professionalising an industry. A key obstacle currently, as well as the lack of

availability of training, is the lack of training transparency. There is no set curriculum of what a PSI needs to know and training is haphazard. Many recommendations for a training curriculum have been put forward, such as the CILT NOSI in 2006, and more recently the ISO 13611:2014 and BS ISO 13611, as well as EULITA's AWI: ISO 20228 draft for an ISO in legal interpreting in 2015. However, few places that provide PSI training can be seen to be adhering strictly to these guidelines. In fact, most PSI training is aimed at preparing PSIs for the DPSI, which seems to concentrate mainly on procedures in various sectors, and not so much on the actual interpreting techniques, code of ethics and derived issues.

A further major issue is that to provide practice opportunities for PSI during a training scenario requires the use of a trainer who is able to speak the language, but these are not always available. However, we would like to advocate that PSI training can be delivered in one working language (in this case, English) to teach the fundamentals of interpreting, relying on the integrity of the interpreting students themselves to want to put their training into practice and develop their self-assessment capabilities. This curriculum could then be enhanced with language-specific modules where available, but having a single, core curriculum will upskill the large majority of interpreters, providing a stable basis for interpreting encounters. With a consensus on standardised contents and a common language to deliver core interpreting modules on professional skills, it should be possible to create a nucleus for a national syllabus that could then be delivered at different institutions throughout the country, at both FEIs and HEIs. Furthermore, if these modules, as well as the language-specific practical modules, were made available in an online version by establishing a true collaboration between different institutions in the education sector and by making the most of ICT, then a standardised training package could be accessible from virtually every corner of the country within a relatively short timescale.

A consortium model, which is already very common in Master's and PhD courses worldwide, could be applied to PSI training provision. Different modules could be offered by different institutions, providing a much wider choice of specialisms and languages for interpreters-to-be. This model would not be new to most universities since it has been used now for several years in postgraduate and undergraduate courses, as internationalisation has

become a key priority for most HEIs. In fact, seeking international collaboration could be the key to solving the problem of a shortage of trainers in certain languages. This consortium model is similar to the idea of establishing a community of practice which was presented by Graham in the PSTI report commissioned by Routes into Languages in 2012.

Continuing Professional Development (CPD) programmes are widely used in the training of PSIs and are recognised as a valuable tool by HEIs and FEIs, researchers (Corsellis, 2008; Mikkelson, 2013), professional bodies, LSPs and various recent reports such as the *The Optimity Matrix Review*[9] (2014) which highlighted three important points. Firstly, that CPD is perceived by all stakeholders as important and necessary; secondly, that the current Framework Agreement includes a suitable programme for delivering CPD to court interpreters, although it does not appear to have been implemented; and finally, it voices the opinion of some stakeholders who think that the delivery of CPD should not be left to commercial agents. Along the same lines, Mikkelson argues that conflicts of interest are frequent when CPD is left in the hands of private LSPs since "*some language service companies have been known to pass most or all candidates, regardless of their actual abilities, motivated by a desire to attract more clients by boasting of a large staff of "certified" interpreters*" (2013 [Online]). Therefore, we suggest that CPD, like all other training, remains within the realm of HEIs and FEIs.

Finally, as in the Swedish model, an overarching body could manage a single, unified exam to gain official accreditation as an interpreter once all the necessary qualifications have been obtained through postgraduate or CPD courses.

This notion leads us onto considering the role of the national government. For, as long as there is no regulation of the training or the accreditation procedures, and especially until the title of the profession is protected by law, interpreters will lack professional recognition from society, the status of the profession will not improve, working conditions and fees will be left to be decided by private LSPs and this will lead to

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[9] *The Independent Review of Quality Arrangements under the MoJ Language Services Framework Agreement* was commissioned by the Ministry of Justice to an independent consultant (Optimity Advisors) and published in November 2014.

fewer and fewer people being attracted to a profession for which demand is constant or rising. Whilst the idea of establishing a national framework for PSI which would provide professional standards may be well received, leaving it to be managed by commercial LSPs may not be the best solution, as the situation in the UK since 2012 has demonstrated.

The Professional Interpreters for Justice (PI4J) Manifesto and Statement (2015)[10] advises that a working group must be set up to examine the feasibility of the introduction of statutory protection for the title of Public Service Interpreter. Looking at researchers' reports on experiences from different countries it seems that the next logical step would be for a working group, composed of representatives from all stakeholders in the profession, to advise not only on the statutory protection of the title but also on a national framework for training and qualifications, benchmarked to the already existing standards for PSI and which should be overseen by an independent registration body similar to the NRPSI.

A second very important contribution from the government should be the commitment to invest in the PSI industry. Funding for training is especially key. As we have seen, a common problem for all PSI courses is the fact that they are expensive to run and quite often are not financially viable for the institutions delivering them. With the progressive withdrawal of government funding in the past decade, language-related undergraduate university courses have diminished in number enormously. PSI is at the crossroads of two topics that have attracted a lot of political debate lately: languages and immigration. Despite the fact that multiculturalism and multilingualism are a reality and a significant issue in the UK, recent governments seem to have preferred to ignore it and, unfortunately for all of stakeholders in the languages sector, it is highly unlikely that the industry can achieve good standards of professionalisation without the required financial and legal support from government institutions.

To sum up, the following will be needed in order to professionalise the PSI industry in the UK:

- Investment and legal support from the government to fund training and to protect the title of Public Service Interpreter;

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[10] Available from the SOMI website: http://somiukltd.com/blog/.

- A steering group led by professional bodies but composed of representatives from all stakeholder groups to work on achieving an official qualification, leading to a protected title and granting access to a single, national register for qualified interpreters;
- Collaboration between HEIs and FE to develop and deliver standardised and accessible training.

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4

Stakeholders' Guide and Handbook

Katherine Dagleish

Interpreting Qualifications and Continuous Professional Development

Becoming a professional interpreter in general, and especially becoming a public service interpreter can be a lengthy process that requires many years of education and training. PSIs work with a wide range of topics particularly in the legal, medical and social fields (Routes into Languages, 2015). Individuals wishing to become a professional interpreter need to have the necessary linguistic and cultural knowledge as well as a professional qualification. It is evident that excellent communication skills are essential to this role as well as the ability to understand the subtleties of written, verbal and also non-verbal information (e.g. body language) (Routes into Languages, 2015; The British Psychological Board, 2008). Unlike translators, who have the time to reflect on a word, it is crucial that interpreters are able to think of the right word with spontaneity to maintain the flow of the dialogue and avoid any uncomfortable silences that may lead the other parties to doubt the accuracy of the interpreting. Affordable Language Services concur, stating that:

The issue may not be that the applicant is not fluent, but rather accuracy and knowledge of medical terminology, or a memory which is not as sharp as what's required of an interpreter (Affordable Language Services, 2013).

Interpreting does not simply mean that someone has to repeat what the service provider or client is saying. Interpreters need to convey an accurate message to both parties at an acceptable speed that helps enhance the health, well-being and social inclusion of a diverse community (Affordable Language Services, 2013).

However, it must be noted that one of the most important skills required by interpreters is not necessarily their linguistic skill, but the ability to remain impartial at all times. As stated by Routes into Languages

the role of a translator/interpreter is that of an impartial mediator who facilitates communication between people who could not otherwise understand each other (Routes into Languages, 2015).

Interpreters have to understand both the service user, who usually speaks very little or no English, and the service provider (e.g. health professional, immigration advisor or solicitor) in order to remain professional at all times (Routes into Languages, 2015). The University of Oxford (2015) also states that interpreters need to be good public speakers, have the ability to remain calm when they are under pressure, be good note-takers and have tact and diplomacy skills. They also suggest that other common skills required by linguists include research and analytical skills, good cultural awareness and being professional as well as flexible and adaptable.

Current professional interpreter qualifications and/or assessments include the Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (DPSI) and the Diploma in Police Interpreting (DPI) (previously known as the Metropolitan Police Test), which, as mentioned in Chaps. 1 and 2, are both assessed by the Chartered Institute for Linguists (CIoL). These assessments are based upon tasks that are routinely carried out by PSIs and include consecutive and simultaneous interpreting, sight translations and written translations (CIoL, 2015d). Some Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) also offer first or second degrees in interpreting (UCAS, 2015). Holding these qualifications can eventually lead to joining the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (NRPSI), the UK's independent voluntary regulatory

body for PSIs, although partial or full membership of this register also requires an applicant to evidence up to 400 h of practice.

Are Qualifications Fit for Purpose?

Chapter 5 is correct of this book gives a detailed but personal account of whether the current DPSI award makes provision for the appropriate type of skills, knowledge and assessment that would make it wholly fit for purpose. In this chapter, we consider the wider issue of whether existing qualifications are fit for purpose by reference to Public Service Interpreter Survey (PSI Survey) that was carried out in 2014/15 and detailed in Chap. 1 of this book. When PSIs were asked in this survey how they viewed professional PSI qualifications such as the DPSI, Level 3 Community Interpreting test or Metropolitan Police Test (now the DPI), and whether these prepared them for their profession, some respondents felt that these qualifications were fit for purpose, stating that they were '*very useful*' (respondent 4), '*very good*' (respondent 10) or '*the best qualification for (…) public service*' (respondent 6).

However, the fact that most language graduates do not have the opportunity to complete interpreting modules and sit the CIoL assessments as part of their undergraduate studies should be addressed. As a result, most linguists who wish to become PSIs are required to complete a professional or postgraduate interpreter qualification after their first degree (De Pedro Ricoy, 2010:104). Where possible, as an additional option to the year abroad activities (i.e. teaching abroad or studying abroad), Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) might consider offering their students the opportunity to complete an internship as an interpreter at a Language Service Provider (LSP) or with a charitable or other appropriate organisation. This would allow students to gain valuable and authentic experience in the industry and serve as an introduction to the workplace (Valero-Garcés, 2011), as well as help them decide whether they want to go into the profession. Respondent 13 concurs, stating that the DPSI is:

> A good sylabus (sic) provided it is taught by a dedicated language tutor will (sic) definitely prepare students to sit the DPSI exam. I believe any exam should be preceded by adequate training.

Respondent 1 agrees, suggesting that on-the-job training may give students access to the necessary information:

> I think the Community interpreting course is very useful and helpful when it comes to interpreting assignments, but as the services change so often, it is difficult to obtain the updated information. Furthermore, the community Interpreting course asks interpreters to do research on organisations that might be helpful, but the staff for those organisations are not willing to give out the necessary information.

If students had access to a placement or internship, they would be able to see first-hand how the organisation(s) work within the community. One Spanish HEI provides an example of good practice in interpreter training. They offer an interpreting course that requires all students to complete a practicum or internship within a public institution as part of their course. Student progression is monitored by two advisors, an academic advisor and an institutional advisor, who work in collaboration and submit reports on the students at various progression points. Institutional advisors are responsible for introducing, guiding and observing the students' work; academic advisors decide whether tasks or materials allocated to students are appropriate and evaluate their work and provide feedback. Finally, the academic and institutional advisors decide together what final mark should be awarded to the student.

Currently, 'would-be interpreters' could gain valuable experience prior to starting out as newly qualified PSIs by volunteering for charities dealing with individuals who may need their assistance, such as the Refugee Council (Routes into Languages, 2015; The University of Oxford, 2015). They could also shadow an experienced and qualified PSI through an LSP (Affordable Language Services, 2013) or the Careers Service/Enterprise Centre within some HEIs (The University of Hull Enterprise Centre, 2015). If a new interpreter has limited access to practical real-life training opportunities, this could determine whether they succeed in the profession or not. Indeed, Respondent 7 states that '*the [professional] qualifications are adequate, but true experience can only be gained by having continuous work*'. LSPs and other organisations that employ PSIs should therefore offer new interpreters the opportunity to shadow experienced PSIs and/or do internships or placements where this is appropriate.

Ongoing Professional Development

Because PSI is mostly a freelance profession, service users and LSPs do not always provide the same training or support they would offer their employees. Professional and ongoing development is therefore very important to PSIs (ITI, 2016a). Being a member of an association and/or being registered with an LSP can raise PSIs' awareness of the courses that are available to them. Access to Professional Development courses varies depending on the LSP and training provider. Some LSPs do not provide any training for their PSIs, whereas others will offer a certain level of mandatory training. Generally speaking, UK-based LSPs that provide training for their interpreters will not cover travel costs or the time spent attending the sessions, which can sometimes be difficult for PSIs. However, most US-based LSPs will pay interpreters for the time they spend completing mandatory online training sessions or webinars. Mandatory training sessions held by LSPs mostly cover issues related to confidentiality, dealing with difficult situations and child protection, which are important skills required by PSIs so that they can carry out their duties. Interpreters can also maintain their language skills by following current affairs, reading articles or watching films in their second language. By joining an association, PSIs also have the opportunity to attend training sessions, some of which are free of charge for members, thus maintaining their interpreting skills and allowing them to network (CIoL, 2015b; CIoL, 2015c; ITI, 2016a; ITI, 2016b; ITI, 2016c). In the PSI Survey, respondent 32 also suggested that '*public service providers may organise updated training and promote professionalism*'. However, probably due to budget cuts, public service providers currently offer very little training to PSIs, and maintaining their skills is mostly the responsibility of the interpreters themselves.

Interpreting can be a stressful and demanding job, especially PSI. PSIs therefore need the necessary coping mechanisms in order to be able to remain professional at all times. In his research into experienced and newly qualified PSIs' stress management skills, Celoch (2012:16) states that 78 % of expert PSIs still felt 'stage fright'. However, he added that pre-interpretation research was key as it helped interpreters cope with the demands of the job. Furthermore, due to the fact that public service and war interpreting often involved dealing with victims of torture, this could sometimes result in the interpreter dealing with emotionally trying content. Although many

interpreters find the role very rewarding, they can also feel lonely because there is no support mechanism available for them which could help them deal with upsetting cases (Celoch, 2012). This is because interpreters are unable to discuss their cases as they are bound by confidentiality, which can lead to burnout (Rana, Shah, & Chaudhuri, 2009). Rana et al. (2009) also conclude that there should be a support system available to PSIs. Having a safe environment where interpreters can discuss in confidence any aspect of a case that was disturbing is essential to the profession. Indeed, as part of the survey that was carried out for this research, respondent 1 stated that '*the PSI industry doesn't offer enough counselling for its interpreters*'. The British Psychological Society also advises its clinicians to:

> Be aware of the well-being of your interpreter and the possibility of your interpreter suffering from vicarious traumatisation; consider what support they will be offered. At the end of the session allocate 10 min to debrief the interpreter about the session and offer support and supervision as appropriate (The British Psychological Society, 2008).

Some of the mandatory training sessions offered to health professionals during their initial pre-registration training such as 'breaking bad news', 'conflict management' or 'disengagement techniques' (self-defence) would therefore be very useful to PSIs and could help alleviate some of the pressures that they experience as part of their job. Hence, it is important that end users, educational institutions, professional associations and LSPs work collaboratively in order to ensure that PSIs have all the skills and training required in order to provide a high standard service and succeed in their profession.

Setting Professional Standards

Interpreting is a highly skilled role, and is therefore not something that any person can 'slip into' (Pöchacker, 2000; Sande, 1998; Vasqyez & Javier, 1991). Currently, if PSIs wish to work in certain fields, such as the probation service, courts or prisons, it is essential that they hold a DPSI in Law (Avon and Somerset Police, 2007; Routes into Languages, 2015). In some legal cases, they may also be required to be a member of the NRPSI as this is used by some clients to ensure

interpreters' competences, reliability and security vetting (Avon and Somerset Police, 2007).

As stated by one of Manchester City Council's interpreters and translators: '*one mistake of ours can actually ruin somebody's life*' (Routes into Languages, 2015). Using family members who are unqualified interpreters can create issues with regard to confidentiality (Juckett, 2005). It is therefore not appropriate to ask family members or other professionals to carry out an interpreting assignment because they appear to have sign language skills or speak the same language as the client (The British Psychological Society, 2008).

The DPSI and DPI are viewed by most service users and PSIs as a good foundation and benchmarking system in order to guarantee a certain level of linguistic and professional competence (Avon and Somerset Police, 2007; Language Line Solutions, 2015; the British Psychological Society, 2008). In the survey that was carried out as part of this research, Respondent 11 concurred, stating that the DPSI was '*good enough to start with*'. But Respondent 8 claimed that '*each and every single [assessment] is slightly too easy to pass in my opinion*'. In contrast to this statement, the CIoL Chief Moderator's Report illustrates that the number of candidates passing all their assessments appears to be systematically low: usually around 25 % of the cohort are awarded the full DPSI each year and only 15.3 % were awarded the Diploma in 2012 (CIoL, 2013). Furthermore, the manner in which the CIoL currently assesses these skills should be scrutinised. If they were accountable to a government body that regulated the profession and validated the qualification, many questions would need to be answered, for example:

- Why is the pass rate so low?
- Why do candidates not receive any feedback, even when they request it; which brings into question the whole assessment process: If there is no feedback, were the assessments properly marked?
- Why do candidates have to pay more fees for their second attempt when other educational institutions do not charge students for re-sits?
- Why do candidates have to pay over £1000 to have their assessments second-marked?
- Why does Ofqual validate the qualification but not always respond adequately when a candidate disputes their result(s)?

- Why is it that candidates disputing their marks cannot take their case free of charge to an external body similar to the Office of the Independent Academic Adjudicator when the DPSI is a degree-level qualification?

Qualification, examination and assessment bodies such as Ofqual should therefore consider reviewing the assessment systems that are currently used by the CIoL. Allowing candidates to sit examinations without completing a preparatory course is not good practice, especially for semi-qualified interpreters who are currently working within the PSI industry. Instead, applicants should not be allowed to sit the examinations for the professional PSI qualifications unless they have completed the necessary course. Adding this criterion to the assessment of professional interpreting qualifications could increase the overall success rate of candidates' final assessments and improve the standards and quality of such qualifications. As mentioned in Chap. 3, however, current availability of DPSI exam preparation courses is patchy and they are frequently subject to closure through lack of demand. It may be that if it were compulsory to take such a course they would be more financially viable. Furthermore, this viability might be enhanced further if all courses did not have to be made 'language specific'.

Professional Bodies and Codes of Professional Conduct

Interpreters who are registered with various professional bodies such as (but not restricted to) the NRPSI, the CIoL, the Institute of Translation and Interpreting (ITI) or the Association of Police and Court Interpreters (APCI) will have signed and agreed to those organisations' particular codes of conduct. This is also the case for interpreters who sign up with an LSP, as most LSPs require their PSIs to sign a code of professional conduct. Issues can arise when dealing with several codes of conduct even though most of the professional behaviour detailed in these documents, such as confidentiality, professionalism and impartiality are obvious. As highlighted earlier, it would therefore be very helpful for PSIs as well as LSPs and end users if the professional code of conduct were to be standardised which was also discussed in Chap. 3 (p. 58). This would require interpreting to be regulated in a similar way to professions such as nursing and social work where prac-

titioners would be required to be registered with the appropriate professional body, in this case either the NRPSI or Council for the Advancement of Communication with Deaf People (CACDP). Indeed, as stated by Respondent 36 in this PSI survey: '*the code of practice and ethics of PSI must be one and only and all PSI [sic] should strictly abide by it*'. Respondent 7 adds that '*[there is a need for] statutory protection of [the job] title and excellent service for the public and government*'. The British Psychological Society goes further, claiming that:

> An established career structure for interpreters which acknowledges the important contribution that they make would help to ensure that they are adequately recognised and remunerated for the work which they do at the individual and organisational level (The British Psychological Society, 2008).

Having a single Code of Professional Conduct like *The Code,* which is used by the Nursing and Midwifery Council (NMC, 2015), would allow standards to be harmonised across the interpreting profession and ensure that all registered interpreters would be working to the same standard.

Is the Framework Agreement Fit for Purpose?

Under the Framework Agreement (FWA), the Ministry of Justice contracted out its interpreting and translation services to Applied Language Solutions, which was eventually bought out by Capita Translation and Interpreting (Capita TI), for 5 years on 31 October 2011. Prior to this, the provision of interpreting and translation services was managed by the National Agreement (NA), which was established in 1999. The NA required PSIs to be registered with the NRPSI or CACDP and complied with Articles 5 and 6 of the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) (The Justice Committee, 2012) and also reflects in other international documents such as Article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Article 55 of the Rome Statute (Gallai, 2012:141). This included '*the right to be informed in a language one understands of the reasons for arrest*' and the right to '*a fair trial, incorporating the right to have the free assistance of an interpreter*'. However, since the implementation of the FWA, various aspects of the service have been brought into question. These include the quality of interpreting, hidden

costs associated with poor interpreting and reliability and compliance with the ECHR (The Justice Committee, 2012). These concerns had been raised on numerous occasions by courts, their clients and PSIs. Many PSIs refused to work under the FWA's terms, which led to an increase in the use of unqualified interpreters (Professional Interpreters for Justice, 2014). The NRPSI is a trusted register that aims to ensure the quality of the service provided by PSIs (NRPSI 2015a; NRPSI, 2016b). However, unlike other professions such as nursing, it is a voluntary register, which means that not all PSIs work to the same standard. Currently, Capita TI has three different tiers that it uses to evaluate PSIs' linguistic competences and whether they have the necessary skills to be employed as interpreters, as detailed in Chap. 3 (pp 47). At the very least, their PSIs require a Level 3 certificate as a community interpreter (Capita TI, 2015). Although having a 'three tier competence' classification system that assesses interpreters' skills means that new PSIs are able to gain the necessary experience, there is also a risk of unqualified or semi-qualified PSIs being used in criminal cases. This type of practice is inappropriate as a single mistake made by an interpreter could potentially lead to a miscarriage of justice. In order to avoid sending unqualified PSIs, Capita TI should adopt a 'back-up alliance system' with other LSPs, in case any requests are unanswered by their own PSIs (Limited English Proficiency 2015). By drawing up a service level agreement with their back-up alliance partners, Capita TI and other LSPs can ensure that they are providing the same standard of interpreting to their end users should they require the services of a PSI who is registered with a different LSP. This type of practice would therefore reduce the risk of interpreter mistakes, thus helping to avoid miscarriages of justice.

Interpreter Monitoring

Professional bodies and LSPs set out the expected standards in terms of professional conduct, competences and qualifications (APCI, 2010a; Avon and Somerset Police, 2007; CACDP; CIoL, 2015a; CIoL, 2015c; ITI, 2016c; ITI, 2016d; NRPSI, 2015b). It is therefore important that PSIs meet those standards in order to ensure their professional accountability. Furthermore, any political, religious, gender or cultural issues will

also need to be addressed in order to ensure that the interpreter remains impartial. LSPs should also be BS EN ISO9001 2008 certified. Aims to ensure the quality of the service they deliver, which includes the recruitment and selection of linguists, monitoring the performance of interpreters as well as customer feedback systems (Language Line Solutions, 2015). Most LSPs, including Capita TI, now use some form of interpreter monitoring. This usually involves the end user completing a feedback sheet regarding various aspects of interpreter performance, including professional behaviour, punctuality and linguistic competences.

Where it is believed that a PSI or LSP has breached a professional standard or that a professional obligation has not been met, the end user should raise the issue with the necessary organisation or Registration Panel (e.g. NRSPI, CACDP or LSP). The complaint should state in as much detail as possible the behaviour that gave rise to the complaint, and set out the basis upon which the PSI or LSP was employed. An appropriate disciplinary panel (e.g. NRPSI, CACDP or LSP) would then consider the professional standard and/or behaviour of the PSI or LSP against whom the complaint was made and would take appropriate action. If the PSI or LSP belongs to any other professional bodies, it may also be necessary to make a complaint to these agencies (Avon and Somerset Police, 2007).

Similarly to teachers, nurses, social workers and other registered professions, PSIs need to remain professional at all times, even outside of work (NMC, 2015). With the rise in social media, PSIs need to ensure that they do no post or publish anything inappropriate that could bring into question their professional suitability (e.g. something confidential) (Luccarelli, Keil, Hof, & Hermo, 2013). Avon and Somerset Police (2007) go further, stating that an agency or individual should report the situation to the necessary organisation when a PSI is

> (…) known or perceived as being involved with or expressing sympathies towards proscribed organisations, criminal individuals or organised crime groups, terrorist activity in the UK or abroad, or anything liable to affect UK national security or interests. In these instances [Criminal Justice System] agencies should consider the Data Protection Act 1998 and Data Protection (Processing of Sensitive Personal Data) Order 2000, which set out the circumstances in which sensitive personal data may be disclosed.

It is therefore essential that PSIs remain non-partisan and professional at all times, and that they report any alleged misconduct to the appropriate organisation(s).

Costs of Training, Continuous Professional Development and Accreditation

Although CPD costs may be reasonable, interpreter accreditation and professional registration costs can be high and deter some 'would be interpreters' from entering the profession (De Pedro Ricoy, 2010:104).

Completing a DPSI or DPI can cost in excess of £1200, with no guarantee of passing the final assessments that are marked by the CIoL. Various HEIs colleges and training companies offering DPSI preparatory courses claim that over 80 % of their students pass all the assessments at first attempt, suggesting that enrolling on such a course increases a candidate's likelihood of success. Candidates who decide to sit the assessments for one of the CIoL's professional qualifications should therefore consider completing a preparatory course prior to attempting this. Although it ensures a certain standard of interpreting, the fact that the pass rate is so low brings into question the costs of the actual assessments. As stated by a DPSI candidate in 2012: 'If such pass rates were produced in schools, colleges or HEIs, the institution(s) would be under investigation and teacher(s) or module leader(s) would be put through the capability procedure'.

Although the UK has an independent governing body for interpreters, the NRPSI, it is not compulsory for PSIs to be registered with this organisation in order for them to practise. Indeed, PSIs are not currently required to hold a licence in order to be practitioners in the UK. Moreover, applying for membership can be a lengthy and difficult process that requires applicants to provide evidence of up to 400 h of practice and professional qualification(s), as well as an up-to-date DBS check. Currently, interim or full membership also costs £209.10 per year for one language, and £56 for each additional language (NRPSI, 2016a). Similarly, other professional bodies such as the ITI, CIOL and APCI require their members to support their competences by providing evidence of professional practice and/or professional qualifications. Depending on the level of

membership, applicants may also be required to complete an assessment. Applicants must also pay a fee for such assessments, and should they be successful, they will also be required to pay an annual membership fee thereafter.

As well as completing relevant professional qualifications and joining professional bodies, most PSIs also have professional indemnity insurance. This insurance is available from some professional bodies such as ITI as well as insurance companies. These policies cover PSIs should they be pursued for an error or omission in their work (e.g. breach of confidentiality or a mistake that leads to a miscarriage of justice). Clients also prefer PSIs who have professional indemnity insurance: it reinforces the fact that they take responsibility for their actions and are professional (Stelmaszak, 2012).

There are several issues regarding the training and ongoing costs associated with the PSI profession. Firstly, all of the initial and ongoing costs associated with this career path could deter some would-be interpreters from joining the profession and lead them to choose another career, thus resulting in a loss of talent within the PSI industry. Secondly, this could result in semi-qualified interpreters, such as those who hold a first degree in a modern language, not paying all the fees associated with the profession, but continuing to interpret in the public service arena, therefore reducing the overall standards of the PSI profession.

It is of significant concern to professional interpreters and many other stakeholders that as each new major contract for PSI provision drives down the fees paid to interpreters fewer will be attracted into or be able to continue in the industry due to the costs of training, accreditation, professional membership fees and insurance. LSPs who focus on offering reduced prices to gain these major contracts and yet also undertake to deliver the highest quality service will find it increasingly difficult to hire the services of truly competent and experienced interpreters. This short-term view, taken by both the LSPs and the major clients that negotiate ever lower prices for their interpreting services, is highly detrimental to the industry. Clearly the LSPs will make greater profit in the short term (and the end users will save money) but what is their strategy for the longer term? Already it has become apparent that significant 'hidden costs' are being incurred due to the scarcity of true professional interpreters in some languages in some locations.

End Users

PSIs' services are mostly required by health, legal and immigration organisations. It is therefore essential that interpreters who are employed within these sectors, especially in criminal proceedings, meet the European Convention of Human Rights obligations. Professional registration with the NRPSI or CACDP provides important safeguards as to the interpreter's competencies, security vetting and reliability. Thus, it is good practice to use the NRPSI or the CACDP when booking an interpreter, especially PSIs involved in Criminal Justice cases.

When booking an interpreter, the end user should also make the PSI or LSP aware of the duration and context of the appointment or hearing (Avon and Somerset Police2007). If it is likely to be a long process, for instance a trial, or an interpretation on a labour ward, the end user should consider whether they are likely to need a second PSI to take over. Furthermore, end users need to ensure that they accommodate their PSI's needs for regular breaks due to the concentration and intensity of their job, thus ensuring the accuracy of the interpreting (Avon and Somerset Police, 2007).

Tribe (1999) claims that improvements can be made to services by using effective guidelines and providing the appropriate training to practitioners as well as interpreters. Experienced PSIs are more likely to recognise this need and advocate training for themselves as well as the professionals for whom they interpret (Granger & Baker, 2003). For example, PSIs are rarely provided training for mental health work. It is therefore important for clinicians to organise a pre-session meeting with the PSI in order to explain the objectives of the meeting, share relevant background information and establish a relationship (The British Psychological Society, 2008). This could also include involving PSIs in certain service area meetings, such as those attended by service users and carers. By having a better awareness of the service area, PSIs will have a better understanding of how they can contribute to the service delivery and provision as well as gain a better understanding of the work they undertake (Raval, 2003; Raval & Smith, 2005; Tribe & Morrissey, 2003).

It should also be noted that some clients may feel uncomfortable with an interpreter being present. This could be due to cultural background, for example where a female client requires a female interpreter, which

can be requested when booking a PSI. They may also have concerns about confidentiality and personal details reaching other members of their community resulting in them feeling embarrassed. It may therefore be necessary for the practitioner to introduce the PSI to the client at the beginning of the meeting, explaining that they are impartial and are bound by the confidentiality policy of the agency and their professional body (if they are a member) (The National Psychological Society, 2008).

PSIs can also be put under considerable pressure by clients to take on other roles, for example being involved in advocacy on their behalf. But these pressures can be managed by clearly defining the boundaries of the PSI's role as well as the limitations of their responsibility to the client (Razban, 2003; Tribe & Morrissey, 2003).

Remote Interpreting

Telephone and video interpreting is widely used by most public service organisations, for example the National Health Service, The Foreign and Commonwealth Office, local government and police forces (Avon and Somerset Police, 2007; Language Line Solutions, 2015). Unlike face-to-face interpreting that is charged by the hour, telephone interpreting is mostly charged by the minute, which implies that it is even cheaper than face-to-face interpreting (Language Line Solutions, 2015; The British Psychological Society, 2008). However, this can be a false economy as telephone interpreting is only appropriate in certain situations (The British Psychological Society, 2008). These include:

- Conversations that are likely to be brief (e.g. making an appointment)
- When there are geographical limitations and an interpreter is not available to attend a face-to-face appointment
- When access to an interpreter is unexpected, for instance in an emergency or when a service user turns up without prior notice.

Telephone interpreting can also be useful when clients need their confidentiality to be safeguarded (The British Psychological Society, 2008), because it ensures the anonymity of all parties (Language Line Solutions,

2015). However, it is not appropriate when Police Forces are carrying out evidential procedures. This is due to the limitations associated with telephone interpreting, which includes the fact that no tape-recording facilities are available for telephone interpretations (Avon and Somerset Police, 2007).

Although telephone interpreting may be useful in certain situations, it is important that end users do not automatically adopt remote interpreting simply because it is cheaper than face-to-face interpreting. End users must assess the needs of the client before deciding whether to request a face-to-face interpreter or a telephone interpreter.

Associations and Networks

Although there are fees associated with joining professional associations, members receive a range of benefits as part of their membership. These can include discounted CDP and networking events, receiving journals or bulletins and free legal advice (ITI, 2016b; ITI, 2016e; CIoL, 2015b; CIoL, 2015c; APCI, 2010b; NRPSI, 2016b). Indeed, in the PSI survey that was carried out for this publication, Respondent 27 stated that '*Interpreters can benefit in many ways from networking—e.g. support/contacts/information/unite to oppose worsening pay in PSI*'. Respondent 24 also pointed out the fact that '*PSI interpreters are very isolated from each other*'. It is therefore important that PSIs join a professional association in order to network and remain up to date regarding issues and policies affecting the industry. Respondent 12 concurred, stating that associations allowed PSIs to '*know what is happening in the industry*'. However, Respondent 9 claimed that the benefits of being a member of a professional association were '*not entirely realistic. Interpreters will always remain competitors as well as colleagues*'. This may be the case in other industries. However, competition will be less prominent in the interpreting and translation industry because a Spanish/English PSI is not likely to be in competition with a French/English PSI. Competition is only likely to be present when the interpreters offer the same language combination(s) and area(s) of expertise, such a law or health and cover the same geographical area of the country for face-to-face assignments. Membership of a professional association therefore provides many benefits to its members.

Supporting Public Service Interpreters

In spite of being a service industry occupation, Public Service Interpreting can be an isolating occupation. PSIs sometimes need reassurance that they are not alone, especially when dealing with difficult or unpleasant cases. It is therefore very important that professional associations and networks support their members. Indeed, Respondent 1 claimed that:

> I think the need for networking has been neglected. I think it is important to have a network of interpreters and organisations that can offer help related to interpreters.

Events organised by professional associations can be very useful, especially for new PSIs. As well as linguistic-related training, associations provide opportunities for PSIs to meet end users and potential clients, including LSPs. Attendees can discuss professional standards, client expectations and competences required by LSPs. Indeed, Respondent 12 stated events should be organised:

> so that we all know what is happening in the industry, both in England and in Scotland, industry events would be helpful.

Respondent 21 concurred, claiming that more events should be held by professional associations '*in order to be better informed on what is going on in the industry*'. Respondent 20 added that '*there is more need for networking because it is a growing industry*'. However, attending networking or training events may not always be possible due to the unpredictable nature of the PSI profession, when the need for an interpreter arises unexpectedly. Webinars and online forums within professional associations' 'members only' areas may therefore be very useful for members who have time constraints due to work commitments. Moreover, PSIs can now access to the necessary training or support that they need 'anytime, anywhere' thanks to the development of eResources and the popularity of social media. However, Respondent 28 emphasised that:

> there is a need for more networking. As it is nowadays it takes much longer for someone who has just arrived in the country to get to know about the

possible and available ways to improve his/her skills and qualifications as an interpreter.

Professional associations should therefore forge closer links with educational institutions and local communities in order to disseminate the necessary information to 'would-be interpreters' wishing to enter the profession.

Representation of the Interests of PSIs

One of the other main roles of professional associations is to represent the interests of PSIs at a national and international level. However, many PSIs who participated in the PSI survey felt that their interests needed further representation in order to make the profession more 'respectable'. Respondent 15 explained that:

> this profession still is marginalized and consumers regard it as a burden on them, although it is a profession [the] same [as] any other profession.

Respondent 14 echoed this statement, claiming that

> until now most consumers of PSI do not regard it as a profession. It needs more publicity in order to be more respected and valued.

But public perception of the PSI profession may only improve if the role is standardised and governed by one single independent body, such as the NRPSI. Indeed, Respondent 7 stated that there was a need for '*statutory protection of [the job] title and excellent service for the public and government*'. Respondent 18 agreed, emphasising the importance of representing PSIs' interests:

> there is a need for a single body to represent PSI's [sic[interests to counterbalance the current exploitation of PSI's [sic]. The balance of power between individual freelancers and work providers is very skewed. No other professionals with comparable [sic] skills would tolerate such bad pay rates and working conditions.

This type of transformation of the profession would require agreements with appropriate government committees at a national level, with the potential of a bill being passed through parliament in order to approve the change. Although professional associations work hard in order to represent their members' interests both nationally and internationally, it is important that they also focus on the standardisation and public perception of the profession, which will require the cooperation of various governmental departments in order to be a success.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the current structure within the public service interpreting industry, how PSIs currently viewed their occupation and what changes should be made in order to improve the industry, all with close reference to responses obtained from the national survey the editors undertook in 2014/15. The results obtained and discussed within this research were similar to those illustrated in a variety of articles and documents within the PSI industry. It was felt that several changes would be required in order to improve the standards and perceptions of the industry as a whole. These recommendations are presented below in the form of key performance indicators for four stakeholders within the PSI industry, and include LSPs, Professional Associations, Educational Institutions and End Users.

Key Performance Indicators for LSPs

- Supply appropriately qualified, experienced and competent interpreters and negotiate pay rates with clients that attract and retain them.
- Implement the necessary steps in order to avoid disruption, delays and no-shows. This would include setting up back-up alliance partnerships with other LSPs in order to provide interpreters should none of their own PSIs be available for an assignment.
- Become BS EN ISO9001: 2008 certified. This would help to ensure the quality of the service delivery, including the recruitment and selection of linguists, PSI performance monitoring and customer feedback systems.

- Provide relevant CPD to PSIs, ensuring that their knowledge is up to date on all relevant issues within the areas they are assigned to (e.g. legal matters such as the Data Protection Act and Child Protection for those working with courts, immigration).

Key Performance Indicators for Professional Associations

- Agree a single set of professional standards across the sector.
- Represent the industry with the aim of setting up one single regulatory body that would be compulsory for all practising PSIs to belong to.
- Provide the necessary support to interpreters, including legal advice, insurance and counselling.
- Organise CPD and networking events, including eLearning courses, so that PSIs could stay up-to-date.

Key Performance Indicators for Educational Institutions

- Have their professional qualifications in interpreting regulated and validated by a single professional body, which would also regulate the industry.
- Work closely with the regulatory body in order to design preparatory courses that would be fully fit-for-purpose and lead to a higher pass rate on all professional qualifications.
- Consider offering PSI internships for and postgraduate students where appropriate.

Key Performance Indicators for End Users

- Ensure that a PSI with relevant skills and performance is being booked for each assignment.
- Brief the PSI on the assignment.
- Ensure that the PSI is given regular breaks if the assignment is likely to last a long time.

- If the assignment is likely to be very long, consider booking two PSIs.
- If necessary, spend 10 min debriefing the PSI at the end of the assignment.

The final conclusion is therefore that end users, LSPs, educational institutions, professional associations and regulatory bodies must work more collaboratively in order to review the current structure within the PSI industry. Furthermore, this would require a review of how the above key performance indicators could be implemented in order to improve quality and standards within the profession. With the assistance of professional associations and educational institutions, the end users, LSPs and PSIs would all benefit from the adoption of these recommendations. PSIs would be able to practise their profession in the knowledge that all qualified practitioners would be working to the same standard. LSPs and end users would have access to a high-quality service, and the reassurance that all necessary security vetting procedures had been carried out, ensuring the professionalism of PSIs. As a result, this would provide a framework that could acknowledge the important contributions made by Public Service Interpreters and recognise and remunerate PSIs for the work that they do within the community. It would also safeguard the longer-term interests of LSPs and end users, enabling them to reduce hidden costs and avoid the frustrations and even dangers that using less well-qualified, experienced and motivated PSIs can potentially lead to.

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5

Fit-to-Practise Versus Exam-Ready Legal Public Service Interpreter Training: Training for Real Life or for the Exam?

Kirsty Heimerl-Moggan

Introduction

As a lecturer and trainer in interpreting encompassing the conference, business and public service fields, my focus has always been on preparing students for work in "the real world" of interpreting. This is, of course, notwithstanding the fact that I have to also help them successfully complete their respective exams which will allow them to legitimately practise. With a profession as practical and hands-on as interpreting, both teaching and examining should have a very strong focus on the work interpreters will be doing once they have successfully completed their training and graduated.

The section on the divergence between training and reality looks at the topics used for the interpreting role-play sections of the Law Option of the Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (DPSI) as well as the three major areas of real-life preparation which are not explicitly covered in any syllabus. These are the study of register, advocacy and ethics.

The next section looks at the issue of how a course can build on the syllabus provided by the examining body to successfully incorporate training for "life after the exam".

It is against this backdrop that the chapter examines the types of training currently available in the field of legal public service interpreting (PSI), how such training is developed and its contribution to equipping students with the skills and knowledge required for life after the examination. To provide illustrative examples, three of the training centres for which I have taught over the years will be used to highlight the issues involved as all three use different training formats. To preserve confidentiality and anonymity and to avoid any claim of bias, I refer to the centres simply by number as one, 2 and 3.

For further clarification I have explained below the key terms and their usage in this article, applying the most commonly accepted use of the terms in the UK:

- "service user" to signify the foreign language speaker requiring the services of an interpreter
- "professional" to signify the professional user of the interpreter, for example solicitor or police officer (please note that "professional" does not indicate any superiority or advantage over the "service user")
- "interpreter" to signify a trainee or professional interpreter as appropriate.

Public Service Interpreter Training in the UK

Public service interpreter qualifications in the UK span various levels ranging from the formal to those less so. Note must also be taken of the clear differentiation between the exams for those students wanting to practice in England and Wales versus those wishing to practice in Scotland, which has a very different legal system and separate terminology, and Northern Ireland where there are also differences.

One of the first levels of training that a student of PSI can undertake in the UK is Community Level Interpreting. This training usually has three levels and is often deemed to be a good access course for the next level of

interpreter training, which is at a more formal level. There is also another route that some prospective interpreting students take, and that is to start off with a Certificate in Bilingual Skills (CBS) course/assessment.

At the next level the topics covered vary. There are two equivalent assessments that interpreters can then undertake as a follow-on from Community Level or CBS, but which they can also do without having undertaken any interpreting-related training in advance.

One of these assessments is the Diploma in Police Interpreting (DPI), formerly the Metropolitan Police Interpreter Test (Met Test) which, despite what the former name may suggest, can be taken by any interpreting student and not just exclusively by prospective interpreters wishing to work for the London Metropolitan Police. The focus here is, however, as the name clearly indicates, police work.

In contrast the DPSI is offered in three different options, which are Local Government, Health and Law. Of these options the DPSI Law Option has by far the highest uptake across England and Wales. This can be seen in the IoL Moderator's Report (www.iol.org.uk/qualifications/DPSI/Moderators%20Reports/DPSICModRep.pdf).

The most obvious difference between the DPI and the DPSI Law Option is that the latter covers a wider range of topics including not only police work but much more besides, for example the courts, the Probation Service and insolvency (Chartered Institute of Linguists (CIoL) syllabus).

The highest level of Public Service Interpreter training that can be undertaken is at MA level, such as an MA in PSI or similar postgraduate degrees. There are only a few of these on offer and sadly the uptake for these courses is still relatively low, partly due to the fact that a full-year MA is a large investment in both time and cost.

For the purpose of this chapter I focus on the assessment that has the highest level of uptake, the DPSI (Law Option) courses, and in particular if, and how, syllabus guidelines are aligned with preparation for real-life work.

In any study of the provision of public service interpreter training the current well-documented state of affairs, in which legal interpreters are provided by the sole contractor appointed by the MoJ, must be considered. As explained in detail in Chap. 1 the contract was originally awarded to Applied Language Solutions (ALS), which is now owned by Capita PLC. This situation and the resulting impact on the fees, terms

and conditions offered through this contract cannot help but have an influence on those prospective public service interpreters (PSIs) considering training, and consequently on training providers.

The examining body for the DPSI is the Chartered Institute of Linguists (CIoL) Educational Trust. Although they set and assess the examination they have no involvement in the teaching process, other than to provide a suggested syllabus, occasional workshops for the various teaching centres should they wish to attend them and a DPSI Trainers Handbook (Cambridge and Heimerl-Moggan 2010). Teaching in preparation for the examination is provided by centres completely independent from the CIoL. These centres are all autonomous and range from universities or colleges to private teaching centres. To become a teaching centre a small fee has to be paid to the CIoL Educational Trust. Although training workshops for the centres are offered by the examining body, participation is not compulsory and the CIoL does not act as a governing body for the centres. Although there is a suggested syllabus, teaching centres are free to decide what they consider they should or should not teach. The onus is very much on the individual centres to should they wish to provide students with the skills they think they will need for life after the exam.

The autonomy and independence of the individual teaching centres makes true comparison between the teaching approaches and methods that they adopt virtually impossible. The examining body does not monitor the standard or scope of the teaching provided by the centres. In this chapter I therefore merely report on my own findings from the three centres for which I have taught where the approaches have been quite different to each other.

The suggested syllabus, produced by the CIoL Educational Trust and published on their website and in the Trainer Handbook, outlines the legal topics that they recommend should be covered on a course, as well as giving a suggested number of contact hours, which is 80 (CIoL). This syllabus ranges from looking at the more obvious legal topics such as the institutions, for example the courts, the police service and the Probation Service; the various types of crime/offence, for example dishonesty offences, traffic offences, sexual offences, drugs and public order offences, but also takes in matters such as family law, company law, bankruptcy and liquidation and inheritance law. In short, the interpreting materials the students have to contend with in the exam can include anything considered by the examining body to be "relating to the law".

As already mentioned in previous chapters, a large number of the courses on offer are non-language specific courses due to high running costs and commercial viability. For the majority of languages, it would not be commercially viable to provide a language-specific course as the groups would be too small (with perhaps only one student for some languages), or would require several dedicated language tutors for larger classes containing more than one language group. The associated costs and logistics of using other language tutors, for example marking scripts in the other language or overseeing role plays, are a major cost factor. This means that the majority of courses are now taught in English. In the past there were some language-specific courses, either in languages of high demand in a particular community in the area, for example Urdu, Polish or Chinese, or if there was a particular timely need for a large amount of interpreters in one specific language.

In these mixed courses students undertake classroom exercises either in their own language groups or in small mixed-language groups, and as part of their homework research the topics in their respective own other language with the help of Other Language Tutors (OLTs). Due to the fact that in the north-west of the UK (which historically had one of the highest numbers of DPSI courses running outside London) most courses are mixed language, this chapter only deals with English-language taught courses in its analysis.

Schedules of work, lesson plans and lesson materials are developed by the centres themselves, with some guidance given by the recently updated CIoL Trainers Handbook which now includes sample lesson plans. If a centre is finding it particularly difficult to get started, peer-support is also an approach taken by the Institute. The less experienced centre might be referred to a more experienced centre for advice, which by nature of competition has its natural restrictions.

So in summary, once the independent centres have paid their centre registration fee to the examining body they are then left to design and teach their courses in the manner they deem most suitable.

This does, however, open up the desirable possibility of courses being taught in what can best be described as a "split" approach; that is, in part preparing for the exam and in part preparing for actual scenarios and issues likely to be encountered in real life.

Divergence: Training and Real-World Interpreting?

At this point, it is vital to look at the type of work legal interpreters will do once they qualify. Legal interpreters' work can range across a large number of topics and such topics or contexts can sometimes be frequently related to a specific language. For instance, many of the Polish and German interpreters have reported that they often interpret for the traffic police, for example when lorry drivers are involved in accidents or similar in the UK. Research undertaken by Interp-Right Training Consultancy Ltd. in 2008 showed that many of their recently graduated Mandarin interpreters started working on long drugs trials almost immediately, whilst some of the Kurdish Sorani interpreters were found to have undertaken many cases of driving without a valid licence and insurance. However, rather worryingly quite a few of the newly graduated students found that one of their first cases after qualification was as serious as: a murder (French student), a paedophile case (German student) and serious sexual assault (Arabic-speaking student). Although the results of such research may appear to be somewhat recurrent, they do give training centres an insight into how varied the topics to be covered on a DPSI law course need to be to cater for all course participants.

The work of newly graduated legal interpreters can be undertaken for a number of different legal bodies/authorities such as the police, Her Majesty's Court Service, the Crown Prosecution Service, the Probation Service and H.M. Prison Service. The work undertaken by these bodies is, by its very nature, confidential and takes place in environments where trainee interpreters are not permitted as observers. No police officer working in a custody suite will want an additional, purely observing, trainee interpreter in a situation such as booking in an abusive and potentially violent suspect. Access to prisons is difficult even for solicitors and barristers, involving prior registration, fingerprinting and several searches; especially in Category A prisons. Snowdon (2010) in an article in the Guardian provides a good example of the type of work a newly qualified interpreter may encounter. On her very first assignment, Neeta Mehandru was sent to the Crown Court:

> It was a gang-related stabbing trial at Birmingham Crown Court a couple of years ago. There were about 20 or 30 barristers in the room, maybe 70

or 80 other people in the courtroom and public gallery, and a lot of people in the dock, so I was pretty nervous.

She had been called in to translate the testimonies of the defendants, all Punjabi speakers.

There was a lot of conferences between the barristers. Barristers think they know everything, so you have to stand your ground…

In a review of the DPSI examination papers covering the period 1999 to 2011 conducted for this article it was found that no cases involving violence even approaching this level of seriousness were ever used as examples in the role-play scenarios. In fact, in the whole of that 13-year period only the following four examples contained any reference whatsoever to physical violence:

- In 2000 there is an example on the theme of domestic violence
- In 2009 an example of a person being pushed and punched
- And in 2011 an unspecified serious bodily injury on a tennis court and an allegation of cruelty to young children.

In the 2011 Home Office Statistical Bulletin on (*Crime in England and Wales (Parfrement-Hopkins 2011:27; Osborne 2011:56)*, violent crime including robbery accounted for approximately 23 % of all crimes committed, with a total of 821,897 offences of violence against the person recorded by the police. The DPSI exam role-play scenarios are not therefore anywhere near statistically representative of the types of violent crime newly qualified interpreters are likely to encounter from as early on as their first day in the job. And this is precisely where teaching centres can fill the gap.

Areas Not Covered in the Syllabus

There are three big areas of real-life preparation which are not explicitly covered in the syllabus. These are register, advocacy and ethics.

In relation to register, the syllabus information provided by the Institute of Linguists Educational Trust provides little more advice on

interpreting than that the information conveyed should be accurate and free from any omissions or additions. I contend that register, in particular allowing accommodation between speakers of different registers, should be a core component of any DPSI preparation course. For "real life" purposes preparation centres one and two teach, for example, register issues such as court interpreting where a barrister may be using an extremely high register to a defendant who uses an extremely low one; they teach the use of equivalence in slang terms, and how the code of ethics supplied by the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (NRPSIs) is applied in practice as well as in theory. In these centres students starting their courses would often want to "simplify what the barrister said, so that the defendant can understand"—something that no experienced professional interpreter would ever consider requesting. Centre three does not explicitly deal with these areas, instead only dealing with them in passing as and when they crop up in class.

In her publication about translation and interpreting in Ireland, Waterhouse (2010) states that during her research she found the lower courts had a repetitive reality and that the language used in courts could be described as "insider language". She contends

> that the average account of 'legal language' omits the most important factors that make the dialogue of the District Court all but impenetrable to the uninitiated outsider; the real difficulties arise, I submit, because of the closed or insider nature of most of the language used in court, undoubtedly a direct effect of the repetitive nature of proceedings and the knowledge gained through this experience. This is manifested most significantly in the omission of key pieces of information in dialogue, the truncation of sentences, and the standard use of repetitive phrases with no meaning out of context.

Waterhouse (2010) says this type of language would be extremely difficult for the average interpreter to handle well without repeated exposure to it. Centres one and two go some way to exposing the trainee students to a taste of it in their preparation course. By the use of increasingly complex fully scripted practice role plays students are gradually introduced to both higher and lower register language, as that for example used by barristers and criminals. Court visits and pre-

sentations by guest speakers from the legal field also contribute first-hand exposure to topic-specific jargon.

In my opinion, Hale (2007), in responding to Cambridge's (2004:50) challenges that

> In linguistic terms one of the major challenges for PS (public service) interpreters is the constant switch in register between client and PSP (Public Service Provider), and the use of dialect words and idiosyncratic language by a non-English speaking background (NESB) client group of vulnerable, frightened and often not very well-educated people

provides a wonderful summing-up of this particular challenge when she says:

> There may be participants of varying social backgrounds who come together in an encounter, speaking in different speech styles, social dialects and registers. In a monolingual situation, the speakers would enter into a process of accommodation, where they would adjust their speech to arrive at a middle ground. Those who argue for accuracy in interpreting: (Berk-Seligson, 1990/2002; Dueñas González et al., 1991; Cambridge, 2004; Hale, 2004) propose that the same should apply in an interpreted interaction. Interpreters need to attempt to maintain the register of the original speaker to allow the speakers to accommodate, if that indeed is their wish. It may very well be, that in the case of cross examination, that a register differential is deliberate on the part of the prosecutor.

Centre one approaches this idea of the study of register by making it a core component of the preparation course by consistently provoking debate within the classroom each time the question of register is introduced; not only via the scripted role plays and other teaching materials but often also when students ask direct questions relating to appropriate rendition. This debate is aimed at reinforcing the concept that PSIs must never alter the register of either speaker in order to aid understanding. This concept is extremely difficult for some students to apply as they feel that they are hindering the communication process by not themselves "helping understanding"—normally that of the person using a lower register, rarely the reverse. This is a prime example of a real-life skill which,

once embraced, will serve them well in avoiding ever being in the position of being told that their simplification of advice from the professional resulted in a factually incorrect interpretation. Even if, through constant exposure to a particular procedure they become very familiar with it, it is always the professional who should be left to explain for themselves should the client not understand a concept or an utterance simply because of the register they are using.

When dealing with register in two of the centres it also quickly became clear that some student groups found it particularly difficult to render swearing or abusive language, especially language with racist or discriminatory undertones, as this is not "language they themselves would ever use". A very inspiring approach was used by the trainers in one of the centres who took the time to write specific short scenarios for use as mini-role plays which clearly illustrated the relevance of transferring rude, abusive or even embarrassing words into their direct and culturally relevant equivalent in the other language where otherwise understanding would be severely impaired. A particularly relevant example of how this can impact on understanding occurred when one of the students could not bring herself to say "penetration" in a mini-scenario in which a police officer was trying to establish whether rape had taken place or whether it was the lesser offence of "sexual assault". When the student kept referring to "love-making" instead of "penetration" it became very clear to the class how much damage such an interpretation of penetration could do to the victim's case. The class themselves became quite vocal in expressing the fact that harming the victim's case by avoiding using terms they might feel uncomfortable with was absolutely the last thing they would wish to do.

Applying such hugely varying registers does however also presuppose that the interpreting students themselves are able to apply both low and high registers as well as all the nuances and levels in between. In addition they must be able to accomplish this not in just one, but in at least two languages (in some case more), with the added complication of one of them not being their mother tongue.

The second large area not covered in the CIoL syllabus is that of advocacy versus strict interpreting.

The one recurrent issue throughout any course of public service interpreter training will be that of the role of the interpreter in relation to their being a pure conduit of the message versus that of an advocate or

adviser. In line with the former position, the CIoL in their DPSI hand-book include amongst the requirements of the PSIs that of being able to work reliably and effectively; (with) complete impartiality of attitude, speech and script. And in the NRPSIs Professional Code of Conduct, which applies to all registrants on the NRPSIs maintained by NRPSI, in regard to their duties, responsibilities and conduct as registrants on the NRPSIS, Section 3.12 of the overarching principles of the code states that practitioners shall at all times act impartially and shall not act in any way that might result in prejudice or preference on grounds of religion or belief, race, politics, gender, age, sexual orientation or disability other-wise than as obliged in order to faithfully translate, interpret or otherwise transfer meaning; Section 4.4 of their obligations states that practitioners shall interpret truly and faithfully what is uttered, without adding, omit-ting or changing anything; in exceptional circumstances a summary may be given if requested. Section 5.12 of the obligations states that practi-tioners shall not interrupt, pause or intervene except: Section 5.12.1 to ask for clarification; and Section 5.12.2 to point out that one party may not have understood something which the interpreter has good reason to believe has been assumed by the other party.

During DPSI preparation courses this should be a fairly easy point to get across to students as the procedure in real life in the UK is exactly the same as it should be in the exam. To explain that the interpreter should never offer personal advice, attempt to clarify any points made by an interlocutor, offer explanations or simplify the language of the speaker in order to assist the hearer, are fairly straightforward points and in most cases they will appear to be accepted by students at face value.

However, time after time it has been my experience that a certain number of students in any class will pay this advice no more than lip service. Initially they may seem to be taking the information on board, but applying it later seems to be a different matter. However, students do not do this just to defy the advice given by their trainers. A number of different reasons have been established for this phenomenon by the teaching centres over the years.

The reasons most frequently encountered are often described as a feel-ing of empathy with the fellow language speaker, a sense of fair play or feelings of injustice or a simple desire to place the person being interpreted

for on a level playing field with the professional. This normally happens in cases of the service user being in difficult or traumatic situations and the interpreter having to battle with a certain feeling of wanting to be a "helper" which is clearly not part of their role. One of the centres used the approach of making it quite clear to students just how much "helping" is already involved in the process of making communication possible by offering their interpreting services, and that there was no need to additionally "overprotect" the client and take away their independence.

Another phenomenon in the context of register seemed to be a belief, often amongst the more experienced interpreting students who were taking the qualification at a later stage in their career, that their own culture dictates a "modified" approach (this often goes hand in hand with the explanation: "well, you see in my language/culture…"). Here the reason sometimes seemed to be a sense of preserving a perceived sense of "national or cultural dignity", that is "in my language a lady doesn't swear", or a sense that "this would be disrespectful to the professional and they would get a bad impression of the service user who is behaving out of character for a person from my cultural background".

One of the reasons frequently stated by trainee interpreters whenever they modify utterances is that they can see that the service user is struggling to understand what the professional (maybe a solicitor in this instance) is saying simply because they are speaking in too high a register. An example of this might be if the professional were to use a phrase such as "I have offered my considered professional opinion that if the prosecution were to prove that this was a preposterous charade I imagine we would be skating on very thin ice", and the interpreter instead transferred this as "If the judge finds out you are lying your case will be lost." In this simplifying of the utterance to try to assist the service user the interpreter has violated the Professional Code of Conduct on a number of counts. By adding information (i.e. the emphatic fact that the case *will* be lost as opposed to *very probably*), by omitting information (i.e. the solicitor's wish for their client to know that they have thought about this carefully and that this is their opinion), and finally changing of information by substituting "judge" in their version for the "prosecution" in the solicitor's original version. This is a slightly exaggerated example for illustration purposes, but is often required to convince some students that this general

approach of simplifying just because the service user may not understand is a difficult task.

One of the centres used an interesting teaching approach later on in their course. They produced a simple set of scenarios covering ethical issues based on the code of ethics dealt with earlier on in the course. The results of this exercise showed that although students had previously listened to the advice given by the tutors, they now saw fit to ignore what they had learnt by virtue of the particular circumstances portrayed in the scenario or a particular slant they themselves put on the scenario at hand.

It is important for the trainer(s) to clarify here that this is not a case of the interpreter paraphrasing or using synonyms where there is no equivalent in the other language, which is a completely legitimate tool for appropriate transfer between languages; it is in fact a case of the interpreter taking it upon themselves to offer explanation or advice on what is being said by the professional.

The same can be true for individual words, for example the substitution of one word for another as in the case of "murder" for "manslaughter". Upon questioning a student it often transpires that in the country/ies where the student's language is spoken the concept of manslaughter does not exist (as one student once very humorously stated "in my country you were either murdered, died of an illness or old age or you're alive!") and therefore a paraphrase will have to be worked out to express the lack of intent to kill on the part of the perpetrator.

In other cases, however, upon questioning a student they sometimes admit that there is in fact a term in their language for manslaughter but they did not use it for a number of reasons: one such reason being that it is only used by professionals and the average man in the street will never have heard of it or use it. This then is the case where there is a perfectly adequate term in the other language, but the interpreter feels the service user would be incapable of understanding that term and therefore feels that they should help the service user. Often however, the actual reason when probing deeper turns out to be that the student quite simply "didn't know the term", but did not want to admit this, or actually firmly believed that it did not exist as they had never heard it.

This finding was confirmed by one of the centres which took it upon themselves, for the first month of the course, to spot check with experienced

interpreters the terms that interpreting students insisted did not exist in their language. The results showed that although some of them did indeed not exist or were not concepts in those languages, a larger number actually did exist but were simply not known by the students.

The advice given to students when outlining these real-life interpreting issues which they are bound to come across in their interpreting careers is that, once again, it is not their role to attempt to simplify, edit or explain what the professional says as this would result in a critical mistake having been made in the interpretation. The interpreter should use the equivalent term to that given by the professional (presupposing that they know it), and let the service user ask if they do not know what it means. The professional then has the chance to explain.

Using the professional to help with terminology that the interpreter does not understand can also help in the worst-case-scenario of an interpreter not knowing the term, and also being in a situation where they cannot look it up either. The explanation may make the interpreter "remember" the word or at least give them the possibility of transferring the explanation into the other language.

The final factor which is often overlooked by students is the fact that the client/professional interface would be exactly the same if both parties were speakers of English. For example in an "English/English" interaction upon hearing the word "manslaughter" if the service user did not understand the term they could ask for an explanation from the professional; or, something students rarely consider, even choose to ignore the fact that they did not understand the word. The same opportunity should therefore be afforded the foreign language speaker—but no more and no less. Once the reasoning behind this factor is pointed out to the students it then needs continuous reinforcement during the course.

In line with the advice offered in the CIoL Handbook, a distinction has to be made at this point in the training between offering advice, explanations, summarising and so on, and pointing out genuine instances of cultural references where the other language speaker should be made aware of a factor which may impede or confuse the other party.

The danger is that if this non-acceptance is not confronted whilst students are on the course, they may still acquire the necessary skills and technical knowledge of their field of study, for example law or health,

and therefore be able to pass the exam. However, they will leave the preparation course still with the idea that they can ignore the advice given if they think the needs of the service user should override it or the mores of their culture legitimise it. Of course the implications of this are enormous. If the fledgling interpreter offers advice to a service user which is inconsistent with the message from the professional, or by way of simplification ignores or omits part of the message from the professional, takes it upon themselves to offer personal advice on the way the case may go or offers avenues for further assistance for the service user, they can be held personally liable for their actions.

This is a very difficult area for the trainer as the idea that they are there to 'help' the service user, albeit a very honourable trait in a person, is often deeply ingrained in a would-be interpreter's psyche. To help overcome this trait, which for the student is a very natural inclination, takes persistence and constant vigilance on the part of the trainer.

In centre three this aspect of a student's training was completely ignored. The reason for this was that there was absolutely no conception of what "life after the exam" entailed. In the DPSI examination the student will not encounter a situation where the other language interlocutor says "I do not understand". The role plays are scripted so as to give the other language speaker the chance to say for instance "Could you explain that a little further for me?" but the situation never arises as it does in real life where the other language speaker is really frightened, confused or completely unable to understand what the professional has said because of the use of jargon or register. In centre three, other than mentioning the basic "practitioners shall interpret truly and faithfully what is uttered, without adding, omitting or changing anything", no time was spent on identifying and challenging those students whose natural inclination was to assist the other language speaker beyond their interpreters' role.

One further factor which may contribute to this being a difficult concept is that it is at odds with the system in other parts of the world. In her article for the first meeting of The Critical Link (International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health and Social Service Settings) Roberts (1995) explains how, within the concept of Community Interpreting in operation in the Ontario Ministry for Citizenship, along with cultural broking, advocacy is actually one of the three key functions the interpreter

is expected to fulfil; the third and last one being "linguistic interpreting". In the UK, linguistic interpreting is the only function that the interpreter is expected to fulfil, and they are expressly not supposed to act as a cultural broker for the two parties or act as an advocate for the service user.

The third area not covered in the CIoL syllabus is that of interpreter ethics. From its conception in 1983 interpreter ethics were envisaged as an integral component of the examination. Indeed in the first few years of the DPSI an ethics component was included in the paper. This component was, however, dropped from the paper and in my opinion the paper is much weaker for it. An appreciation of ethical dilemmas cannot be taught by simply directing students to look at the NRPSI Code of Conduct. The code needs to be exemplified by use of scenarios—all the better if originating from real-life interpreting cases. What better way of introducing the inherent difficulties of maintaining an ethical stance than by giving the example of when a mother breaks down mid-interview, abandons her baby and the professional then sets off in pursuit of the mother. In the absence of any other party, who is to look after the baby? Should the interpreter leave the baby and seek a member of the professional's office to assist? Or should they go beyond their remit and take care of the baby until the mother returns? These are questions which can be dealt with, as do centres one and two, by the use of scenarios presented—opinions sought from the students—and then those opinions analysed with reference to the Code of Conduct. Part of the process of obtaining Chartered Linguist Status of the CIoL covers ethical questions. Giving students an understanding of ethical guidelines and the dilemmas which ensue cannot help but prepare them for "real life" interpreting.

A need is clearly identified by different stakeholders in the profession who have asked colleagues and me on numerous occasions to develop a CPD training course for them on what we have started to call "The Applied Interpreters' Code of Conduct". Here real scenarios with possible pitfalls are used and get course participants to properly apply the relevant Code of Conduct. On these training courses we always encounter an initial reluctance especially from the more experienced interpreters who are being brought out of their comfort zone and are often realising that what they have been doing may not actually be in line with the code. However, once they become aware that they can almost use the code as a "defensive

weapon" (as one of the course participants once decided to call it) to protect themselves from being asked to do anything unethical, such as take a witness statement on their own whilst the police officer goes to make tea, then the true meaning of the Code of Conduct hits home. Once this "awakening and realisation" has happened, interpreters become great defenders of ethics.

In an email communication (May 2014) to all NRPSI registrants, NRPSI Executive Director Stephen Bishop announced that a new online publication was being collated to highlight the interpretation of the NRPSI Code of Conduct by disciplinary panels. The publication would also look at the handling of complaints and provide guidance to registrants. The approach to this publication is consultative, with the Chief Executive having written to registrants asking them to suggest topics they would like to see covered. The proposal is that this will be the first of a number of such publications by NRPSI—a clear indication of a realisation of registrants' needs for such clarification (www.nrpsi.org.uk).

The international importance of interpreter ethics in relation to legal interpreting is highlighted by the recent adoption of a Code of Ethics by the EULITA (the European Association for Legal Interpreters and Translators). The code, adopted in February 2014 and accepted by all EULITA members, covers legal interpreters and translators working in judicial contexts or similar settings, such as pre-trial proceedings (i.e. interviews with police and prosecution officers, consultations with defence lawyers), court hearings and post-trial interventions. The code and its underlying principles are outlined below.

The professional ethics of legal interpreters and translators derive directly from the principles defined in the following sources. They demonstrate the key role of legal interpreters and translators in the search for truth and how their work may affect the life and rights of others:

- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, December 1948 (Articles 1–11)
- The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, November 1950 (Articles 5 and 6)
- The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000/C 364/01), CHAPTER III—Articles 20–21, CHAPTER VI—Articles 47–50

- Directive 2010/64/EU of the European Parliament and Council of 20 October 2010 on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings.

    Legal interpreters and translators thus play an essential role in all efforts to ensure the equality of citizens in justice-related communications.

Do Syllabus Guidelines Ensure Good Course Development?

In designing a course the obvious next step is to look at the thematic areas which a course should cover in order to prepare interpreters for real life, and which may be helpful for the exam, but are not explicitly included in the syllabus. One of the areas just mentioned is the idea of experiencing as much of the 'real' situation as possible. There are different approaches taken in order to achieve this. In the legal field, for instance, Corsellis (2008: 80) suggests students "*observe a court hearing and identify what procedures, terminology and interpreting techniques would need to be known in order to interpret well in that situation.*" This will give students the physical experience of being in a courtroom.

However, two of the centres went beyond that and brought in professionals from the legal sphere to talk about their role in the legal process and their real life experiences. Centre one has several such guest speakers each year including a magistrate, a police officer, a probation officer and an experienced practising legal interpreter. In addition, one uses guest speakers from the legal field who use interpreters in the course of their work. The use of such guest speakers means that students get to hear what the professional users of interpreters expect from their interpreters, and crucially what they sometimes actually receive. It is very useful for the students to see what a service user expects from them. These guest speakers can offer examples of their own experience from real life. Without using real names they can refer to specific cases, especially those involving interpreters, in which they encountered problems. For instance the magistrate guest speaker used by centre one is involved

in the training of magistrates and lists amongst his experiences that of interpreters appearing at court without having a pad of paper or pen. This may appear to even non-experienced interpreters to be a basic, even a common-sense, requirement. But to hear the magistrate illustrate the point lends gravitas to the lesson content and corroborates their trainers' advice. In a similar fashion, the probation officer seconded to the Prison Service gives examples of inexperienced interpreters saying simply "he is swearing" in place of a first-person interpretation of the actual swear words used. Listening to the probation officer explain why having a precise equivalent is required to let her know the offender's attitude to his victim is a salutary lesson in letting the students know that an interpretation such as "the stupid woman" is totally insufficient if the probation officer needs to know that the offender actually said "the thick bitch". A precise equivalent is required in order to let the probation officer know the level of hostility the offender has towards his victim. The gravity of "not getting it right" and the possibility of putting a "real" victim in danger, should the "real" perpetrator's danger to the victim not be established due to linguistic shortcomings on the part of the interpreter, certainly make students sit up and listen. To hear this at first-hand direct from the probation officer is worth as much as a full lesson covering the theory of register and equivalence. I recall a fellow trainer commenting that the guest speaker cements the training given by allowing the student to hear it "from the horse's mouth."

The same centre also produces a list of real-life TV programmes which show the work of various police forces. These types of programmes are currently very frequent across many TV channels. Here the emphasis has to be on those programmes which deal with the system for which interpreters are being prepared, which in the case of centre one is the legal system of England and Wales. A further source of real-life information is, of course, the internet, although caution has to be applied and a lot of guidance given to students as to how to use the internet safely. This is especially true when researching topics such as sexual abuse, grooming and so on. Other useful information can often be found on police websites where there are videos giving, for example, a virtual tour of a custody suite and similar.

The aim of passing on as much real-life experience as possible can, of course, also be met with help from trainers working in the field themselves. Both centres one and two make sure that their teaching staff are selected from a range of different language-use backgrounds so as to ensure that different areas of experience can be conveyed to trainee interpreters through the rotation of teaching staff. For instance, one and two use qualified teachers who are also current practising PSIs. They can call on a wealth of situationally appropriate examples from their jobs. This can cover such major themes as "what should the newly qualified interpreter do after having interpreted in a very traumatic case, for example child abuse". As a freelancer there is no in-house counselling service to turn to. Police officers or court officers may occasionally offer some support, but an experienced interpreter buddy who has dealt with similar cases is often the best port of call and centres one and two incorporate their use into their training. In addition it is often in the small practical details that practising interpreters can offer valuable real-life information. Whilst non-practising interpreters can offer advice on what to take with you on assignments, for example throat lozenges, change for parking and venue address, it is only practising interpreters who could offer their own experience on, for example, how to keep safe when arriving at a police station at three o'clock in the morning when the officer detailed to meet you has been called away on other duties and you find yourself alone in a police car park, unable to get into or even contact the reception desk of the police station. It is these "real life" experiences which students will remember and recall in times of need. Centre three uses teachers who are not practising interpreters. Obviously these teachers cannot use examples from their own working lives to boost their teaching and motivate their students. The relevance of teaching qualifications is important. A practising interpreter can be a brilliant interpreter but may not be able to convey their knowledge in an accessible way for students. They will not necessarily be aware of different learner types and teaching styles, or the particular needs of teaching an adult group containing a wide age range. A further pedagogically important aspect to teaching DPSI groups is the fact that many of the students will be going back into education after a very long gap and may for example need to relearn their classroom note-taking skills, re-establish their old study techniques, or familiarise

themselves with new technology. They may also struggle with issues such as time management due to their work and family commitments. The introduction of learning schedules, used by centre one at the beginning of the course, seemed to be very helpful to the more mature students in particular, but also helped the younger students to better balance the work they were doing.

Even though the DPSI is not an examination of students' knowledge of the law, but rather of their interpreting ability, the teacher must be fully au fait with the terminology and legal background in order to be able to explain the terms/concepts in English to the student, who will then be able to research equivalents or paraphrases as appropriate in the target language. The damage that can be done if this is not the case was clearly shown in one example from centre three where a trainer was asked what "in camera" meant in a court situation. Clearly the trainer did not know and instead of simply saying "I will find out", told students it meant that cameras were going to be used in the court during the trial. This type of lapse in a training situation can lead to serious failings in crucial contexts later on.

Discourse interpreting is one area in which interpreting for "real life" can be explored. According to Hale (2007) research into discourse interpreting has largely been influenced by discourse studies, a discipline which also has important implications for interpreter training: "*Understanding the discourse strategies and practices of the different participants, according to setting, context and situation, allows students to make informed decisions about how to interpret.*" Hale presents a Community Interpreting Integrated Training Framework which attempts to map the knowledge and skills necessary for interpreters into the three basic steps of interpreting; these being comprehension, conversion and delivery. The three steps do overlap to some extent, but Hale illustrates (1) the sample theoretical content covered, (2) the sample knowledge, competencies and skills acquired, and (3) the aspect of interpreter training that would benefit from each of the sample exercises she lists.

By way of illustration, here using a legal example with a real-life slant, students looked at the sentencing guidelines referred to by the magistrate guest speaker. The magistrate expressed his concern that defendants found guilty should fully understand that the bench have exercised their

powers for manoeuvre up or down within the sentencing guidelines to reflect their desire that whatever sentence imposed should reflect the mitigating or aggravating circumstances connected to the crime. To cover the sample theoretical content, the sample practical exercise was to have students extract jargon and phrases particular to these guidelines and create their own glossaries. This gave students background knowledge of the relevant field and consolidated their language and terminology building. It also helped them with the comprehension aspect of their interpreter training. To assist with the conversion aspect, students were then asked to discuss the difficulties encountered in attempting to translate into the target language. Finally, to assist with delivery, the tutor read, or had a native English speaker read, a series of mock magistrate sentencing decisions which demonstrated different intonations of the same utterances and identified how meaning changes. The students' attention was also drawn to listening to different uses of stress within the same sentencing decisions.

One area not covered by two of the centres is that of note-taking. In her book *Public Service Interpreting—the First Steps*, Corsellis (2008) lists note-taking as one of the skills to be acquired by trainee interpreters through the use of role play. She gives a list of 13 skills that the interpreter should acquire. I agree these are all essential skills for the professional interpreter, but I would take exception to her placing of note-taking as the final item in the list. The first item in the list is accuracy. I would suggest that note-taking should even be placed before accuracy. Even in its most fundamental form, note-taking in terms of dates, names, places and so on is essential for accuracy. At a higher level note-taking is essential for accuracy when dealing with longer or more complex utterances in noting the essential elements of the intervention. By introducing note-taking during the preparation course centre one is not only preparing students for the exam, but also giving them a head start for the serious note-taking study they will need in order to set them apart from the majority of their colleagues in the PSI field. Interestingly, quite a large number of this centre's students went on to undergo conference interpreter training after their DPSI training. They commented on how useful they found the fact that they had already been introduced to the concept of using note-taking in interpreting, and were already applying it successfully.

Conclusion

Even though there is no compulsion on teaching centres preparing students for the DPSI to equip students for 'life after the exam', I believe that in these most difficult and uncertain times for PSIs it is those who are best prepared for life after the exam who will in the end remain in the business and prosper. As outlined in the section above on the divergence between training and interpreting in the real world, the interpreting scenarios in the DPSI English Law option examination do not in the majority of examples portray the more extreme cases that graduating students may encounter even on their first day in the job. In the absence of any legal or professional onus on centres I believe there is still a moral obligation, almost a duty, for centres not to send students out unprepared for life after the exam. The good centres will do this, and I have received feedback from students I taught at centres one and two expressing thanks for preparing them for what in many cases proved to be a baptism of fire in their first few weeks in the profession. Classroom contact time on all DPSI preparation courses is limited. In addition to the vast amount of work there is to get through on the published syllabus for the DPSI, as outlined above there is also a vast amount of real-life preparation that needs to be taught alongside. It has been said many times before that in PSI there can be no "dress rehearsal" or apprenticeship period. As soon as a Public Service Interpreter attends their first real assignment they are very much on their own, and I feel it is beholden upon teaching centres to ensure that their students are not only exam-ready but, just as importantly, fit-to-practise.

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6

Towards a Unified Model for Interpreter User Training in Communication via an Interpreter: The Norwegian Experience

Tatjana Radanović Felberg

Background

When interpreter end users in the public sector, such as doctors, judges, lawyers, teachers and child welfare officers, lack a common language with users of their services, they need the help of an interpreter in order to carry out their duties. Such institutional dialogues are often fraught with communication difficulties. It seems that the mere presence of an immigrant moves the attention unduly away from general communication problems to cultural differences or poor interpretation, often overshadowing the public service employee's role.

The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi), responsible for interpreting in the public sector in Norway, conducted five surveys on how public servants in Norway communicate via interpreters. One of the main findings from the surveys, that public servants need to learn more about how to communicate via interpreters, led to an allocation of funds to a development project called 'Communication via interpreter for public service employees' (2011–2012). The aim was to develop an introductory course for all public servants in Norway on how to communicate via an interpreter.

In this chapter I briefly describe the background and content of this development project paying particular attention to the contributions by the course participants who actively contributed to the development of the course. I also initiated a discussion about the phases identified in the participants' self-awareness process, which are as follows:

1. Understanding the imbalance of power in institutional dialogues
2. Understanding the intersection between interpreters' and public servants' areas of expertise
3. Taking back the responsibility for communication in institutional dialogues.

Introduction

> The interpreter, the client and I are all in the same rowing boat. It is important that we all row in the same direction following the same rhythm. (A participant in 'Communication via interpreter for public service employees', 2011)

The rowing boat metaphor used by a participant on the course 'Communication via interpreter for public service employees', to describe an interpreter-mediated dialogue, points at two important elements: the participants' competence/skill in rowing and the acknowledgement of the necessity for interaction amongst the participants in order to achieve a common goal. Whilst acknowledging the interactional nature of interpreter-mediated institutional dialogues (Wadensjö, 1998), this chapter particularly focuses on 'the rowing skills' and the corresponding training of one of the participants—the Norwegian public service employee as an interpreter user.[1]

Public service employees include employees from the legal, health, educational and/or social service spheres.

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[1] There are always at least two interpreter users in every interpreter-mediated dialogue. In this article I will use interpret user to denote the public service employee.

The professionalization of interpreting in the public sector in Norway started in the early 1970s, focusing primarily on developing university-level interpreter training, an accreditation exam and establishing a Norwegian National Register of Interpreters (www.tolkeportalen.no. Accessed 23 May 2014). However, in the last decade interpreter users' functions and responsibilities in institutional dialogues have become an increasingly important topic (Felberg et al., 2011; Felberg & Skaaden, 2012; Jareg & Pettersen, 2006; Kale, 2006; Skaaden & Felberg, 2011). There is a growing awareness amongst interpreter users that the professionals in charge also have their share of responsibility for the communication in institutional dialogues. This has been documented in five surveys (IMDi, 2007a, 2008, 2009, 2011a, 2011b) that are addressed in this chapter. Public service employees' responsibility to inform and guide their users is stipulated in various Norwegian laws and regulations (Public Administration Act, Patients' Rights Act, Immigration Act, Courts of Justice Act etc.). It is also mirrored in the now widely used definition:

> Public sector interpreting enables professionals to guide, inform and 'hear' the parties in the case at hand, despite language barriers. (Skaaden, 2001: 171)

This official definition represents a shift in focus in the Norwegian public sector from perceiving the responsibility for communication as resting only with one group, either with minority language speakers or with interpreters, to placing the responsibility on professionals working in the public sector and their need to carry out their professional duties. And in order to do this, public service employees need to be trained in how to communicate via interpreters.

After providing a short background on interpreting in the public sector in Norway, this chapter gives an overview of the development project 'Communication via interpreter for public service staff' (Felberg, 2013a, 2013b) and its outcome—a one-day training course in using interpreters for communication. The overview of the project is followed by participants' evaluations of the course and a preliminary analysis of three phases identified as the participants' self-awareness process during the course: understanding the imbalance of power in institutional dialogues; understanding the intersection between interpreters' and public servants' areas of expertise; and taking back the responsibility for communication in institutional dialogues.

The Need for Interpreter End-User Training

> I must admit that I actually notice a significant difference between trained and non-trained interpreter-users. Trained interpreter-users rarely hamper me in doing my job. (An interpreting student, 2010)

An increased need for interpreting in the Norwegian public sector arose in the 1970s when larger groups of immigrants from different countries started coming to Norway. In 2014, Norway's immigrant population consisted of people from 221 different countries and independent regions and comprised 14.9 % of the overall population.[2] There is a registered need for interpreters in more than 100 languages (IMDi, 2007a, 2007b:12).

The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDi) and later the IMDi, took a leading role in the strategic development of interpreting in the Norwegian public sector through a comprehensive response including: interpreter accreditation (1997); Guidelines for Best Practice in Interpreting (KAD, 1997); sporadic interpreter training from 1985 that became permanent university-level training in 2007; and a Norwegian National Register of Interpreters (2005). The official view of the interpreter's function is clearly expressed in the abovementioned guidelines, and is built around the principles of fidelity and impartiality. It is also explicitly stated that 'the interpreter is not to serve as an informant or broker on cultural issues' (for discussion of this point see Felberg et al., 2013, Chap. 4 in this volume).

The process of professionalization of interpreting in the public sector in Norway has intensified in the last decade and due attention is now paid to end-user training. The first step taken by IMDi was to obtain an indication of the challenges that were faced by interpreter users when using interpreters in Norway, in order to acquire a knowledge base upon which to implement possible future measures (IMDi, 2009-6:8). This was done through five surveys (IMDi, 2007a, 2008, 2009, 2011a, 2011b) in five sectors of the Norwegian public service system:

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[2] Statistics Norway, www.ssb.no/innvbef. Accessed 23 May 2014.

1. Healthcare—general practitioners ($N = 1596$)[3]
2. Child welfare services ($N = 1007$)
3. The criminal justice chain (the Norwegian Police Service, the Norwegian Prosecuting Authority, the Courts of Justice and the Norwegian Correctional Services) ($N = 1029$)
4. Primary and lower secondary schools in Oslo ($N = 172$)
5. The Norwegian Labor and Welfare Service—NAV ($N = 3328$).

All surveys consisted of a quantitative survey amongst the relevant agencies, and in-depth or focus-group interviews with some participants from the quantitative surveys.

The majority of respondents to all surveys agree that not using interpreters can have serious consequences, be it making a wrong diagnosis as a GP, taking incorrect measures in the criminal justice system, not giving families all the information needed to understand the decisions made by the child welfare service, reducing the quality of cooperation with negatively affected families or not giving users enough information about their rights and obligations.

The following summary of the general findings from the surveys is provided here to give a broad view of the challenges facing interpreter users in Norway:

- The need for interpreters varies depending on where in the system and where in Norway one works.
- There is a registered need for more interpreters in the Oslo/Akershus area than in other parts of Norway. This is explained by the settlement pattern of the immigrant population. It is much easier to hire an interpreter in Oslo/Akershus than in other parts of Norway.
- Some respondents reported that interpreters are not always used when needed. For example, only 33.9 % of correctional service employees responded that they have used interpreters when needed compared to 94.2 % of respondents from the courts (IMDi, 2009-6:9). Another example is found amongst teachers, where four out of ten believe that an interpreter is not used often enough at their workplace (IMDi,

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[3] N denotes the number of respondents.

2011a-2:9). The reasons for not using an interpreter when needed include:

– Difficulties in obtaining the services of interpreters in acute situations
– Difficulties in obtaining interpreters for certain languages
– Financial considerations
– Minority language speakers not wishing to use interpreters because they either overestimate their own knowledge of the Norwegian language or they do not trust interpreters that are booked
– Responsibility for communication problems being placed partly on minority language users; for example, some service providers expect minority language speakers either to have learned Norwegian after some years spent in Norway or to obtain an interpreter themselves.

The use of friends and relatives as interpreters is also reported by some respondents, including inmates sometimes functioning as interpreters in the correctional services, GPs using family members or friends of the end user to communicate with and school employees being used in conversations between teachers and parents. The respondents, on the other hand, stress that the topic of the conversation is usually a determining factor in whether a non-interpreter is used. If the topic is judged unimportant, it is considered acceptable to use non-interpreters.

The use of children as interpreters still occurs in some non-planned cases, for example, in cases of formal complaints, consultations with GPs, at parent–teacher meetings or in contact with the welfare services. As of 2013, the Norwegian government has started working on a law to forbid the use of children as interpreters (https://www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Publikasjoner/Referater/Stortinget/2012-2013/130318/4/. Accessed 23 May 2014).

There is a need for clearer procedures for booking interpreters, including procedures for checking interpreters' qualifications, and for guidelines on how to communicate via interpreters.

There is insufficient knowledge of the official understanding of the function of the interpreter. In the Norwegian public sector an interpreter is defined as one who *'…interprets what is said without adding anything*

or leaving anything out' (IMDi, 2009-6:10). Neither public servants nor those who function as interpreters share this understanding. This leads to situations such as interpreters making reference to cultural differences by providing additional information, interfering in the case or taking on a consoling or advocate function, all of which were reported in the surveys. These situations are sometimes expected and accepted by the interpreter users. However, as is formulated in one of the surveys, there is a need for more training for interpreters and '*increased professionalization of the occupation of interpreting is required*' (IMDi, 2008-3:8). Furthermore, there is a need to train the professionals in how to communicate via interpreters. Indeed, very few respondents have received any form of actual training, and they have the opinion that '*more training would make it easier to use interpreters*' (IMDi, 2009-6:9).

From this general overview it is noticeable that almost all points identified as challenges in the surveys have something to do with the interpreter users' area of responsibility, including deciding when to use the interpreter, checking the interpreter's qualifications, using trained interpreters and not allowing the use of family members, friends or children as interpreters.

As mentioned above, the interpreter users who were surveyed report that they have received little or no training in communication via interpreters (IMDi, 2008:6; 2009:5; 2011a-3:7, 2011b-2:7). They also specified the need to:

- Obtain more information about the importance of using interpreters
- Find out more about the situations for which interpreters should be used
- Acquire more practical training in communication via interpreters in everyday situations
- Ascertain the actual responsibilities of interpreters and interpreter users in institutional dialogues.

As noted above, this documented evidence that public servants need to learn more about how to communicate via interpreters led to an allocation of funds to Oslo and Akershus University College for Applied Sciences (HiOA) by IMDi in 2011, for a development project called

'Communication via interpreter for public service staff'. It was of vital importance to synchronize the training of interpreters and interpreter users. This is why the institution that trains interpreters was chosen to develop training for interpreter users, thus avoiding the possibility of contradictory constructions of interpreters' and interpreter users' functions. If both interpreters and interpreter users have a shared understanding of their areas of responsibility, this will facilitate their work and contribute to an overall increase in job satisfaction.

The main aim of the development project was to systematize interpreter user training in Norway by developing an introductory course for all public service employees in how to communicate via an interpreter. It was also important to base the interpreter-user training on already existing experience including e-learning programmes for healthcare workers (Felberg, Imsen, & Skaaden, 2011, 2013) and various shorter training courses (2–3 h) developed for the police, child welfare service personnel and social workers. HiOA participated in making these different training courses and was also in the unique position of having access to first-hand information from the interpreter students' side as well.

The development project was divided into three parts:

1. Development of an introductory course in communication via interpreters for public service employees
2. Development of a five-credit module in communication via interpreters for employees in the criminal justice chain
3. Training of trainers (course facilitators).

In this chapter I concentrate only on the first part.

Introductory Course in Communication via Interpreter for Public Service Employees

The main aim and learning outcomes of the course were defined as follows. The professionals working in the public sector will, upon the completion of the course, have the following learning outcomes;

1. Knowledge about

    (a) How language barriers influence public service employees' own professionalism
    (b) The interpreter's area of responsibility and working methods
    (c) Prerequisites for successful communication via interpreter

2. Skills in

    (a) How better to communicate via interpreter in the most usual situations

3. General competence

    (a) How to prepare for successful communication via interpreter
    (b) How to understand the connection between one's own professionalism and communication via interpreter.

Content of the Introductory Course

After many discussions about what such a course should comprise and based on IMDi's reports and earlier experiences in delivering similar training, the project group agreed that the following topics should be included:

- General information about the field of interpreting in the public sector in Norway
- The interpreter's and the interpreter user's areas of responsibility in interpreter-mediated institutional dialogues
- The specifics of interpreter-mediated institutional dialogues
- Laws and regulations regulating interpreting in the public sector in Norway
- Interpreting methods
- Information about the Norwegian National Register of Interpreters
- Information about what interpreters learn from interpreter training
- Specifics of telephone interpreting
- What can go wrong in interpreter-mediated dialogues and why

- Consequences of not using interpreters or using family members, friends or non-trained interpreters
- How communication via interpreters can influence the professionalism of public service staff
- Practical tips on how to prepare for successful communication via interpreter.

Pedagogical Approach and Dilemmas

The pedagogical approach of experience-based learning was chosen for the introductory course, which means that the course participants are considered to be the most important resource in the learning process. This means that the course participants are considered to be the most important resource in the learning process. Course facilitators are there to guide and motivate the course participants to reflect on their different experiences. The examples discussed on the course are either situations that course participants have experienced in their work or examples that appear during the course, either from other participants or from role plays. Rather than having ready answers for all possible situations, the course facilitators help participants find good solutions for particular situations by asking pertinent questions. Course participants are encouraged to share their own anonymized answers, discuss the consequences of different solutions and ask questions. Different pedagogical methods are combined in order to make the learning process easier, including discussions, role play, video, group work and lectures.

A number of dilemmas appeared during the development of this course, some of which are referred to in the following.

The Status of the Introductory Course

What status should such a course have? How can it be implemented in different parts of the public sector? IMDi as a promoter of the professionalization of the interpreting function has the overall aim of mainstreaming the topic of communication via interpreter in basic training for all professions. To achieve that aim, a one-day course will

be developed and, until its goals have been attained, offered to all public service employees in Norway. The further practical implementation of this approach is under development. Different possibilities are being considered, from inclusion of the course within continuing professional education where possible (the course has been integrated into the continuing education system of The Norwegian Bar Association, The Norwegian Association of Midwives, The Norwegian Association of Dentists, The Norwegian Psychological Association and The Norwegian Nurses Organisation), to a centralized model, HiOA being the institution from which the course is offered on a regular basis.

Is the Course for Employees from One or Several Professions?

The question of who the course participants would be arose early in the development process. Two models of composition of course participants were considered: having members of a single profession or combining different professions. HiOA has tested the latter model. The rationale behind this decision was that basic knowledge about interpreter-mediated institutional dialogues is not necessarily profession-specific. Another important point was the added value from the exchange of experience in combined groups. The course participants' evaluations confirmed our assumptions. They expressed their relief at learning that others encountered similar problems and appreciated the opportunity to hear about different practical solutions that others have tried (e.g. the use of telephone interpreting for some types of communication in place of meetings, more practical organization of interpreting services or how to ask control questions if there is a suspicion that the minority language speaker did not understand).

Length of the Course

The length of the course was a compromise between what the trainers found was necessary and the time and resources the public service employees were willing to invest. The project opted for a minimum of a one-day (six-hour) course. Whilst some course participants think that the

course should be somewhat shorter, others would like to have a further day of training as a follow-up to the introductory course.

Number of Participants and Course Facilitators

As the course is based on a high level of interactivity, the ideal number of participants is between 8 and 20. The majority of the course participants indicated in their evaluations that they valued the interactivity aspect very highly, which the project took as a positive evaluation of the size of the groups.

During the six hours dedicated to the course a variety of topics from linguistic to financial are covered. Both the length of the course and the content suggested that there should be two course facilitators present, a decision which was also evaluated positively by the majority of the course participants.

The Evaluation of the Trial (October 2011–November 2012)

Course Participants' Voices

The introductory course was delivered 13 times during the period from October 2011 to November 2012. A total of 204 course participants from different professions including police officers, nurses, social workers, psychologists, physiotherapists and prison warders attended the courses. The course participants were informed that they were involved in the process of developing a course and were asked to evaluate it both during and at the end of the sessions. The project group monitored the evaluation closely and implemented necessary changes that the course participants suggested during the courses. Some examples of changes were inclusion of more video material, allowing more time for role plays and discussions, or the provision of more detailed information on laws and regulations governing the use of interpreters in Norway.

The following points were gathered from oral evaluations or comments given during the courses.

Before every session, the course facilitators asked the course participants about the challenges they faced in their work. A whole range of different issues was recorded, some of which overlapped with the results from the IMDi surveys mentioned earlier. The following issues came up in all the courses:

- Financial considerations when deciding whether to use interpreters
- Cultural differences and the interpreter's function
- Using the same interpreter versus several per client
- Challenges with telephone interpreting
- General insecurity in the triadic interaction (who can do what)
- Interpreters' lack of understanding of the system and its terminology planned versus acute dialogues
- Family members who want to interpret
- Female versus male interpreters.

As we can see, the challenges users face are both on a systemic and an individual level. This requires the types of challenges to be categorized in order to address them accordingly. The course participants also gave some examples of bad practices on the part of interpreter users that they believed could affect the quality of interpreters' work:

- Allowing unqualified interpreters to interpret.
- Not giving enough information to the interpreter beforehand (e.g. about what type of conversation they are going to interpret, number of participants, gender etc.). Interpreter users experience a tension between what kind of information they can give to the interpreter beforehand and the principle of confidentiality that they are obliged to follow.
- Asking the interpreter to do other things than interpret. Such things include practical errands, accompanying the minority language speaker home, to a pharmacy or to another office after the assignment is over or asking interpreters for their own opinion based on the assumption that because the minority language speaker and interpreter share a common culture, the interpreter knows the answer.

The following points come from the written participant evaluations from all 13 courses. The evaluation forms consisted of seven questions.[4] The first three questions required answers on a scale from one to five, whilst the remaining four were open questions. Course participants (94 %) evaluated the course as very relevant or relevant (giving it four or five) and 92 % believed that they would be able to use the knowledge they acquired during the course in their everyday work (four or five). The majority of the course participants (88 %) evaluated the amount of course content as 'adequate' (three or four).

The answers to the fourth question about what participants thought was the most important personal learning outcome from the course could be grouped into three categories: answers that mention better understanding of the interpreter's role, answers about concrete tips on how to behave in interpreter-mediated dialogues and answers about their own awareness of challenges in interpreter-mediated dialogues.

In all 13 courses there were participants who voiced their surprise about how difficult an interpreter's job is. Usually this happened after the role plays conducted in Norwegian–Norwegian, in which course participants played all three roles. The course participants had a keen sensation of how challenging it was just to repeat speech in the same language. They realized that it is very easy to omit, add to or change what a person says. The momentum of this realization was used to inform the course participants about other elements interpreter students learn as part of their training including 'the interpreter's code of ethics and its link to basic human rights […], the interpreter's basic tool (language) […] general contextual or situational knowledge and models of communication […] and specific contextual knowledge…' (Skaaden & Wattne, 2009:77–78). This contributed to participants being overwhelmed by the difficulty of interpreting; forgetting that interpreting is a profession, which takes a long time to perfect.

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[4] Question 1: The content of the course was—not relevant (1) very relevant (5); Question 2: The amount of material presented was—too little (1)—too much (5); Question 3: To what extent can you use the knowledge acquired from this course in your work: small extent (1)—great extent (5); Question 4: What are your most important learning outcomes from the course?; Question 5: Is there anything lacking in the course?; Question 6: In your opinion, what should the course have more or less of?; Question 7: How did the different pedagogical methods used in the course function (role-play, work in pairs, discussions, film, presentations)?

The course participants were satisfied with the practical skills they felt they acquired during the course. Those skills include the following: preparation before the institutional dialogue, such as informing the interpreter about the topic to be discussed and the number of participants; not letting the interpreter wait in the company of the minority language speaker; preparing for the meeting, for example allowing more time for interpreted dialogues, informing or letting the interpreter inform about his/her function, speaking directly to the user, letting the interpreter interpret etc. Some participants reported that they were aware of some of the good practices, but the added value of the course was having all these good practices systematized and discussed with other interpreter users. Raised awareness of the challenges in interpreter-mediated dialogues was also mentioned in all 13 evaluations. Several course participants describe this process of acquiring awareness as a 'Eureka' experience.

The answers to questions five and six, about what was lacking in the course or which topics were addressed in either too much or too little detail, changed from course to course as these were adjusted along the way. An example of such a change was the inclusion of a video depicting a good interpreter-mediated dialogue instead of having only examples of bad interpreter-mediated dialogues.

In addition, the importance of having time for reflection and discussion about ethical challenges in interdisciplinary groups was communicated both in written and oral form to the course facilitators. The use of role plays and film material to focus on particular points was rewarding, as the answers to question seven suggest, but for the majority of the course participants the best part seemed to be the discussions about the dilemmas experienced by the course participants themselves.

The Project Leader's Voice: The Interpreter Users' Awareness Process

The project leader, who is also the author of this article, identified three preliminary, partly overlapping elements in the awareness-building process that manifested themselves during all the courses:

1. The relationship between the interpreter user and the minority language speaker: becoming aware of the asymmetry of power in institutional dialogues
2. The relationship between the interpreter and the interpreter user: understanding the intersection between interpreters' and public service employees' areas of expertise
3. The interpreter user's own development, or taking back the responsibility for communication.

Becoming Aware of the Asymmetry of Power in Interpreter-Mediated Institutional Dialogues

Institutional dialogue, a dialogue between a representative of the public service and a user is by definition an asymmetric event (Nilsen, 2011). The public service employees possess the know-how, are put in a position of providing a service to their users and thus have more power. In addition to the asymmetric relation between the public service employees and the users of their services, the relationship in interpreter-mediated dialogues involves further asymmetry between public service employees and interpreters as well as between minority language speakers and interpreters. This adds to the complexity in communication, which is not addressed in detail in this chapter.

I believe it is useful to use the concept of 'power distance' (from the somewhat controversial theory proposed by Hofstede, 1997):27)) between service providers and service users, which seems to vary between different countries. Norway is said to be a country with small power distances (Hofstede, 1997: 26) so that the gap between service providers and service users is narrower than in some other countries. The service users who come from countries with much greater power distances construct relationships in institutional dialogues differently. This may lead to public service employees not fully understanding the perceived imbalance of power in institutional dialogues from the point of view of the minority language speakers and vice versa. Or, as expressed in a report about adapting public information for immigrants (Dahle & Ryssevik, 2011: 51):

'*As employees do not know the user's cultural references, the guidance and information given is based on a Norwegian context.*' [Author's translation]

'Power distance' seems to be understood as one element of the cultural differences between countries. As the concept of cultural differences is typically general and vague, it may paralyse public service employees' potential to act. During the course it was noticed that reframing the explanation from the general one of 'culture' to a more specific definition proved helpful.

Another example of cultural differences that was discussed in the courses (otherwise well documented in literature about interpreting, for example in Dysart-Gale, 2005; Rudvin, 2006; Dahle & Ryssevik, 2011) involved users who answer yes or nod to a question without understanding it. The discussions raised by the course participants usually started by blaming the interpreter for wrong translation, or by expressing an expectation that the interpreter should have clarified such misunderstandings. After this initial response, the discussion would move to the minority language user's responsibility to say when they did not understand. Finally, once participants realized that the minority language user probably acted out of the 'respect' he/she felt for the public service employee, the discussion would land within the public service employee's own area of responsibility. Thus, the 'irreconcilable' cultural differences were reframed into different expectations on the part of the *dialogue's participants*, *d*ue to different understandings of the asymmetric relationship in the public sector. The public service employee's insistence upon ensuring understanding as far as is possible is based on their knowledge of situations in which minority language speakers adapt their behaviour to meet perceived expectations based on their own cultural references. Once public service employees realize the power they have and use that realization to help them understand the reactions of some minority language speakers, there is no need to involve the interpreter as a 'cultural expert' in dialogue and, ideally, less misunderstanding is caused.

By addressing the specifics of mediated institutional dialogues, asymmetry issues are addressed in the courses for interpreter users as well. Nevertheless, based on the experience gathered from the project, it seems that more focus and time should be allocated to this topic in future courses.

Becoming Aware of the Intersection Between the Interpreters'
and the Public Service Employees' Areas of Expertise

Course participants report that they are insecure about the interpreter's function. The majority of course participants say that they had to 'make their own rules' whilst working with interpreters as there was no available training in communication via interpreters. Very often this resulted in the public service employees actively involving the interpreter in the institutional dialogue and thus transferring their own responsibilities to the interpreter. A very common example mentioned was that of public service employees asking interpreters their opinion about what the minority language speaker actually thought. The rationale behind such questioning is that both the interpreter and the minority language speaker have the same cultural background and must therefore understand each other. Thus, interpreter users construct the communication problem as something that belonged to the interpreter and the minority language speaker, removing themselves from the communication event.

Public service employees' insecurity was often increased by experiences with non-trained interpreters who did not perform well and who sometimes volunteered to do other jobs than interpret. Course participants gave examples of 'interpreters' acting as the minority language speaker's advocate or volunteering to do things for the user.

It takes a considerable amount of time for participants in the process to become aware that the interpreter-mediated institutional dialogue is an interaction and collaboration between representatives of two professions. This seems to be due to different, sometimes competing constructions of an interpreter's function caused by the relatively slow professionalization process of interpreting in the public sector. In addition, course participants complained about lacking time in their busy work schedules to reflect upon the intersection between the areas of responsibility of the two professions.

Taking Back the Responsibility for Communication in Institutional Dialogues

After the guidelines for good interpreters were explained and exemplified by numerous examples and consequences from real life, an obvious

change in some of the course participants was observed. It seems that the knowledge acquired also leads to increased self-confidence amongst the professionals in charge. Course participants themselves gave several examples of this:

> During this course I realized that I gave the interpreter all the responsibility by giving him a document to read to an inmate and then just getting the inmate's signature. And in the end there is only my signature on that document in addition to the inmate's, not the interpreter's signature; it is I who am responsible for my service user understanding what I need to tell him. (Course participant)

The same course participant reported that he had to have additional meetings with some inmates as they did not really understand the document as translated by the interpreter in the absence of a professional who could answer their questions. He came to the conclusion that he would have saved two hours spent on additional explanation and lots of frustration on all sides if he had spent maybe an extra half hour in the first meeting to ensure the inmate understood what was written in the document.

This snapshot overview of some phases of the awareness-raising process is a work in progress in its initial phase and more research is needed to support or refute these preliminary findings. It will also be necessary to contextualize these observations theoretically. Nevertheless, I believe that the tendencies outlined show the importance of researching the awareness-raising process in order to improve future courses.

Conclusion

Successful communication in interpreter-mediated institutional dialogues requires specific skills from interpreters and matching skills from public service employees in how to communicate via interpreter. It is imperative that training for both interpreters and interpreter-users training is synchronized in order to avoid contradictory modes of operation. One way of ensuring this synchronization of training is being tested in Norway, and consists of involving the institution that gives interpreter training in giving interpreter-user training as well. The development

project 'Communication via interpreter for public service employees', with the overall aim of offering equal service to minority language speakers despite the language barrier, started in 2011. The development project has tested one of many possible models for training interpreter users. The need for such models will probably persist until the topic 'communication via interpreters' is included in the basic training of all professionals who work with interpreter.

The training programme developed within the development project is a one-day (six-hour) introductory course that addresses the main challenges and specifics of interpreter-mediated institutional dialogues and thus diminishes any possible negative influence on interpreting from the interpreter users' side. The evaluations, from 204 users who came from different areas of the public service and who attended 13 trial courses, show that these courses are needed and relevant. The challenges that interpreter users meet in their work, including delineating interpreters' and interpreter users' areas of expertise and understanding the specifics of interpreter-mediated institutional dialogues, have been discussed and reflected upon. As the follow-up project is still running, further improvements and adjustments to the courses are being addressed. With this aim, preliminary research questions about interpreter users' process of awareness-raising during the course are being formulated. Three phases of this process have been identified as follows: becoming aware of the asymmetry of power in institutional dialogues; understanding the intersection between interpreters' and public servants' areas of expertise; and taking back part of the responsibility for communication. The results of the development project will thus contribute to further delineating clearer boundaries between interpreters' and interpreter users' areas of responsibility.

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Part II

**The Interface of
Interpreter-Mediated Encounters
and Training Opportunities in Public
Service Interpreting**

Introduction to Part Two

The second part of this book presents the current realities of practice and expectations in Public Service Interpreting (PSI), focusing on comparing theory and evidence-based practice. This section covers ethical dilemmas; defining interpreting competence; interpreting standards, quality and professionalism; dealing with tensions, conflicts, power and impotence in interpreter-mediated encounters; meeting training and development needs; educating versus training; and harnessing technology in interpreting provision.

Chapter 6 looks at interpreting as a multimodal activity and process, highlighting the meaningfulness of the concept of appropriateness in communication models. From the relevance of semantic components of linguistic utterances to the recourse to pragmatic mediation, the interpreter's multidimensional approach can lead to working at cross-purposes while seeking to fulfil the aim of interpreter-mediated encounters. Through the analysis of self-reported practical and functional experiences of Public Service Interpreters (PSIs), this chapter explores when, why and how the interpreter works at such cross-purposes in PSI as it seeks to identify areas of ethical dilemmas that require particular attention when training PSIs.

In Chap. 7 the author argues that while interpreting has been essential for human communication and trade across boundaries since the earliest times, Business Negotiation Interpreting (BNI) has never been seen, examined or analysed as a separate, distinct type of interpretation within the field of interpreting studies. Interpreting in business negotiation settings is, indeed, distinctly different from other forms of liaison interpreting, in several ways, not least in matters of role and ethics. The chapter focuses on how this specific role conflicts with the traditional codes of conduct of interpreters; what the challenges faced and the opportunities given are; and what skills should the interpreter be equipped with in order to be able to respond to these challenges. By understanding both the complexities of the role of business negotiation interpreters and the needs of clients, the author identifies similarities between the BNI role and PSI, and also acknowledges the differences and complexities of this specific setting.

Chapter 8 then considers in detail court and police interpreting in Greece and looks at how the system there has coped with the large numbers of immigrants, often illegal, who have arrived in the country in recent times, especially since 2013. The authors report on the findings of a survey distributed to non-Greek-speaking prisoners, both men and women, in three penal institutions, which investigated their experiences with the police and in court settings.

7

Insight into Ethical Dilemmas in Public Service Interpreting and Interpreters' Training Needs

Théophile Munyangeyo

Introduction

Among practitioners and researchers, there is a common understanding of the concept of interpreting as a communicative activity. Whether associated with translation (Lederer, 1980; Kelly, 1979; Pöchhacke, 2004; Pöchhacker and Shlesinger, 2002; Rabin, 1958; Ricoy, Perez, & Wilson, 2009; Wadensjö, 1998) or not (Corsellis, 2008; Hale, 2007:9), interpreting serves the same need of communication across multilingual boundaries. Due to the existence of different communication purposes, interpreting as a process of comprehension (listening and understanding), conversion (analysis, filtering and construction) and delivery (conveying and speaking) has generated several points of contention in relation to the principles of accuracy and faithfulness.

As a concept, interpreting can indeed create an intriguing reaction whenever there is an attempt to reconcile its semantic significance with its pragmatic and operational dimensions, since the practice serves a variety of communication purposes. 'When settings in which interpreting is conducted change, the communicative encounters and purposes change too. Those changes form communicative synergies which drive

the differentiation between conference and Public Service Interpreting (PSI)'. The alternative would be 'The communicative purpose of interpreting in the public-service is differentiated from that of conference interpreting by its social and physical context'.

While conference interpreting has traditionally been the focus of academic and professional attention (Jones, 1998; Kopczyński, 1980), public service settings have been the source of increased academic investigation in recent years. In an increasingly multilingual and multicultural global market, serving the competitive nature of business often requires the use of ad hoc and less formalised communicative mediations for a variety of purposes. Furthermore, as a result of globalisation, the world has witnessed large-scale waves of migration movements that have led to huge demands for consecutive and liaison interpreting in many intra-social settings. PSI covers all those areas of interpreter-mediated encounters.

Indeed, many researchers (Gentile, Ozolins, & Vasilakakos, 1996; Hale, 2007; Ricoy et al., 2009) have discussed the difference between conference and PSI. Many factors, including the level of formality, the physical proximity, the status of clients and the mode of delivery (simultaneous vs. consecutive), have been mentioned. However, the boundaries between these two processes can remain blurred. Nevertheless, Hale finds that the most obvious difference lie in "*the way each activity is perceived by the clients and interpreters themselves*" (2007:31). This distinction is very important to this study as it relates to the source of ethical dilemmas in PSI.

Conference interpreting has enjoyed a homogeneous identity due to its more prestigious status, whereas PSI has not generally been seen through the same lens.

Some define PSI in terms of the terminology used in community interpreting (Gentile et al., 1996; Hale, 2007; and Kainz, Prunč, & Schögler, 2011; Mikkelson, 1996; Niska, 1998; Roy, 1993; Roberts, Carr, Abraham, & Dufour, 2000; Rudvin, 2002). Others (Skaaden & Wattne, 2009) "*prefer the term public sector interpreting to the term 'community interpreting' and define public sector interpreting as inclusive of interpreting in legal settings*" (p. 74). By PSI we refer in this chapter to the interpreting practice and activities that take place in settings where "*significant issues of everyday individuals are discussed: a doctor's surgery, a social worker's or lawyer's office, a gaol, a police station or courtroom*" (Hale, 2007:26).

This chapter analyses experientially the testimonies on practices and challenges encountered during interpreting assignments. Participants working in police stations, courtrooms, schools and in social services, medical and immigration contexts gave accounts of situations where they felt roles and expectations were compromised due to the social environment. At this stage, it is important to note that there have been rich studies conducted in the past investigating power dynamics and the fluidity of the boundaries of the interpreter's role (Bogoch, 1994; Conley & O'Barr, 1990; Hale & Gibbons, 1999; Roy, 1993; Wadensjö, 1992). Following the same lines, Hale and Luzardo (1997) seem to go into the mind of the interpreter through their work *A Study of Arabic, Spanish and Vietnamese Speakers' Perceptions and Expectations of Interpreters*. The present study asks similar questions to its predecessors and contemporaries mentioned above, but also examines the ethical significance of how actions which were perceived to be the right thing and appropriate behaviour could yet be unethical vis-à-vis the principle of neutrality of the interpreter. The methodology is described below.

It is true that interpreting standards have been very well documented. Pöchhacker has even traced this back to the sixteenth century confirming that "*written standards of conduct for interpreters can be traced back at least to the fourteen laws enacted by the Spanish Crown between 1529 and 1630 to regulate the behaviour of interpreters in contacts with colonial officials and the native population*" (2004:164). The role, identity and responsibilities of the interpreter should be revisited in tandem with interpreting standards and purposes. Together with all the other linguistic and professional skills, training needs to effectively address the handling of ethical dilemmas in interpreting, which can, it will argue again here, be catered for using a self-directed learning mode by Boyatzis (2002).

Theoretical Framework

Given the fact that this study uses the narrative analysis as a qualitative inquiry approach which is applied to real experiences, it is appropriate to use the Iceberg Theory proposed by Hemingway (1932). Oliver (1999) draws attention to Hemingway's metaphor of the iceberg, highlighting the way this theory can help in understanding the deeper meaning of

words, actions, conflicting expectations and attitudes in interpreter-mediated encounters. As Creswell (2013:48) says,

> we conduct qualitative research when we want to empower individuals to share their stories, hear their voices […]. We conduct qualitative research because we want to understand the contexts or settings in which participants in a study address a problem or issue.

The iceberg metaphor can be understood to mean that key factors can float above the water, while the supporting structures mainly operate out of sight. As a matter of fact, Hemingway rarely detailed any sequence of events in his narratives. For him, the deeper meaning of a story does not lie on the surface; it is richer when it is implicit. By omitting elements that would explicitly unveil a drama, he intends to give the reader the power to explore the consequences of events in order to imagine possible dramatic events that might have led the drama to trigger such consequences. It is the omission of those events as part of his writing style that gave birth to what has become known as the Iceberg Theory, and also known as the Theory of Omission.

It is in chapter 16 of his *Death in the Afternoon* that Hemingway compares his writing and reading theory to an iceberg Cited in Smith, (1983:322), Hemingway argues that,

> If a writer of prose knows enough of what he is writing about he may omit things that he knows and the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feeling of those things as strongly as though the writer had stated them. The dignity of movement of an ice-berg is due to only one-eighth of it being above water (p. 322).

This means that in most cases, only limited information about a situation, behaviour or phenomenon is clearly observable, whereas the set of data and key information remain invisible or hidden.

Based on the principle that only about one-eighth of an iceberg's mass or tip is visible, while the other seven-eighths of the iceberg hide beneath the surface in deep waters, the Iceberg Theory is useful in studying meaningfully experiences, attitudes, conflicting expectations and some behaviours that might be perceived as odd in relation to ethical principles in interpreting practice (Fig. 7.1).

The behavioural iceberg theory applied to interpreting practice

The behavioural iceberg theory applied to client's needs and expectations in PSI

The tip of the iceberg: Knowledge (tested level of bilingualism, awareness of policies, procedures and ethics) and skills (listening and speaking)

The tip of the iceberg: Needs (to be heard) and expectations (interpreter's role as a communication medium)

Reality check: real-self

Interpreting role-riddle

Values: What is acceptable or unacceptable

Traits, situational and contextual motives and forces

Trends, feelings, attitudes, assumptions

Covert interactivity

Expectations: mind reading, Social connection, empathy

Needs and systemic structures: interpreting purposes

Fig. 7.1 The iceberg image

The above Iceberg Model can help in exploring the roles, expectations and behaviours of participants and how they affect interactional communication in interpreter-mediated encounters.

'In relation to behavioural change, the Iceberg Theory is in line with Gibbs (1988) and his Reflective Cycle Model. Boyatzis' Self-Directed Learning Approach (2002) for intentional change can also feed through Gibbs' model. Coupled with the Iceberg Theory and Self-Directed Learning Approach, the use of the Reflective Cycle Model can enhance the understanding of ways of dealing with ethical dilemmas in interpreting, through appropriate training' (Fig. 7.2).

Gibbs' Reflective Cycle Model (RCM) (1988) offers a means of focusing on self-development by reflecting on experiences and behaviours in observational and interactional settings.
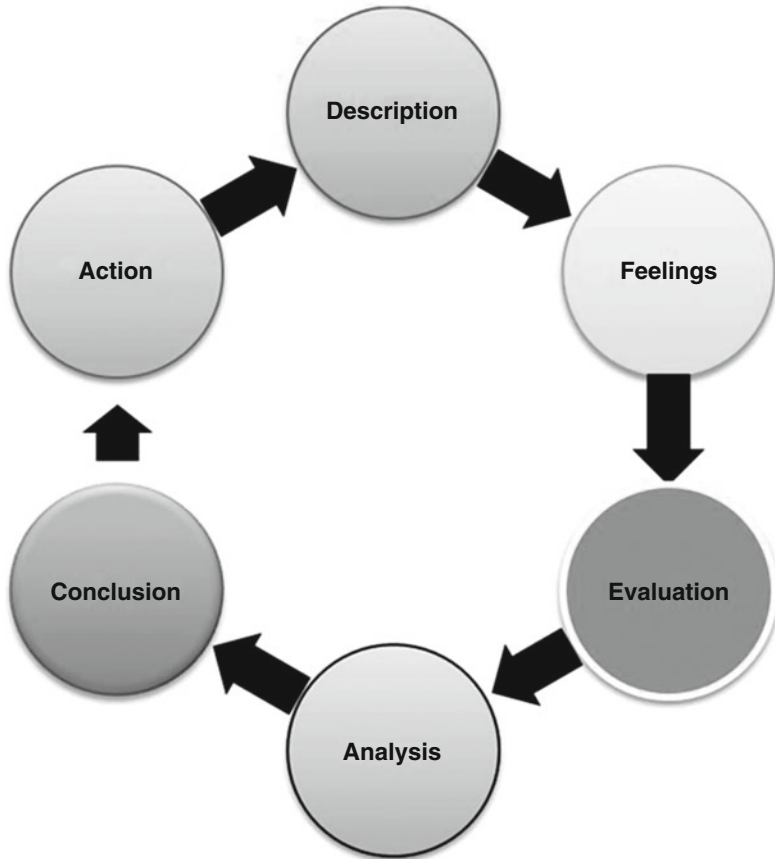
Fig. 7.2 Gibbs' Reflective Cycle Model (RCM) (1988)

Methodology

The idea of investigating the ethical dilemmas in PSI came into my mind when I was supervising students' work, reflecting on their experiences as freelance interpreters. Those students were enrolled on PSI training courses, offered from level 4 to level 7. The courses were part of a continuing professional development training programme. These courses which are now in a process of of being phased out were delivered online

by distance learning and only people with interpreting experience could enrol, either to get a formal qualification or to further develop their skills in this professional area. The courses did not focus on language skills development but were rather based on the enhancement of interpreting skills, principles, policies and practices.

The students' reflections that attracted my interest were mainly about breaching confidentiality and the code of conduct in interpreting; the code of conduct in judiciary interpreting; and ethical dilemmas and dealing with difficult situations in face-to-face consecutive interpreting. These reflections were part of the assessment arrangements, which are accessible via moodle learning platform. Students' testimonies of their own experiences in various interpreting assignments were so revealing in relation to conflicting expectations between interpreters and clients that I wanted to understand more about what really happens in PSI settings. I discussed one reflection with a student on a face-to-face basis, and what I learnt from him led me to believe that there were some serious issues that should be discussed to explore ways of improving the training of Public Service Interpreters. I decided to ask students to share with me their critical reflections on ethical dilemmas, power dynamics and dealing with difficult situations in PSI. I also asked them to complete a questionnaire assessing their training needs in order to improve interpreting practice. The questionnaires were sent to students at the end of the course as attached documents to emails. Some participants sent back signed hard copies and others sent them back electronically with their consent to used primary research data in accordance with institutional research ethics principles and practices.

After obtaining research ethics clearance from my institution, I collected reflections and completed questionnaires from 28 interpreters working in different areas, including councils, legal courts, schools, social and community services, the National Health Service (NHS) and police stations. While some interpreters were students enrolled on the online interpreting courses, others were either tutors supervising these students or freelance interpreters who were identified through professional networks. All these interpreters had completed some prior formal training for interpreting accredited certification, including the Metropolitan Police Test. They also all confirmed that they were aware of what the Code

of Practice (Code of Conduct) requires for interpreting in the organisations they worked for/with. Apart from the European languages, such as French and Portuguese, the lesser taught languages that were mostly used by these interpreters were Arabic, Bosnian, Croatian, Kinyarwanda, Kirundi, Lingala, Persian, Russian, Serbian and Swahili.

As a narrative researcher (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000), I was particularly interested in analysing the discourse and power followed by (Fairclough, 1989) of participants' stories and their experiences and was less concerned about the actual number of participants. As Creswell (2013:70) has said, "*Narrative researchers collect stories from individuals (and documents, and group conversations) about individuals' lived and told experiences*". In an attempt to gain insight into what goes on in PSI practice, a qualitative method was used.

> Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible […]. Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011:3).

The stories that were gathered were coded, using only Interpreter A, B, C,D as IA, IB, IC, ID to meet research ethics anonymity conditions. The numbers (IA1, IA2 or ID1) refer to different parts, extracts or accounts from one main self-reported experience of interpreting assignments. Not all the stories collected were used in this study. Only those experiences which are more informative in relation to ethical dilemmas and the needs for interpreting training were referred to and analysed thematically (what was said) in line with the "*thematic analysis in which the researcher identifies the themes 'told' by participants*" (Creswell, 2013:72), structurally (how it was said) and pragmatically (why it was said).

Results

As I mentioned in the previous section, the bulk of research data was obtained through self-reported public service interpreter's experiences while working in courts, schools, health services and at immigration

interviews. Through their stories, one can gain insight into current practices in PSI, especially the way the attestation or expectation of the interpreter's active participation in the communication process can lead to ethical dilemmas. It is worth noting that although all participants in this study were interpreters, some of the stories relate to their own experiences as asylum seekers when they too were in need of interpreters. The fact that some of those now working as interpreters were once in a client's shoes provided the opportunity to explore interpreter-mediated encounters from the standpoint of both the interpreters and services users.

Interactional Salience and Ethical Dilemmas in PSI

Due to diverging purposes, interests and expectations, interpreting in public service settings can be very complex. For instance, interpreter IA1 gives accounts of difficult situations he experienced while on an interpreting assignment.

In account IA1, the interpreter was assigned to interpret for a parent who was meeting with a group of five teaching staff in a school:

> At some point during the meeting, the parent accused one of the teachers of racism towards his child. The parent expressed his opinion in [sic] the way his child was treated at the school and concluded that it was a result of racism from one particular teacher. The parent, in anger, left the meeting and went home without listening to anyone else's opinion. Every one present was shocked of [sic] the action of the parent. The teacher in question started to express her opinion about what was said, explaining to everyone that she had never been racist. Being of the same race with the parent, everyone felt they owed to explain to me [sic] what the school had done for the child's interest, how the school has treated the child fairly and tried hard to provide extra support. (IA1)

With this testimony, it is clear that the interpreter's own racial identity has contributed to the shaping of the social dynamics of the interpreting encounter, which drove communication purposes. While the interpreter initially thought he was socially an invisible participant, the iceberg assumptions brought his identity to the surface. On the one hand, the

school staff as hosts felt the need to explain the underlying conditions of the situation to make sure that the interpreter as a visitor did not leave the school with a negative image of it, or a belief that it practised racial discrimination. On the other hand, the interpreter felt obliged to engage with the situation, and worked beyond his role, by feeling obliged to stay after the parent had left the room. The teachers' intention and desire to communicate were driven not by interpreting purposes but rather by the social consciousness that relates to the social interpretation of expectations and the behaviour of involved parties. As Wolfgang (2010:108) states,

> Our intentionality, our consciousness, comes into existence by being a part of society, a member of a discourse community. We develop thoughts, feelings, ideas, beliefs, and attitudes in collaboration with others. Our intentionality is part of the collective intentionality of the discourse community to which we belong. Our mind is part of a collective mind (p. 108).

From both sides, the behaviour and the need to communicate were triggered by the presence of the other party, which altered the interpreter's role and the purposes of communication in that particular interpreting assignment. Interactional salience was reflected by a need to communicate that went beyond the initial purpose of communication. Indeed, interpreters' roles and role conflicts have long been debated by researchers in PSI (Clifford, 2004; Davies & Harré, 1990; Dean & Pollard, 2005; Wadensjö, 1998) and it is therefore clear that under certain circumstances, the interpreter's role as invisible participant is just not tenable.

In IA2 testimonial story, the interpreter talks about those interpreting assignments in which he felt he was being asked or was expected to breach the Code of Conduct. He shared with me how he dealt with the situation which took place in a health centre with a General Practitioner (GP)':

> The GP explained to me that, at that time, this was not about interpreting only, that this was about saving someone's life who was in imminent danger. The GP explained to me that the specialist was the only one in town that could issue the medication. I was also explained (sic) that my interpretation services were needed to treat that case. (IA2)

During the interpreting interaction, the GP was made aware that the patient had run out of their daily medication. However, any new prescription could not be issued without being prescribed by a hospital specialist. As it was late in the afternoon and the hospital that the patient had to attend was on the other side of the city, the GP desperately wanted the patient to be seen urgently and be given medication before the pharmacy closed.

The GP made an urgent phone call and secured the patient's appointment with the specialist within the next 25 min. In the presence of the patient, the GP asked the interpreter to help by using his own car to give the patient a ride to the consultation venue and pharmacy, and bring her back afterwards for further medical advice. Noticing that the interpreter's body language was displaying some hesitation, the GP stressed that the request was a desperate one. The situation was a matter of life and death since the patient had not taken their vital daily medication for 6 days. The interpreter decided to wear the lifesaver's hat and drove the patient to the hospital.

In these conditions, one can see how the role of interpreter can easily be switched to one of adviser, companion, critical friend or health advocate, depending on circumstantial conditions. With interpreters being social elements, the social values they uphold can dictate what is acceptable or unacceptable. Faced with ethical dilemmas, the need to interact is salient and required to meet the expectations of other parties involved in the act of communication, even when such expectations generate or are generated by conflicting purposes.

Conflicting Expectations of Solidarity, Empathic and Collusive Interactions Resulting from Systemic Structures

PSI is an area where interpreters' and clients' collusive partnerships can be brought about by the way interpreters are recruited for the assignments. Apart from situations where some clients are asked or allowed to bring their own interpreters, there are other contexts in which shared values and beliefs can trigger feelings of empathy and antipathy between the different parties involved in the act of communication. Under these conditions, pre- and post-interpreting sessions can easily generate discussions so as to sense prevailing stances among parties. Interpreters often reveal

that while the main goal of their PSI activity is to facilitate communication, clients' expectations can often entail deviations that require interpreters to stray far from the principles of invisibility and impartiality.

In the following story from account IB1, the interpreter describes an unfortunate situation where his desire to remain invisible in a legal context could not be fulfilled, due to dynamic changes in the interpreting purposes and expectations:

> On the third day of the hearing the tribunal panel asked the NES [non-English Speaker] several difficult questions. As the defendant started giving his evidence, he forgot to mention something important for his defence. His wife, who was seated behind me in the tribunal room, started making noise by whispering. The tribunal chairman said to her: 'I can understand this can be stressful, but please you need to be quiet while you are here'. She suddenly said: 'I just wanted to say that the interpreter is missing some important parts of what my husband is saying. He is not interpreting very well'. I wasn't expecting such accusations from a member of our team at all; I was truly caught by surprise. (IB1)

The structure of the testimony displays some elements of the discourse showing how social patterns of shared or perceived common identity make the story of the interpreting assignment evolve into diverging perceptions. For the client's wife, the purpose of interpreting was not to facilitate communication. It was rather to help her husband to get a positive outcome from the hearing, at any cost. She believed that the interpreter-mediated encounter was an appropriate opportunity for solidarity because she thought she shared the same values with the interpreter, in relation to the identity of being immigrants. Furthermore, having been chosen by the defence lawyer, the interpreter was expected to pick a side and work at cross-purposes (Munyangeyo, 2014), meaning playing different roles at one. What is interesting is that even though the interpreter's professional stance in terms of seeking impartiality in principle is unquestionable at this stage, he clearly acknowledges that he was a member of the defence team. This positioning perception can therefore drive the debates in pre- and post-interpreting interactions, as elements of systemic structures, where perceptions of empathy and collusion are at their highest. It has to be

emphasised that in this chapter the concept of positioning is not used in the context of studies by Hall (Hall, 1966) and Sommer (Sommer, 1969) on the discourse of proxemics and personal physical space. In his work *The Hidden Dimension* (1966) Hall examines the ways in which individuals use physical space in their interactions with others and how this use of physical positioning can influence behaviour of all parties involved in interactions. In this chapter, positioning does not refer to that notion of personal space which dictates the dimensions of the physical distances that people take in interpreter-mediated encounters. Positioning is rather referring to situations where interpreters take side for adherence. It is about the interpreter's stance through actions or attitude of displaying particular attitude, whether conscientiously or unconscientiously, towards any interpreting encounter.

In another assignment, IB's testimony of a situation where he acted as interpreter for a friend further illustrates the fact that collusive interactions can even go beyond covert expectations to become a request:

> During the interview, my friend was answering questions directly to me. He was practically engaging me in the conversation by asking for my opinions. He was asking some awkward questions, such as, 'You know that I am not capable of doing that to someone, don't you? Please tell him'. The police officer became a passive observer to the interview and started staring at me. (IB2)

The forces that drive such behaviours come from the systemic structures of positioning in PSI. Prior information about people and knowledge of interpreter-mediated encounters can contribute to the reshaping of power dynamics where some participants can turn into "passive observers".

Barsky (1996) argues that the interpreter plays a mediating role in cross-cultural interactions. We have to remember that interpreter-mediated encounters concern real people. When these people have shared values, concerns, hopes and dreams, collusive behaviours can be expected. After all, interpreting is part of communication modes "*in real-life cross-cultural interactions between real people with their socially determined personae and in concrete physical environments*" (Merlini & Favaron, 2003:208). It is therefore clear that social connections and social micro-identities can generate either assumptions of collusive interactivity or behavioural antipathy in PSI.

Informal Interactions and Behavioural Shifts due to Attested or Perceived Antipathy

PSI in immigration settings offers situations where roles, responsibilities and power may be subject to considerable shifts in terms of positioning. Over the years, many researchers, such as Inghilleri (2003), Pöllabauer (2004) and Mason (2005) have highlighted those issues. In some cases, there are identity negotiations that allow interpreters to covertly determine their positioning. In other cases there are power shifts that allow interpreters to control interactions and make other parties passive participants.

In the account IC1, an asylum seeker talks about how knowing the identity of the interpreter was a determining factor in the outcome of his application for protection:

> When I noticed my interpreter was from my country of origin but from a different ethnic group, I immediately understood that sooner or later I was going to be deported. I knew that staying in…. was a matter of nights, not weeks. I was terrified and didn't know what to do! 'I fled the country because of them and now they are following me here!', I said. (IC1)

The story shows how complex immigration settings can be in an environment where there are so many potentially divisive factors based on identity, beliefs and ideologies. When immigrants have left their homelands due to armed conflicts, discrimination and persecutions, their tribal and ethnic identities or political allegiances may still shape their behaviour in terms of managing relationships in the host country. When the interpreter and the asylum seeker are aware that they belong to different camps whose relationship has previously been subjected to any mistrust or confrontational attitude, interpreter-mediated encounters can revive and re-incarnate those conflicts. Unfortunately, when hiring interpreters within a PSI context, service users do not pay much attention to this issue of diverging paths, polarised beliefs and strong identities among immigrants. While sharing any form of identity can trigger solidarity, belonging to different groups with a history of conflict can equally trigger huge sentiments of antipathy that can create imbalance in the power relations in communication encounters. In IC2's testimony, this asylum

seeker explains how a positioning based on such antipathy can change the interpreting purposes and henceforth the asylum application outcome:

> The interpreter turned to the immigration officer and explained things, and the Englishman was nodding and writing quickly. There was nothing I could do for two reasons: I couldn't speak English to warn the immigration officer and I didn't even know their connection! The only thing I could do was to wait for the appeal so that my countrymen could help me in getting my interpreter! (IC)

In the case of IC1, the incident displays the asylum seeker's conception of the role of the interpreter. With the use of the possessive identifier "my", the asylum seeker was expecting that in normal circumstances the interpreter should serve the purpose of the interview, which was to help the client make his case for a successful asylum application. However, in IC2, "my" was turned into "the" to dissociate the speaker from an interpreter who was working against expectations. This discursive element is very meaningful in showing how the interpreter's role, in IC's account, was shifting to serve the immigration officer's task, which was to get the necessary information to populate the interview form. The shift in power balance between different parties makes the asylum applicant a passive participant. At the end of the testimony, the asylum seeker uses the possessive pronoun "my" in relation to his "countrymen", and 'my interpreter' to refer to another interpreter who would perform their role better by showing solidarity in order to meet the interpreting goal; a goal which, for IC, coincides with serving the purpose of the asylum claim.

Ethical Dilemmas Triggered by Social Connections and Proxemic Stances

While in extreme cases positioning can represent deliberate or perceived unethical behaviour due to antipathy, there were many cases among the research undertaken where participants highlighted genuine interpreting dilemmas which had been triggered by external factors.

In story IA3, the interpreter talks about how the information he knew about the patient due to previous assignments put him in a position in which he had to work at cross-purposes:

> Prior to treatment, the client was asked a few questions to update his records on the system. When the client was asked the name and address of their GP, he answered that he did not know. However, the client knew that I knew who their GP was. The client turned to me and asked if I could answer on his behalf. (IA)

This is something that often happens due to social connections and interpersonal proximity. Proximity, which is an area of proxemics (Hall, 1966). Although interpreting interactions usually reflect the responsibilities of the participants involved in communication, any socially perceived closeness can generate ethical dilemmas.

In her studies in *Interpreting as Interaction*, Wadensjö (1998:11) argues that

> There is a reason to believe that interactions involving three or more individuals have a complexity which is not comparable to interaction in dyads. The interpreter-mediated conversation is a special case. It is obvious that the communicative activities involved in this kind of encounter are in some senses dyadic, in other respects triadic, and the active subjects may fluctuate in their attitudes concerning which of these constellations takes priority.

By obtaining insight into the PSI practice of calling upon the same interpreter for many interpreting assignments involving the same client, which take place in different settings and for different purposes, one realises that Wadensjö was absolutely right to suggest that the behaviour of active subjects in this communication mode can fluctuate. Information from previous assignments can ultimately influence behaviours in subsequent interpreting encounters.

In IB3, the interpreter recalls a case involving interpreting assignments for a client accused of child abuse. These assignments took place at the magistrates' court during a bail application, at the Crown Court during the plea hearing and at the Crown Court again for the sentencing hearing. This situation allowed the interpreter to know the background

information about the case, which made him an involved party, not as an interpreter but as a parent:

> In the end, he was convicted and the Judge read out the time that he was going to serve in prison. I felt my heart being filled up with a great relief. I felt full of energy to talk. I loudly and emphatically conveyed the message regarding the sentence, making sure that no nuance was missed. I forgot that I was standing next to him. When he was ordered to go downstairs, back to his cell, I happily watched him leaving the courtroom. Leaving my side seemed to me leaving my life. I believed in his guilt and was convinced that he was going to pay for his evil actions. (IB)

Faced with strong emotions due to the situation, the covert interactivity goes beyond interpreting boundaries to trigger real-self behaviours.

Reporting his experience of the same interpreting case, IB confesses his inability to resist the temptation of emotional involvement:

> I heard noise around me and when I turned around, I noticed that some people were painfully crying while others were jubilating [sic] in celebration of justice that had finally been done. I didn't know how I could behave in such complex situations. I didn't know whether I could smile or show sadness. I found myself surprisingly doing both and this made me realise how my role as interpreter who was emotionally involved in what was going on was very complex, demanding and challenging in relation to seeking impartiality that the role requires! (Account IB4)

Other participants have reported many other challenges that they face as interpreters when they attempt to deal with ethical dilemmas. IA shares an experience of a time when he was asked by a medical doctor to intervene beyond his role:

> Sounding desperate, the GP asked me if I had a car. The GP ordered me to drive the patient to hospital, interpret at her consultation and at the pharmacy and bring her back to the GP. The GP explained to me and to the patient that there was only one specialist in town who could see her immediately. The GP stressed that this was a desperate, life and death situation. (IA4 account)

   While the above ethical dilemma emerged from the doctor's request to save a patient's life in a desperate situation, other interpreters reported having been involved in situations where their own personal values were the major driver of their emotions and behaviours. ID discusses how she is often asked by clients to give advice. In testimony ID1, she talks about the way her upbringing often guides her attitudes and behaviour in interpreting:

> The way I was brought up, as a minimum of politeness, I am expected to help people, especially elderly and unwell people if they ask me to, and I am very happy to be able to help them—on the one hand. On the other hand, there is always that worry of being seen as unprofessional by my employers or other people around and potentially facing the consequences, if I accept to answer the questions or give the advice. Also, avoiding answering their 'very important questions' may create the feeling of distrust and animosity, from the NES side, what then can give a negative connotation to the rest of interpreting assignment and significantly affect the effectiveness of the session. (ID)

   Although ID wonders whether being asked by the NES to give information that is of crucial importance but which lies outside her interpreting engagement is ethical or not, it is clear that the issue causes her some distress as the ethical choice conflicts with her own behaviour outside the interpreting assignment.

Acceptable Versus Unacceptable Values

The continuation of IA's story about being asked for a GP's address whilst interpreting reveals how the interpreter's interventions can be justified actions for interpreting purposes:

> First I refused to answer because this would be in contrary [sic] to rules and protocols relating to interpreting in the professional context. However, when the client was struggling to guess the address and tried to give directions as to where their GP surgery was, he looked at me again for help. I had to explain to the dentist why I was going to answer on their client's behalf and I gave details to the dentist. This is one of many situations where working for the same client several times at different venues puts me in an awkward position. (IA5 account)

This testimony shows how interpreters can find themselves in situations where decisions are made to achieve the wider interpreting outcome rather than sticking, in a rigid manner, to the professional standards in relation to the code of practice. In the following story, IB explains why he made the decision to not refuse the assignment that involved interpreting for a friend, despite the unethical elements that were attached to his actions:

> On my way I got home, I reflected on the assignment and the way the interpreting had just been conducted. I came to the conclusion that although I shouldn't have accepted the assignment that clearly raised some issues of conflict of interests, I believed I had to do it because of two reasons: firstly, I didn't want to go back home empty handed. I completed the job that I was assigned to and was paid at a high rate of the night hourly pay. Secondly, I wanted to find out what was the reason for my friend being arrested and questioned so that I could see how I would provide him with any help he might need. (KS5)

Beyond any collusive perspectives, when such situations occur, it may not be simply because interpreters do not know what the code of conduct says about neutrality and fidelity. It can sometimes be a matter of moral judgement which, in some cases, puts interpreters in the grey area of ethical dilemmas. The following narrative continues the account of the interpreter asked to drive the NES to other medical appointments:

> I explained to the GP that, in my role as an interpreter, I was not allowed to take patients in my car and to be left with patients or clients on my own at any time of my assignment. I told the GP that leaving the patient in my care without any medical skills breached my code of conduct. Eventually I complied and went round with the patient in all of her appointments and brought her back to the GP. At the end of my assignment, I felt I had breached my code of conduct but I felt proud that my services, beyond interpreting, helped in saving someone's life. (IA6 account)

Similarly, the following continuation of the narrative about the teacher accused of racism clearly shows that although IA knew what his role entailed, the situation imposed on him another model of behaviour which was based on the principle of balancing what is right and what is wrong in social dynamics:

What made it so uncomfortable to me was the fact that I found myself at the centre of the meeting. Contrary to my role as an interpreter, everyone took turn [sic] to explain to me how the parent's opinion about the teacher was wrong. As an interpreter, I was not supposed to make any comment or express any own opinion during this meeting. However, at some point I had to respond and acknowledge that the school had done extremely well for the child's education. As my interpreting services was no more needed [sic] since the client I was meant to interpret for had left, I eventually managed to excuse myself and left the meeting. However, I realised that in many occasions, the interpreter's code of conduct can be difficult to stick to especially when the other parties are not aware of it or are under pressure to depart from it. (IA7 account)

There is an interesting issue that the above IA7 extract highlights: the lack of awareness of codes of conduct among other parties. It is indeed the case that interpreters seem to be the focus of most of the attention when it comes to the assessment of the success of the practice in interpreter-mediated encounters. However, expectations from other parties can remodel the interactions, forcing the interpreter to work at cross-purposes. Nevertheless, interpreters continue and will continue to be at the forefront of any attempt to professionalise the practice. While many training opportunities which have to date helped in improving the image of PSI and might have achieved the core aim of preparing interpreters for their complex and challenging role, participants in this study believe that the most useful training comes from the practice and the reflection based on it. This is where interpreters face real-life practice and hence start to encounter a variety of ethical dilemmas that require a pragmatic approach to resolve them.

Learning Through Doing and Reflection

From this insight into interpreters' actual experiences, it seems clear that what is expected from PSI regarding interpreting standards as stipulated in the various codes of conduct is, to some extent, theoretical. In practice, interpreters argue that beyond the fictional role that theoretical perspectives assign to them lie their real selves.

Facing the challenges that ethical dilemmas pose requires a degree of preparedness that traditional training may not offer but which could be developed through a self-directed learning approach. The following story shows how the concept of neutrality is an idealistic goal to achieve when real people are engaged in communication encounters, because the Iceberg Theory always applies whenever personal, situational and contextual motives and forces drive behaviour. The following continues the narrative of the interpreter in the child abuse case:

> It is always difficult for me to deal with any situation in which children are victims of any form of abuse. I have two children and when I come across child abuse cases, I easily get upset. But, work is work and I need to work even if the assignment doesn't please me. Being an interpreter isn't easy as it involves me in sensitive and complex situations. For this reason, I think I have to be prepared to deal with this kind of cases. (IB6 account)

'It is clear that it was only when IB reflected on his actions through a genuine self-assessment that he realised how hard interpreting work actually is'. Maintaining 'it is' means readers are the ones who find the situation clear after reading IB's confession.

In another situation, as we saw earlier, IB received an interpreting assignment at the police station. He found out that this assignment actually involved a friend of his. He thought about the code of conduct and ethics but did not declare the conflict of interest. He was not planning to play a collusive role but wanted to find out what his friend was accused of and how serious the charges against him were. After the assignment, he reflected on his actions and concluded that knowledge of the code of conduct is one thing but sticking to it at all times is another as it relates more to a theoretical assumption:

> The situation of interpreting for my friend at the Police Station made me realise that I shouldn't have done that assignment. What I learned on that day is that no matter how much efforts [sic] you can make to maintain your professional integrity in this kind of situation, it will always be very difficult and sometimes quite impossible to be impartial when you balance doing interpreting professionally and saving or protecting your friend when he is or might be in serious troubles. (IB7 account)

In the following testimony, KS's reflection on one interpreting assignment reveals that interpreter-mediated encounters take place in very dynamic situations:

> On one hand, I feel I should have withdrawn from the assignment when I knew that the circumstances and the matter had something that could emotionally affect me. But on the other hand, I strongly believe that as an interpreter I should be prepared for dealing with odd situations on daily basis [sic] and think about strategies that I should put in place to overcome such challenges. (IB8 account)

Faced with the complexity of practising in PSI, interpreters clearly suggest that while the training delivered by different bodies and agencies can pave the way for improving their practice and professionalising the industry, it is obvious that a one-size-fits-all model cannot provide them with all the necessary interpreting tools for all circumstances on all occasions. In interpreting, each assignment is different from all the others. It is therefore appropriate to learn from each experience in every individual session in order to be able to put in place practical and behavioural strategies to meet the demands that interpreting requires. This is how Gibbs' Reflective Cycle Model (1988) as represented in Fig. 7.2 becomes very relevant to this study as part of the research theoretical frameworks. Gibbs' model highlights different paths and stages that interpreters can use in their reflective practices as a means for their continuing personal and professional development.

Discussion

The idea of the interpreter as a non-involved conduit is on longer tenable in interpreting. When it comes to interpreting within immigration settings where the migrant community has its own specific ways of life, beliefs, cultural norms, political allegiances and ethnic backgrounds, identities present multifaceted micro-communities. The interpreter's identity can therefore determine and shape power dynamics that affect the interpreter-mediated encounters.

Given the variety of settings, situations and specific purposes of interpreter-mediated encounters in PSI, participants in this study reveal that for some language pairs, mainly involving lesser-spoken or less taught languages, there are significant discrepancies between expectations and realities due to external circumstances and factors that may influence the interpreting interaction. They argue that there are clearly some issues in PSI that need attention, especially as the practice becomes increasingly business-driven in an underfunded sector which often relies on poorly trained or even untrained interpreters. They recommend that within the context of the competitive culture among language service providers, there is significant room for improvement.

Nevertheless, given the variety of settings, situations and specific purposes of interpreter-mediated encounters in PSI, participants in this study reveal that for some language pairs, mainly involving lesser-spoken or less taught languages, there are significant discrepancies between expectations and realities due to external circumstances and factors that may influence the interpreting interaction. They argue that there are clearly some issues in PSI that need attention, especially as the practice becomes increasingly business-driven in an underfunded sector which often relies on poorly trained or even untrained interpreters. They recommend that within the context of the competitive culture among language service providers, there is significant room for improvement.

Solidarity Versus Antipathy Expectations and Behaviour

Immigrant identities are constantly negotiated and constructed through interaction at different levels of social dynamics. Figures 7.3 and 7.4 show that within immigration settings, interviewees may expect the interpreter to adhere to and advocate for the cause of the asylum claimant and to claim allegiance to the identities of macro and micro-communities. Under these perceptions, the interpreter's behavioural choices could put interpreting practice into one of the following two categories: sympathy in the form of "solidarity", or antipathy due to diverging roles and identities.

In any of the above categories, interpreting is subjected to a process of filtering which is driven by emotions. The resulting positioning on the

Fig. 7.3 Antipathy
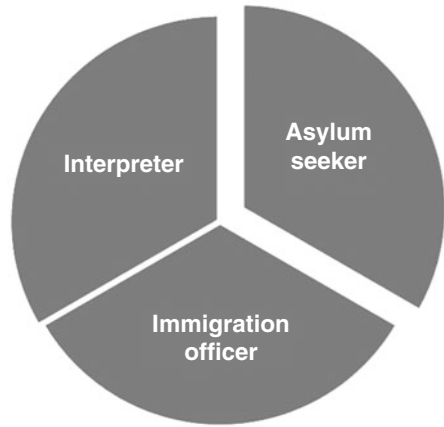
Fig. 7.4 Solidarity

part of the interpreter generates a complex redistribution of power, which is dependent on the interpreter's choices and behaviour. In this regard, when the interpreter as an integral part of the communication process becomes observable, such active involvement can lead to the interpreter's omission of the content of interpreter-mediated encounters.

The Role of Self-Directed Learning in Improving Interpreting Practice

The self-reported experiences collated through this research have shown how interpreting settings display multifaceted contexts which reflect challenging dilemmas. They have also shown that the interpreter's active participation in the communication process drives decisions and choices of omission. Despite all the interpreters who participated in the research having been trained and hence being aware of the relevant code of conduct, many unethical behaviours were recounted that their training had not covered, or at least not properly. The model proposed by the respondents to address this is not new; it is reflective practice (Fig. 7.5).

The respondents concluded that reflective practice was the best learning model for fostering sustainable personal and professional development. To the question of whether there are any interpreting settings in which interpreters have more demanding responsibilities, BK rightly argues that "*I don't think that one institution is necessarily more demanding than another; it is more about demanding situations and people*" (BK2). When asked a question on the relevant training, she insisted that "*The training would include a lot of practical activities on interpreting taking place in different settings […]; the ability to speak and write two or more languages is just one, out of many necessary conditions, to do interpreting successfully*" (BK3).

Conclusions

Assuming that interpreting situations can differ from one setting to another and from one encounter to another, hands-on training approaches coupled with reflection in practice and on practice remains the best way forward in developing the required interpreting skills.

All testimonies pointed to the fact that although interpreting standards require, safeguard and cherish the concepts of fidelity and neutrality, PSI still constitutes an area where working at cross-purposes is still widespread. Given the fact that the study did not involve a large number of participants in widely diverse settings, the results should be read with caution until

Figure 5:
reflective practice
for self-directed
learning
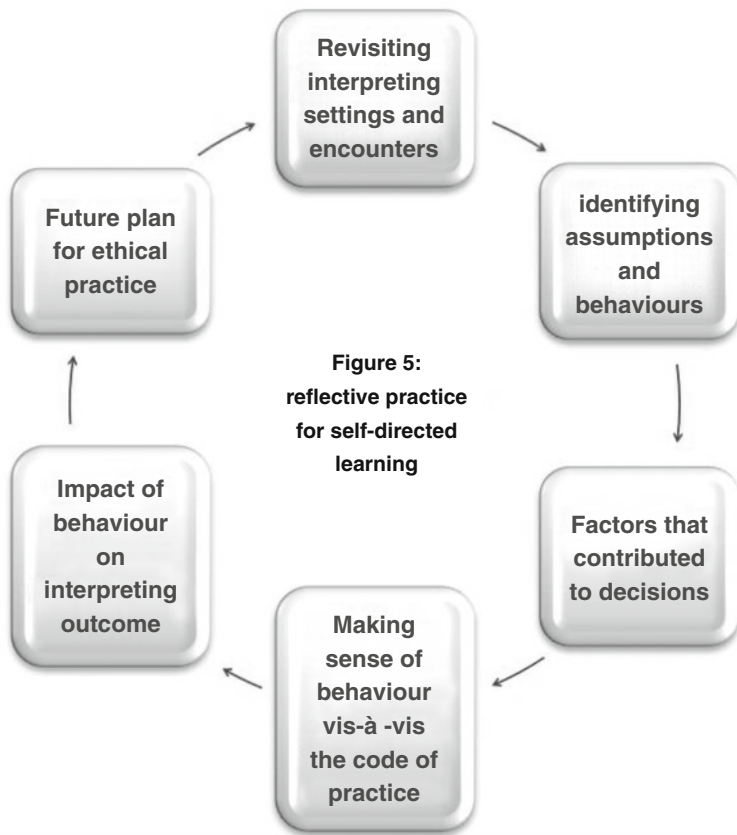
Fig. 7.5 Reflective practice for self-directed learning

confirmed by more thorough investigation involving a much broader audience. Nevertheless, in the meantime, we rely on the conclusion of this study that in a triadic interpreter-mediated interaction, the interpreter who has unwarranted positioning has discursive power over the other parties. This unequal power distribution can play a significant part in the utterance preferences, shifting the positions and shaping the filters of omission discourse.

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8

Public Service Interpreting and Business Negotiation Interpreting: Friends or Foes?

Panagiota-Penny Karanasiou

Introduction

While interpreting has been essential for human communication and trade across boundaries since earliest times, Business Negotiation Interpreting (BNI) has never been seen, examined or analyzed as a separate, distinct type of interpretation within the field of Interpreting Studies (IS). The limited references to BNI that exist within IS literature recognize the distinct character and role of interpreters in business negotiation (BN) settings. Nevertheless, BNI can be positioned within the taxonomy of Public Service Interpreting (PSI), Community Interpreting or Liaison Interpreting, as argued later in this chapter.

A closer look at the role of interpreters in BN settings, however, might reveal that the categorization of BNI in those genres is quite arbitrary, since interactions and interpretive events are shaped and constrained by the institutions and the settings within which they take place. They are never self-defined but are rather affected and modelled by various elements and traditions. As Angelelli (2004) has observed, "Interpreting is a situational practice"—and as such, the mandates given to interpreters by clients or professional bodies must be expected to differ. Moreover, because

interpreting cannot be considered in isolation from the constraints of the settings in which it occurs, interpreters perceive and practice their role differently each time, in accordance with each setting (Angelelli, 2008).

Approach & Methodology

Rationale

My interest in this topic was prompted by two main factors. Firstly, having studied translation and interpreting, I noticed a gap in the literature concerning BNI and more specifically the role of BN interpreters. Even though literature exists on the role of consecutive interpreters in various settings, only limited resources were found which have analyzed the interpreting function in BN settings. Nor was I able to uncover research on the role or roles of interpreters in those settings from a sociological perspective. Most studies of interpreter-mediated business meetings seem to have focused on the analysis of the lexical, structural and semantic level of utterances (Charles, 2007), and therefore have a narrower perspective. Even though many scholars have noted that the role of interpreters is shaped and informed by the setting where it takes place, there is not yet in my opinion sufficient academic and empirical research on the topic. The sociological perspective of the role of interpreters is analyzed by various scholars (Hale, 2008; Mason, 2001; Pöchhacker, 2008; Wadensjö, 1998) but not in the settings that concern this present chapter.

The second factor prompting my interest concerns client perceptions of BNI. Having been an active professional interpreter for many years in BN settings, I have noticed increasingly that the mandates given by clients to interpreters in such settings were more demanding than the existing IS literature suggests. That is mainly because in business settings we do not usually have "users" of interpreting services, but rather clients who hire interpreters and require different and varied roles from them. Each party in an international business negotiation meeting (BNM) normally has its own interpreter who can facilitate the needs and protect the rights of the company or client employing them for that particular setting (Gentile, Ozolins, & Vasilakakos, 1996). This instantly places the

interpreter within a team, and as a team member s/he is expected to promote in the best possible way the interests of the hiring company (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), even if that requires expanding the originally "neutral" role of an interpreter, to include the team-specific activities of persuading, negotiating and coordinating of group dynamics according to the interpreter's perceptions as the discussions proceed. In such settings the interpreter can actively take on more roles and therefore responsibilities. The interpreter's disassociation from the subject matter or his/her fair treatment of both negotiation parties may be seen by the client as indifference from the interpreter's side and that indifference might result in the interpreter not being hired again. As the element of professional survival comes into play, interpreters have to renegotiate and redefine the parameters of their work, and to answer any practical or ethical dilemmas as they arise.

Therefore, in this chapter, the role of the interpreter in BN settings is explored and informed from a social science perspective as well as with reference to the literature on IS. This entails that both the reciprocity of the communication event and the dynamics that are being developed in interpreter-mediated BNM have to be examined. The interpersonal role of the interpreter in BN settings will also therefore be investigated through the lens of sociocultural studies bibliographies. In this way it is hoped that the overall aim of the present study will become clear, which is to try and bridge the gap that exists in current IS literature, concerning the role of interpreters in those specific business settings outlined in this chapter, and to enrich the existing analysis within this relatively unexplored area of IS.

Guided by my professional experience and background reading, I hypothesize that BN interpreters are active and visible parties in those settings. This hypothesis extends also to the probability that interpreters in BNM exceed their prescribed role as recorded within any existing literature, or by various Associations' Codes of Conduct, and become part of the client's team. As part of the team, interpreters practice their arts of persuading, negotiating and coordination of the dynamics, according to their own ongoing perceptions and beliefs, which are governed by their client's needs. Consequently, interpreters in BNM have more roles than the one of "interpreting". They also perform team-oriented tasks,

acting perhaps as cultural bridges, creators of "face works", negotiators and loyal team members. As such their behaviour and decisions are also governed and informed by interaction rituals that Goffman (1955, 1967) and other sociologists have elucidated.

The Chronicles of the Interpreter's Role

According to early publications on IS, the interpreter must be neutral or even invisible (Reddy, 1979; Seleskovitch & Lederer, 1986). The interpreter should be a person who is able to be neutral to both parties of the interaction and who has the linguistic ability to transfer L1 utterances to L2 equivalents. According to the latter perception, the interpreter is not considered to be an active part of the interaction, but is rather seen as a language-switching facilitator who is expected to render in another language the message that was uttered by one of the participants in the interaction. That perception of the role of interpreters is in line with the "conduit model" of communication first explained by Reddy (1979). According to Reddy's communication model, the speaker puts ideas and feelings into words and sends them as a "package" to a hearer who then takes the ideas and feelings out of the package and understands the original speaker.

Later studies in interpreting began to challenge the notion of being "accurate" and "faithful to the speaker" (Metzger, 1999; Wadensjö, 1998). In 1998 Cecilia Wadensjö began to explore and question the concept of neutrality and invisibility, by analyzing these two notions. She explained that dialogue interpreting, in particular, takes place in an interaction (that happens between a doctor and a patient, between an immigrant and a policeman, etc.). According to Wadensjö's (1998) analysis, all speech acts are dialogical and not monological activities and should be seen through that lens, that is, more than one person participates in the formulation of meaning. Therefore, as a dialogical activity, utterances are shaped, formulated and reformulated by all participants in the interaction, including the interpreter. The interpreter as a member of the interaction performs the act of translating on behalf of a "substantial other" and thus creates her own version of the message (Wadensjö, 1998). Consequently, for

Wadensjö (1998), the image of the interpreter as a neutral channel that only transfers utterances from one language to another, belongs in the monological theoretical frame.

During the last decades, many more specific studies have been conducted on the role of the interpreter in various consecutive interpreting settings. Most of the studies however have been focused on court interpreting, police interrogations and medical interpreting settings (Angelelli 2003, 2004, 2008; Davidson, 2001; Wadensjö, 1992, 1998). A few years later, in yet a further study on the role of the interpreter, the visibility of the role was brought into question (Angelelli, 2004). In this later research, Angelelli put into question the dilemma of the invisible interpreter and explored the role of the visible interpreter within medical settings. At the same time, she investigated the role of interpreters as active and essential partners of the interaction and also problematized the notion of power and authority in those settings (2004). Particularly in negotiation, the power and the authority that interlocutors have plays a significant role in the formulation of utterances and the dynamics that evolve during any interaction.

Writing about interpreting as a "situational practice" in the same study, Angelelli (2004) goes on to show how the term is entailed through the way interpreting is practiced in various settings, with differing norms, roles, people and etiquettes. It is a practice where the role is formed and shaped accordingly depending on the setting, and the ways in which interpreters perform their roles vary significantly according to the different settings, the specific interactions and the written or unwritten rules of the various professional bodies that directly or indirectly participate in the interaction. For instance, a consecutive courtroom interpreter has to abide by the court's rules, stand next to the person whose speech she is interpreting, stand up when that person testifies and so on. A courtroom interpreter has to become acquainted with those written or unwritten, formal or informal rules before engaging in the interaction (Hale, 2004; Mikkelson, 2000, 2008; Morris, 1995). If this protocol is not understood, the modalities of interaction which unfold will not be understood either. Knowing and abiding by those rules and modalities gives interpreters a professional face and greater assurance that their translation is appropriate, acceptable and trustworthy to everyone involved.

As has been claimed in the foregoing discussion, the role of the interpreter is affected by the setting, and BNI is no exception to that. As negotiation meetings can take place in various settings and in many forms, it is part of the role of the interpreter to be informed and to get acquainted with the cultural backgrounds of the group, their norms and sociocultural "blueprints". As Angelelli concluded in her work "Revisiting the Interpreter's Role" (2004), the setting is the most crucial factor affecting the perception and the practice by interpreters of their role. Furthermore, because of the very nature of meetings, the interpreter in those settings is more likely to have multiple roles compared with other liaison interpreting settings, as recognized by Gentile et al. (1996) who explained that in business meetings the interpreter is called upon to cover "*the full ceremonial paraphernalia of business meetings which might include activities such as entertaining or socializing*". That socializing aspect of the role can also be found in medical interpreting. Many IS scholars have commented on this medical settings (Angelelli, 2004; Davidson, 2001), but little if any evidence of research is found for it in BN settings.

Although various scholars have conducted studies on the role of the interpreter in a variety of settings and noted that interpreters are essential co-constructors in face-to-face interactions (Dickinson & Turner, 2008; Metzger, 1999; Roy 1989, 2000; Wadensjö 1995, 1998), there seems to be little dissemination of these findings and research in the wider practice of the profession. Moreover, this seems to be particularly the case in the field of BNI, which has not yet drawn significant theoretical attention from scholars, as a distinct setting with its own complexities and idiosyncrasies. Therefore, the role of interpreters in these areas is being informed by research done in other interpreting settings.

With this in mind, the present chapter examines the complex role of the consecutive interpreter in BNM. More specifically, I analyze the nomothetic and the ideographic dimensions of the BNI role in accordance with the theoretical distinction made in Getzels dichotomy (Getzels & Guba, 1958). Getzels and Guba (1958) suggested that the nomothetic dimension of BNI consists of the "institution", which in the present paper can be identified as the BNI setting. The institution is defined in terms of "roles", which are in turn defined in terms of "role expectations" whose aims are to fulfil the goals of the "institution". The ideographic dimension is similar

to the nomothetic dimension. That is because individuals, like institutions, have goals that they present and express through their personalities and their need dispositions. Both dimensions, according to the authors, are assumed to be in constant interaction, as the nomothetic dimension strives to socialize the individual to the image of the "institution", while in the ideographic dimension the individual strives to socialize the "organization" to his or her own image. In other words, even if we want to see or to project only one dimension, it is almost impossible, as both dimensions are simultaneously and dynamically socially unfolded during the course of a BN. Thus, the term "role" is not meant to be restrictive in this chapter, but rather signifies the position that interpreters take or are asked to take when interpreting in business meeting settings. Hence this positioning or "role" of interpreters should be informed by both the ideographic and the nomothetic needs, norms and expectations of both end users—the clients and their interpreters. Only through the interaction and the continuous discussion between and among these two sets of participants, as well as through the dissemination of the findings of research into practice and vice versa, can we understand the complexities and the idiosyncrasies of the field, in order to be able to properly train and educate qualified interpreters that have the necessary skills, abilities and knowledge to work in that specific field.

Identifying BNI

Having analyzed the progress of the interpreter's role as portrayed through IS research and literature through the years, it is important at this stage to pin down the term BNI and its similarities, differences and specificities in comparison to other *genres* or types of interpreting. By categorizing and defining the subfields of interpreting we can study the difficulties and the challenges that each of these present.

BN interpreters usually work in the consecutive mode, that is, they listen to a small segment of speech and then they deliver it in another language. Throughout the academic field of IS, studies and articles contain various terms which were created and used by different scholars in order to describe a specific genre of consecutive interpreting. Some of these

terms were then broadly used for that genre and others were abandoned or less frequently used. Some of these terms are: PSI (Valero-Garces & Martin, 2008), escort interpreting (Mikkelson, 2008), community-based interpreting (Chesher, Slatyer, Doubine, Jaric, & Lazzari, 2003), liaison interpreting (Erasmus, 1999; Gentile et al., 1996) and dialogue interpreting (Mason, 2001).

The taxonomies named in the above list mainly represent the form and the setting of the interpreting function. As Pöchhacker (2004) stated, one of the most obvious criteria for categorization and labelling of interpreting is the setting and the social context in which that activity is carried out. The consecutive interpreting mode however can facilitate communication in many settings and in various applications, such as in police investigations, doctor–patient meetings, business meetings and so on. As the spectrum of applications is quite vast, there are some generic terms that represent more than one application, such as 'liaison interpreting', and some which are more specific terms, such as 'court-room interpreting'.

The term PSI can be considered as a broad term encompassing many interpreting *genres* such as courtroom interpreting, medical interpreting, police interpreting and so on. It can be argued, however, that PSI is also restrictive in terms of the settings that it can represent. Certain questions arise in reflecting on this. In our example, BNI, can these settings really be represented by PSI? Is BNI a public service? Are the interests of two business people in a negotiation room considered to be interests belonging to the public service? The answer initially relies on how broadly and openly the term PSI can be interpreted. Moreover, only through a deep understanding of the role of interpreters in those settings can someone identify or exclude BNI from PSI.

Another generic term usually used to describe more than one application is "liaison interpreting". Liaison interpreting is a sub-taxonomy, a *genre* of the consecutive mode, usually used in order to describe the activity of interpreting between two or among more than two interlocutors of different linguistic backgrounds, who have met in order to discuss an issue or to reach a resolution or a decision (Gentile et al., 1996). More specifically, Gentile et al. used the term:

… to refer to a growing area of interpreting throughout the world: in business settings, where executives from different cultures and languages meet each other; in meetings between a society's legal, medical, educational and welfare institutions and its immigrants who speak a different language; in relations between a dominant society and indigenous peoples speaking different languages; in a whole host of less formal situations in tourism, education and cultural contacts. (Gentile et al., 1996:1)

The aforementioned authors have extensively used paradigms from the business sector in their work. They recognized that even though most liaison settings share many attributes as regards the role of the interpreter, in BN settings, the role of the interpreter varies significantly and the boundaries of the role are not so well defined. That is due in their view to the very character of the meeting and its desirable outcome. Their perspective is in keeping with the more general statement made by Wadensjö, that:

interpreters understand that when they are interpreting they are not only translating between two languages, they are performing activities on behalf of others such as persuading, agreeing, lying, explaining, etc. (Wadensjö, 1998)

Wadensjö's statement does not specify on whose behalf interpreters perform those activities, as this was not the focus of her study. Through the IS literature, however, it is made apparent that Public Service Interpreters work and perform those acts for both or for all parties in the interaction.

As will be explained in the following pages, BNM are often driven by controversial interests and usually take the form of an "undercover-battle". Meetings of this nature usually are "battles" that use language and social techniques as their weapons. Thus, it is an undercover battle—as there are no obvious fights or battles in the literal sense. As Zartman stated, negotiation is a process of combining conflicting positions into a common position under a decision rule of unanimity. There is always a polemic within the negotiation process and usually the interpreter has to take sides on the "battlefield" (Zartman & Rubin, 2002). Most of the time, the interpreter in BN settings is given no choice but to become part of a team.

The interpreter has at least two clients at any one time. Theoretically they have equal claim on the interpreter's expertise (…) The reality is often different. (…) It is true that in certain contexts, usually business contexts, the idea of an interpreter 'working for' one of the clients is not only taken for granted but seen as a condition of employment of the interpreter. (Gentile et al., 1996:36–37)

The above statement presupposes that interpreters belong to a client's team and thus become team members. On the basis of such perceptions, the polemical character as well as the specificity of the role in such settings are factors together with other social phenomena that are to be explored in this chapter.

The role of the BN interpreter is different from the other forms of PSI due also to different situational, spatial, linguistic, cultural, psychological, social and behavioural factors. Limitations of space in this chapter force me at this point to summarize only some of the main differences, as shown in Table 8.1 below.

The above table is neither exhaustive nor fixed. It is not suggested that other PSI settings might not share some of the BNI complexities. This table outlines, in general terms and perhaps even with exaggeration, the main differences and complexities usually found within BNI and other PSI settings.

Placing "Negotiation" and "Interpreting" in an Authentic Context

In order for a negotiation to take place two or more parties should participate in that meeting. Moreover, a negotiation can be classified as such only when there are two or more ideas, positions, suggestions or products on the negotiating table. Therefore, the interaction of the parties for the negotiation of these ideas, proposals and/or offers needs to exist in order to classify a meeting as a negotiation meeting.

Theoretical work on the area of negotiations has long been focused on the information-processing procedure in the minds of negotiators (Bazerman & Carroll, 1987; Carroll & Payne, 1991; Information-

Table 8.1 Differences between BNI and other forms of PSI

BNI	Other forms of PSI
Place and conditions of work might vary (within just one project)	The interpreter is usually informed of the setting before entering the interaction
Undefined working hours (a business meal might follow, for instance)	Usually defined working hours with small deviations
Has to cover more than the actual business meeting (go to dinners, entertain, engage in small talk etc.)	The working time and function is better defined; after the meeting's aim is met, the job is done.
Apart from the terminology needed for the specific meeting, interpreters need specific knowledge, social as well as business etiquette, (salutations, forms of address, seating protocol, etc.)	Most often only general knowledge is required (apart from the specific terminology of the interpreted event)
Fluctuation of intensity and feelings or attitudes between and towards participants	Predictable levels of intensity
Actor skills and adaptation of "truth" (as there is more than one technique used in negotiations in order to achieve the goals)	There is only one objective "truth" that is communicated from one person to another
Interpreter becomes a team member	Interpreter is expected to attend equally to what is said by all parties
Good interpersonal skills required in order to facilitate the aim and outcome of the meeting	Interpersonal skills of the interpreter are not crucial to the outcome of the meeting
Good situational analysis is required by the interpreter	The interpreter is not asked to analyze and interpret situational factors
Interpreter coordinates the dynamics of the interaction	Helps and facilitates the coordination of dynamics
Interpreter shares equal authority and status with all participants	Interpreter is usually considered the "middle person"
Interpreter is an equally participating team member in the negotiation process, so cannot avoid intervening	Interpreter need not intervene in the substance or direction of the event or meeting

processing models provide explanatory illustrations of decision-making, judgments, processing information and so on. The usefulness of this model has also been questioned, however. Kramer and Messick (1995) state in their seminal book on negotiation theory that the information processing model is largely asocial, since it neither takes into consider-

ation the social context where the interaction takes place nor the social context which informs how the interaction proceeds. Thus they began analyzing negotiations from the perspective of a more social context; more specifically, they distinguished within the concept of negotiation three types of social context research:

1. Social cognition: research on how the individual processes social information, memory functions and so on.
2. Contextualized social cognition: on how individuals embed in a particular social context, how they process information, stimulate cognition and so on.
3. Socially shared cognition: on how the social context in which the individual interacts with others produces cognition.

Through this three-aspect framework of research, the authors analyzed the negotiator relationships, the social knowledge and beliefs of negotiators and how these affect the negotiation, social norms, common knowledge effect, group size, involvement, role-based inference mechanisms, team interaction and other issues that have to do with the process of the negotiation as a result of a two- or more-parties' interaction, in order to understand the mind of the negotiator in the social context of the interaction.

Information processing is a topic within most negotiation theory research, as mentioned above. If however the mechanisms and processes of a negotiator's mind are to be fully considered, it is necessary also to analyze background knowledge, cultural context, beliefs and structures, as well as the social knowledge already gained but also specifically in place and perceived during the interaction. All this information supports greater comprehension of the information-processing mechanism, which is itself also the product of all of these interacting factors. After all, negotiations happen among two or more people interacting socially, even if formally, in a social setting. Negotiations are not just mechanical procedures that evolve in one person's brain. By placing the negotiation back in its rightful social context, it is possible to comprehend and analyze more realistically the complexities and other "mechanics" that underpin it, and the decision-making procedure that is central to it.

PSI, just like negotiation itself, is a function that can only exist if at least two persons are present for the interpreter to liaise between or among. As a dyadic or multi-party interaction, PSI cannot be understood without a social context. As Wadensjö (1998) stated, Interpreted Communicative Events (ICE) do not evolve in a social vacuum. They occur perhaps within one or multiple institutions which are permeable to the mandates of the society and the various layers of institutional and societal influences, both explicit and implicit, which add to its complexity (Angelelli, 2004, 2008). Therefore, issues such as the social context of all the interlocutors including that of the interpreter, the already existing knowledge and beliefs as well as the social information perceivable during the interaction, all play a significant role for the formation of the group dynamics and group behaviour. To support this statement even further, we should also keep in mind that when interpreters are facilitating ICEs, they do not just behave and act as professionals. They are also human beings, governed and developed by various cultural and societal norms and always bringing with them established ideas, perceptions and emotions.

Due to the very social character of the liaison interpreting function, to the active participation of the interpreter in such interactions, as well as to the social processes that underpin every negotiation, it makes sense that we should approach and study BNI within a social context.

The Interpreter as a Team Member

Another very crucial element for successful negotiations according to sociologists is the formation of group identification in every participant's mind and a clear understanding of group belonging. As Tajfel defined it:

> … group identification is that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership… (Tajfel, 1978:131)

According to the above discussion the interpreter identifies with the party or parties in the negotiation who share most of the same emotions

and values as with them. Most of the time this is the person or group of people who hired the interpreter. That might be the case for two reasons: (a) a similar cultural background and/or (b) professional survival. The similar cultural background ingredients are all those elements that someone identifies with and feels familiar with such as language, ethics, sense of humour and so on. The more we usually have in common with a person the more we can identify with him/her. The interpreter may identify with the client in a personal and on a professional level. The personal level is the culture that they share and the professional level is the deeper understanding that she can attain concerning the client's business, as a result of the briefing given or a personal identification with that company through its culture. "Professional survival" is a term used by Angelelli (2001) and denotes a feeling of obligation to satisfy the targets and expectations of the person that hires you, in order that you may be hired again. When an interpreter works on a professional level, she wants to satisfy the client's requirements well enough to receive other assignments from them in future. Nevertheless, the reputation earned in that professional capacity follows the interpreter in her other capacities and levels too. Both professional survival and the sense of team belonging make the interpreter's participation in the interaction not that of a whole person but rather in terms of a special self, as Goffman identified this status. Therefore, even though the interpreter enters the interaction with her own views and expectations, bearing her own cultural and background norms and knowledge, she is able to freeze that "self" and take on the required role as a team member, and as a professional intending to survive and be successful in her capacity as interpreter. Moreover, following the previous statement made by Tajfel, the definition of group identification continues as follows:

"When people identify with a group they usually:

- Act in the group's interest
- Exhibit positive bias towards members of their group regarding trustworthiness, honesty and cooperativeness" (Tajfel, 1978:131)

As a team member, the interpreter inherits more responsibilities and roles. She is expected by the client to act for the team's interest, to exhibit

positive bias and even show personal interest for the best possible development of the negotiation on behalf of the company. She is expected to conform to an unwritten and unconscious "code of conduct" that binds her in two distinct ways. Directly, as a professional, she has to do her job as well as possible. However, she is also bound indirectly by the expectations of the client, which are that she should be morally and emotionally active in the interactions. She is expected to use her professional and personal experience and knowledge as well as possible in order to positively influence the interaction and intervene positively within it to the best of her ability. The interpreter, according to such an unwritten "code of conduct", is expected to be an active agent of the interactions, capable of orchestrating the flow of social or formal discourse in an appropriate manner, by protecting the image and the personality of the company, the self and of the other participants.

Being a team member allows the interpreter more flexibility. However, that does not exempt she/her from obligations and liabilities. As the act of negotiating is a social act and relies upon impression management quite significantly, if the interpreter as the representative voice of the company fails to make a positive impression, then any bad result from the negotiation shall also affect her "face", at all levels, as will be described in a following section of this chapter.

The interpreter must be able at least to act as if she cares and agrees with the aims and the targets of the company employing her. Otherwise the client will not trust her to do the job: *"… team-mates are often persons who agree informally to guide their efforts in a certain way as a means of self-protection…"* (Goffman, 1959:89). For the interpreter to act as if she is a member of the team creates a feeling of safety for the business person as well as for the interpreter. The business person or company personnel might feel that the interpreter both unconsciously and consciously supports the company values and beliefs and interests to the best of her ability. In this atmosphere of mutual value, the interpreter experiences the "professional survival" motivation (Monacelli, 2005). If that is not the case and we just see the interpreter as a non-living part of the procedure, she will just be a word-substitutor. Instead, the interpreter has the means and motivation to analyze, decode and encode back into a different cul-

tural and linguistic system the meanings and the cues given from one party to the other or others.

As the course of the negotiation continues, the line of negotiation might change. That can also denote a change in the line of behaviour and of social distances. As Goffman reported: "*Of course, at moments of great crisis, a new set of motives may suddenly become effective and the established social distance between the teams may sharply increase or decrease*" (Goffman, 1959:166). In these cases of changing the negotiating line, even the distance between team members and interpreter can change, as the interpreter might feel betrayed or blamed for the critical situation that has occurred. This feeling is perhaps enhanced if the interpreter strongly identifies herself as a member of the team who is trying her best to make this negotiation line her own, in order to create the best possible collusive performance. When the negotiation line changes, the efforts of the interpreter can be cancelled and new efforts and performances have to begin. The business person might even, for tactical reasons, hide this shift of line, putting the entire burden at the interpreter's door by trying to convey that an error in interpretation could have occurred. If something like this happens the interpreter might lose "face" with what she has taken to be her "team", though if experienced in such a scenario, it is likely she will not take the "blame the interpreter" shift too personally, as it is part of her professional capacity to also shoulder the burden of all tactics used to achieve the negotiation outcome. Moreover, at times of crisis the performed front might be momentarily forgotten and a different front or a different performance might be performed by negotiation members. As Goffman states: '… *at times of crisis lines may momentarily break and members of opposing teams may momentarily forget their appropriate places with respect to one another*' (Goffman, 1959:199). That temporary shift of front might even be conscious in order to serve a specific cause, as suggested in the previous paragraph with reference to the interpreter's accepting "unfair" blame in order to achieve the team's goals. Another instance of a shift of front might be suggested by an angry outburst from one of the team members, which may seem unplanned and spontaneous in a business meeting where everything has to be done with tact and good manners, but which can in fact serve as a boundary setting for future negotiations. For example, by displaying anger towards a specific

proposition, a team member ensures that that proposition is henceforward unacceptable and therefore insulated from further discussion.

The interpreter in such cases should try to match the front of the "angry party" as best she can, without thus infringing her own personal and professional front. The interpreter cannot reflect the angry behaviour of the businessman but she can however express it both vocally and physically in such a way that the other party understands the position. Nevertheless, in such cases, the opposing parties also read the body language and the vocal intensity of the voice of the angry party and do not solely rely on the words or the performance of the interpreter, as stated above. Quoting Goffman: "*Perhaps the focus of dramaturgical discipline is to be found in the management of one's face and voice*" (Goffman, 1959:211).

The BN interpreter is a person that is governed by her own social context and is a professional who is governed by specific codes of conduct and manners. Often these two fronts—the personal and the professional one—can conflict with one another and that is when interpreters are faced with crucial "role" or "positioning" dilemmas. Interpreters as actors in negotiations travel through various performances in order to support their "front" as team members, as professionals and as individuals. Their task is multifaceted and complex. Recent studies in IS have identified the gap between the research and the professional practice of the interpreter's role, but this gap persists, and old perceptions are still attached to the role.

That is why it is important to understand what happens in the practice of BNI, how interpreters experience their participation in such settings and how business people want their interpreters to behave and interact. It is likely that a deeper understanding of the reality can contribute towards the development of the profession as a whole, strengthening confidence and competence for all concerned in their multifarious roles and settings.

Conclusion

Having identified the evolution of the role of interpreters as discussed in IS literature as well as isolating and analyzing specific idiosyncrasies of interpreting in BN settings, it is clear that the existing research on interpreting has not been appropriately disseminated in the field of practicing interpret-

ers. Moreover, the existing studies and theoretical work have not focused on the specificities of BNI but have, rather, looked at other forms of PSI such as medical interpreting and courtroom interpreting. There is extensive literature on the role of interpreters in some specific *genres* but a dearth of research on the particularities of the role of interpreters in BN settings. Furthermore, there has been little dissemination of the research findings to professional practice and very little dissemination of the knowledge and experience gained by practitioners back to research. Therefore, it seems as if those two "stages", that of academia and that of the practitioners, evolve separately without having the all-important feedback from one to another.

As a result of the lack of this dissemination, the interpreting profession is based on a mixture of perceptions about the role in practice by academics, and perceptions and misinterpretations of the originated research data by the practitioners. Adding to that maze of misperceptions are the professional associations of interpreters who, acting institutionally, transfer data from one *genre* of interpreting into other genres, creating codes of conducts and codes of ethics to apply to all, which are therefore bound to be broken or overlooked. Practitioners that belong to professional associations have to sign and agree with the codes in order to become members of that association, and then they are very often faced with the dilemma of appropriateness and of the right positioning.

Pedagogy also contributes to further complication of that maze, by providing training programmes that mainly focus on linguistic skills, language proficiency, terminology learning and information processing skills such as memory. They largely overlook other very important elements of interpreters in PSI such as interpersonal and social skills, situational analysis, managing power differentials and so on. These last elements are being taken for granted or assumed but are hardly ever taught or assessed. Furthermore, when new interpreters are tested the "mock" settings provided during their examination cannot really reflect the intricacies of the real settings, where different types of pressures and limitations evolve.

BNI is distinctly different from other PSI settings in several ways, not least in matters of role and ethics. The interpreter in BN settings is an integral, dynamic and substantial part of a meeting, as she manages turn-taking, coordinates dynamics and becomes a team member who has almost equal responsibility in the process of negotiation with other team members. Even

though similarities might exist between the role of a BN interpreter and interpreters in other PSI or liaison interpreting settings, there are also many fundamental differences that have to be studied and analyzed separately in order to gain awareness of the specificities of the role and its complexities.

Only through a deeper understanding of the role and its expectations in each setting would we be able to create codes of best practice for each and every setting, as well as establish appropriate training programmes for new interpreters. Finally, the knowledge and experience gained from both academic research and from professional practice should be better communicated one to the other, so that the profession of interpreting can evolve and mature on one common, solid ground, with deeper understanding at all levels.

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9

Foreigners Before Themis: Legal Interpreting in Greece

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Introduction

It is an undeniable fact that Greece does not provide formal training to the persons engaged with legal interpreting. Non-certified interpreters are appointed if they simply state that they speak the language(s) required. Additionally, there have been several cases where persons possessing limited or even no knowledge at all of the native language of the non-Greek speaker in the trial undertook the role of the interpreter in the Greek courts. It is worthwhile mentioning one of the most striking cases: for 10 consecutive years in the Court of Justice in the city of Thessaloniki an individual with no knowledge of the Albanian language undertook the role of the official interpreter for cases where Albanians were involved (Ios Press; Manolkidis, 1999; see also Vlachopoulos, 2014).

   The present chapter will focus on the "neglected" issue of interpreting between the police or judicial authorities and non-Greek-speaking people. It presents the findings of a large-scale survey conducted within the framework of the research project *Legal Interpreting in Greece*, with

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the acronym DIDI.[1] This project aimed to sketch, for the first time, the situation in Greece regarding legal interpreting services and to underline the deficiencies in the provision of such services in sensitive environments like a court of law or at police stations. Moreover, it set its sights on providing the necessary information to any interested party, in order that measures may be taken for the improvement of this situation in Greece. In this chapter we will deal with the reality of legal interpreting in Greece, as seen by non-Greek-speaking people that have been arrested and detained in prisons. The chapter goes through a literature review of interpreting, and more specifically legal interpreting, in order to define the wider frame of our problematic. Given the fact that in the spirit of both Greek and EU legislation the right to a translator/interpreter is guaranteed to all non-Greek-speakers who interact with the authorities, our aim is to examine the applicability of this legal frame. Thus, in order to reveal the conditions beyond the regulatory rhetoric, we conducted the first investigation into the history of legal interpreting in Greece. The findings of the research are not surprising, as they verify the assumptions repeatedly stated in the pages of Greek newspapers regarding the non-existence of a regulatory framework for legal interpreting. The aim of the chapter is to outline how critical the situation is as well as to raise the level of discourse over possible proposals for the development of the situation.

Some Definitions: Interpreting and Legal Interpreting

Interpreting is one of the two facets of the translation phenomenon (Koutsivitis, 1994:273), and takes place in an intercultural communication framework, when participants do not share the same language (Angelelli, 2000:580; Napier, McKee, & Goswell, 2006: 19; Anthonissen, 2008:169). This involves the accurate and instant comprehension of contextualised meaning in one language and expression of the totality of that message in the

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[1] The programme *Legal Interpreting in Greece* (DIDI) is a part of the action "Archimedes III: Strengthening research groups in T.E.I.s" of the operational programme "Education & Lifelong Learning", funded by the European Commission (European Social Fund) and by national funds through the Public Investment Programme.

other language (Lai & Mulayim, 2014:2; see also Kentrotis, 2000:118). In defining interpreting Seleskovich and Lederer (1989) argue that it is the process of transferring meaning from one language to the other in such a way that the meaning produces the same effect as in the original language. Kohn and Kalina (1996:118) also define interpreting as a situation in which members of different language communities participate in verbal interaction, which takes the form of both cross-linguistic and cross-cultural communication.

In defining the characteristics of interpreting, Pöchhacker (2004:10–1) clarifies that these are immediacy and uniqueness, and proceeds to an explanation that: "*interpreting is a form of translation in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance in a source language*". As for the underlay, Koutsivitis (1994:276–278) and Seleskovitch and Lederer (2001:16–24) point out that interpreting is not implemented at the language level (*langue*) but at the speech level (*parole*), since its subject matter is not the transfer of words or phrases, but the rendering of meanings. In this context, the role of interpreter is complex: not only is s/he called to transfer meanings, but also to mediate in intercultural communication as well as to co-construct interactions between the participating parties (Wadensjö, 1998; Davidson, 2002; Angelelli, 2003).

Moreover, according to Seleskovitch and Lederer (2001: 90), the better the interpreter understands what is said, the more s/he is disengaged from the original phrase and as a result s/he spontaneously finds the phrase in the target language that will let her/him make any idea intelligible.

Gonzalez et al. (1991, in Mikkelson, 1999b) argue that the interpreter should process messages formulated in two languages from at least two transmitters in the respective social, cultural and psychological context, whereas Cokely (2001:4) argues that in addition to the transfer of meanings, a considerable transfer of intentions takes place while interpreting. On this issue Bühler (1985:49), based on Argyle's thesis (1972:259), notes that interpreting is a social interaction which generally involves the verbal and non-verbal communication aspects, which are inextricably linked (cf. Lyons, 1972:54). Though there is a full and close connection between language and non-linguistic elements, the verbal component must be bound to the cognitive element, while the non-verbal component should be linked to the social function.

Pöchhacker ([2005](#):695) supports the view that interpreting should be approached in a coherent conceptual framework that combines (inter) action in a certain area with cognitive functions in a socio-cognitive perspective. According to Vlachopoulos ([2012](#):5–6), the holistic approaches of Gonzalez et al. (op. cit.) and Pöchhacker (op. cit.) allow us to consider the process of interpreting as an integrated process where the functions of the cognitive processing and the physical space interact with each other. On the other hand, ignoring the social interaction and focusing solely on the functions of cognitive processing would not have allowed any examination of the process of interpreting as regards whatever feeds the interpreter's intellect with valuable data and whatever motivates her/him. When one talks about eliciting a reaction, this refers to a problem-solving situation concerning the way a targeted reaction is caused.

To conclude, the social interaction to which Pöchhacker ([2005](#)) refers coincides with what feeds the cognitive functions of the process of interpreting, as it is purported to activate a continuous process of problem-solving regarding how to transfer the message between languages and cultures, with the interpreter in the role of mediator.

As far as legal interpreting (also known as *court interpreting*) is concerned, these terms refer to interpreting services provided in courts or in relation to any other legal matters. According to González et al. (1991, in Mikkelson, [1999b](#)), legal interpreting refers to the interpreting that is conducted in a courtroom or a law office, a space in which a trial or another legal activity is conducted. The case of interpreters at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa defines in a characteristic manner the role of court interpreter, for as Anthonissen states, "*their role was often metaphorically described as that of a 'conduit', i.e. they were to relay messages directly, precisely and without contamination*" ([2008](#):166).

Repa ([1991](#):595), in an attempt to clarify the court interpreter's function, states that court interpreting is a demanding process that involves a mixture of techniques, like immediate, consecutive and simultaneous interpreting. In another analysis of the role, Angermeyer ([2009](#):3) states that interpreters' language style differs from the usual language heard in courtrooms, where judges or jurors tend to evaluate interpreters negatively. This statement is coming out of a series of socio-linguistic studies in

courtrooms and points out the significance of language variation and style in courtrooms. Thus, for a court interpreter it is imperative to be familiar and well acquainted with the particular language variety used in the hall of justice for the sake of the process. This issue was raised quite early in the USA: as Dueñas et al. (1991) state, in the 1960s and 1970s the language rights of minority groups were recognised, ensuring the fair treatment of these groups in their contact with the authorities. The role of the interpreter was (and remains) to safeguard the language rights of all parties.

Legal interpreting is divided, according to the legal environment, into (1) quasi-legal interpreting, which takes place during the preliminary and the investigating phase, and (2) legal/court interpreting. According to Gavioli and Baraldi (2011:206, 223), the basic requirement of an interpreter's intercession in a legal environment is to render meanings accurately in the target language, as the interpreter's sole communicative function is to make understanding possible. Such interaction can be regarded as a particular type of institutional communication, since at least one institutional representative participates in it, and it should be audited by mandatory rules (Gavioli & Baraldi, 2011:205–206). Additionally, the interpreter is hired by the organisation and is considered to perform an "institutional role", although in the strict sense of the term s/he is not an institutional spokesman. Studying the articles on the subject, Mikkelson (1999a) points out how crucial the role of interpreters is in guaranteeing the right of the accused, who can be present during the hearing of his case thanks to full simultaneous interpreting, to a fair trial. Indeed, as Berk-Seligson (1990, in Mikkelson, 1999a) points out, the interpreter is undoubtedly an agent of the trial, since s/he interprets the testimony to the jury, something that significantly affects the attitude of the latter towards the witness. In addition, the mission of the legal interpreter-mediator is to encourage the defendant to communicate, and avoid expressions of dominant behaviour. In this frame of reference, the message in the target language should also render the paralinguistic information, as the legal interpreter cannot completely avoid the non-semantic information, such as pauses and evasions; these must be included in the translation into the target language, so as to have a legal equivalent of the message of the source language (González et al. 1991, in Mikkelson, 1999b).

Legal interpreting is thus a social interaction governed both by the general characteristics of interpreting as discussed above, and other elements which characterise the communicative situation and are associated with: (a) the local context (what is really said during the interaction), (b) the broader spatial context (investigative agency, court) where the interaction takes place and (c) the respective roles of the participants—defendants, police or social authorities (Gavioli & Baraldi, 2011:206). It follows that the legal component is part of the wider cultural dimension of legal interpreting. Thus it becomes obvious that during such a communication, the linguistic and the cultural barriers of the accused should be identified and removed, an element that certainly favours the development of a link between the defendant and the interpreter (Morris, 1999:9). However, the fact remains that although court interpreters must take cultural specificities into account, they do not really have the ability to inform their customers about them (González et al. 1991, in Mikkelson, 1999b).

On the other hand, legal interpreters are considered to be cultural mediators: they promote and coordinate the language of communication and hence they become coordinators of intercultural relations (Gavioli & Baraldi, 2011:208). However, according to Nakane (2009), the interpreter's effort to ensure better intercultural communication and thus accuracy, such as by providing explanation in cases of cultural mismatches, could in some cases be viewed as a disconnection from the role of the mediator that the interpreter has undertaken. Such interventions are justified only when the interpreter may intervene in order to prevent misunderstandings and misconceptions due to cultural differences. In fact, it is discriminatory and therefore problematic and unethical when the interpreter automatically introduces corrections in order to extract reasonable or desirable responses from the suspect. As s/he cannot manage to remain neutral, the effect is to alter the evidence submitted to the court. Nakane's (2009) study showed how complex and difficult it can be for the interpreter to remain in the role of mediator, interpreting what is said accurately and refraining from interfering voluntarily, even at the stage of preliminary investigation. For their part, police officers should be aware of the potential risks, especially in questioning with interpreting, when trying to manage communication problems with the suspect. Accordingly, because judges are not aware of the tactics of interpreting, they are not able to understand that explanation is the right solution for

circumventing serious problems related to cultural content. The result is that by avoiding explanations, as ordered by the judge, the defendant is unable to follow the proceedings, which may be perceived as being caused by a negative attitude on the part of the interpreter. Finally, Nakane's study suggests that, especially within the institutional framework, interpreters are not just "speakers" or "conductors" and cannot be considered invisible—a view reinforced by Angelelli's study (2003:26). Moreover, according to what is identified in the literature review, whether the law permits the use of dictionaries and other aids or not, it definitely does not prohibit them, especially since, as mentioned just above, precision is required throughout the whole process of interpreting. Furthermore, to ensure accuracy, tactically it is perfectly understandable and acceptable if the interpreter decides to take notes. However, from what we have studied so far, the laws do not seem to deal with the techniques to be followed during the preliminary investigation, interrogation or the hearing.

For all of the above reasons, the interpreter should have at least a rudimentary understanding of the legal concepts to be interpreted. Furthermore, s/he must truly understand his/her ethical obligation to remain impartial. Without any special training, most bilingual people attempting interpreting in court are unable to understand the complex legal language and behave unethically, conversing with the accused, giving advice or giving an opinion in favour of one side or the other (Mikkelson, 1999a). In conclusion, we could say that the relationship between the accused and the interpreter is professional, and is never a matter of understanding or personal relationship (Code of Ethics, in Superior Court of Arizona 1992, in Morris, 1999:10). This is achieved, as Koo (2009:224) points out, when court interpreters act efficiently and interpret, within their limits of competence, accurately and completely, something guaranteed by, inter alia, the proper training of interpreters.

A Word About the European and Global Reality

The European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR, 1950) enshrines the right of the accused to have the free assistance of an interpreter if the accused does not know enough of the language in which the hearing

is conducted. The Framework Decision of the Council No. 2004/0113 (CNS) establishes the right to free interpreting services during any criminal proceedings, including communication between the lawyer and the accused, and the right for translation of all the essential documents. In October 2010 the EU adopted Directive 2010/64/EU, which accords all foreigners the right to free interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings so as to ensure a fair trial, without, however, any clear definitions about civil lawsuits. Each member state was required to apply the directive within 36 months. Similar provisions are included in the national laws of various countries, indicatively: the Netherlands (von den Hoff, 2009; Willinsky, 2012), Canada (Federal Court; Government of Canada; Khasha, 2012), Sweden (Niska, 1991; Norstrom, Gustafsson, & Fioretos 2011; Wadensjö, 1995) and South Africa (see Anthonissen, 2008). In Germany and South Africa especially, the right to an interpreter is constitutionally guaranteed.

Interpreting in Greece

In Greece, the interpreter is appointed ex officio, or at the request of the prosecutor or of one of the litigants. Regarding the appointment of an interpreter, as Article 233 of the Greek Code of Criminal Procedure (hereinafter CCP) provides, when it comes to questioning an accused person, a tortfeasor or a witness not proficient in the Greek language, the interpreter is appointed by the person who conducts the inquiry or directs the discussion (Hellenic Ministry of Justice).

Regarding Greece, Apostolou (2011:79–83) states that the legal framework for interpreting services for immigrants covers the areas of petition for asylum and court interpreting, but makes no reference to the necessary qualifications of interpreters. In addition, the quality of interpreting services is very poor, pay is extremely low and there are long delays as well as a deluge of cases, without any chances of improving the situation. According to the same researcher (2011:83), the law neither defines specific qualifications for interpreters that can be included in the list of court interpreters nor does it pose official requirements for entry in service. Literally this means that anyone possessing even a secondary school leaving

certificate may act as court interpreter, provided that s/he claims adequate knowledge of a foreign language. Another disincentive is the extremely low pay given to court interpreters, which prevent professional interpreters with high qualifications and experience from considering this option too. Apostolou (2011:81) adds that from personal contacts she had in June 2010 with the police authorities of Evros, Lésvos and Samos, which are considered the main entry points of illegal immigrants, she found that minimal interpreting services are provided to immigrants. If there is a language which is very little known or not known at all, the law provides for the appointment of an interpreter: this is Article 238 CCP (Hellenic Ministry of Justice). The flexible—or even vague—wording of the law, which does not require formal qualifications, is in this case a lifeline.

Research Data

Questionnaires

The questionnaires distributed at the beginning of our study included questions about the demographic data and then 15 questions about interpreting during the arrest, detention and trial of cases of foreign prisoners. Sixty-seven questionnaires were distributed to male prisoners in prisons in Ioannina, 92 to male prisoners in the prisons on Corfu and 33 to female prisoners in the prisons in Thiva.

The questionnaires were translated into English, French, Italian, German, Russian, Albanian, Turkish and Bulgarian in order to be distributed to the prisoners in Ioannina, Corfu and Thiva. In designing the research we took possible ethical issues into serious consideration, taking into account the fact that all participants were prisoners.

The questions were divided into three categories:

(1) Personal data, that is, gender, age, ethnicity and educational level, where the prisoners responded by entering in free text. Due to the high sensitivity of such data and in order for the respondents to be more objective in their responses, data such as name and surname were not requested.

(2) Evaluation of how the legal interpreting was held, using direct selection questions with "yes" or "no", in which the respondents reported directly whether they were happy or unhappy with how the whole process had evolved (14 questions).

(3) Evaluation of how the legal interpreting was held, using the Likert scale. In these cases, the respondent was asked to evaluate the whole process according to any subjective or objective criteria. A typical five-level Likert format was used, where 1 referred to the lowest and 5 to the highest value. This is a method of "forced choice", as the neutral option "Neither agree nor disagree" is removed from the scale. In the questionnaires it is explicitly stated that all information collected will be used solely for the purposes of the project.

Description of the Sample

Men made up most (82.9 %) of the sample, while women represented 17.1 %. Most (47.7 %) of the questionnaires that were distributed and collected came from the prisons of Corfu, compared to 35.2 % from the prisons of Ioannina and only 17.1 % from the women's prison in Thiva.

The ages of the prisoners in Ioannina ranged from 24 to 59 years old, with an average age of 32. The ages of the prisoners in Corfu ranged from 21 to 66 years old, with an average age of 36 and, finally, the ages of the prisoners in Thiva ranged from 21 to 61, with an average age of 38.

We found out that 70.1 % of all respondents were between 21 and 40 years old, while 27.1 % were between 41 and 60 years old and only 2.8 % were over 60 years old.

In the prison in Ioannina we noted that the majority of the prisoners come from Albania (31.34 %), Bulgaria (17.91 %) and Pakistan (13.43 %). In the prison in Corfu the majority comes from Albania (51.09 %), followed by Turkey (14.13 %) and Algeria (8.7 %). A small percentage of the prisoners (2.17 %) did not state their nationality or country of origin. The majority of prisoners in the women's prison in Thiva comes from Bulgaria (48.48 %), followed by Albania (18.18 %), Russia (9.09 %), Germany (6.06 %) and Nigeria, USA, Belgium, Poland and Philippines (3.03 % each). The majority of men were of Albanian

origin, whereas the majority of women were of Bulgarian origin. However, in total absolute numbers—men and women—from all three prisons, most prisoners were of Albanian nationality (38.7 %), followed by prisoners with a Bulgarian (17.8 %) or Turkish (9.4 %) nationality. It should be noted that, even in very small percentages, there were also prisoners from the developed countries of the EU and other Western countries (in the Ioannina prison: 1 Swedish prisoner; in the prison of Corfu: 1 British prisoner; in the Thiva prison: 2 German, 1 American, 1 Belgian and 1 Polish prisoner). See Table 9.1 for the breakdown of nationalities.

As far as spoken languages were concerned, 39.4 % of the respondents stated that they speak Albanian, 28 % English, 17.6 % Bulgarian, 5.7 % French, 3.8 % Ukrainian and 2.6 % Turkish, followed by other languages with even lower percentages. It is easy to realise that more or less the percentages of nationality are different from what was expected from the languages spoken.

Regarding the education level of the prisoners, in the Ioannina prison, the majority were primary school graduates (32 %), whereas 27 % are secondary school graduates and 22 % are tertiary education graduates. However, a relatively large percentage of the prisoners (19 %) refused to answer. The majority (51 %) in the Corfu prison were secondary education graduates, while 36 % were primary education graduates and 6 % were tertiary education graduates. Finally, 7 % of the prisoners did not respond.

Table 9.1 Composition of sample by nationality for each prison

	Ioannina (%)	Corfu (%)	Thiva (%)
Albanian	31.34	51.09	18.18
Algerian		8.7	
Belgian			3.03
Bulgarian	17.91		48.48
German			6.06
Nigerian			3.03
Pakistani	13.43		
Filippino			3.03
Polish			3.03
Russian			9.09
Turkish		14.13	
US			3.03
No reply		2.17	

Out of the 160 male prisoners, 34.38 % were primary education leavers, 40.62 % were secondary school leavers, and 13.13 % were graduates of tertiary education, while 11.8 % did not answer. Therefore, the secondary education graduates prevailed with a difference of approximately 6 %. In the Thiva prison (taking into account that the women's sample is significantly smaller), the secondary education graduates prevailed with 41 %, followed by the tertiary education graduates (21 %), while only 15 % of the women stated that they were graduates of primary education. Approximately one quarter of the respondents refused to answer this question.

Overall, with a contrastive approach we found that there was a significant difference between the education level of men and women, probably because of the different nationalities that were documented in the men's and women's prisons. However, the prisoners with a secondary education degree (47 %) prevailed in total, followed by those with a primary education degree (36.1 %) and by the tertiary education graduates (16.1 %). Finally, the people with Asian and African nationalities had largely—though with some exceptions—the lowest level of education.

Answers to the Questions

When asked if there had been an interpreter during their contact with the Greek police or the court, 48.53 % of the prisoners from Ioannina, 60 % from Corfu and 54.55 % from Thiva answered negatively. Overall, regarding all the prisoners who gave a clear answer to this question, 57.8 % answered negatively and 42.1 % answered positively. Statistically, the presence of an interpreter does not seem to be associated with the citizenship of the prisoner, except maybe for the Albanians (males and females), since out of 74 prisoners, 51 (69 %) had not had an interpreter, possibly because they had a good knowledge of the Greek language. Regarding the selection of the interpreter, the vast majority (79 %) of the Ioannina prisoners had not chosen their interpreter. In Corfu, 86 % of the prisoners had not been able to choose their interpreter, whereas this figure was 90 % in the women's prison in Thiva. As for the few people who, according to their answers, had had the opportunity to choose their interpreter, our data did not show a connection between this and their

nationality. Overall, 92.1 % of the total number of respondents had not had the option of choosing the interpreter.[2]

Regarding the foreign language that the interpreter used, according to the Ioannina prisoners' answers, in 52 % of cases the interpreter had spoken the prisoner's mother tongue. Forty-one per cent of the Corfu prisoners and 66.67 % of the Thiva prisoners answered the same question positively. From the total of the interpreters that were appointed to these cases, an average of only 57.1 % spoke the foreigner's language; in the majority of cases, this was Albanian, possibly because it is relatively easy to find people who speak the Albanian language well.

Where the appointed interpreters did not speak the foreigner's language, in 45 % of cases they spoke the Greek language and in much smaller percentages they spoke several other languages.

Concerning the critical question of whether the prisoner understood the interpreter, the answers from the Ioannina prisoners seem to be divided between "yes" (41 %) and "no" (43 %). In the Corfu prisons, 46 % of prisoners answered "yes" and 41 % answered "no". The female inmates in Thiva answered "yes" at a percentage of 63.64 % and "no" at a percentage of 33.33 %. The male prisoners seemed to understand the interpreter at a percentage lower than 50 %, whereas for the women this percentage was significantly higher. This seems to partially contradict the answers to the previous question: while the percentage of interpreters who spoke the native language of the prisoners was lower, the respondents seem to have perceived what the interpreters said in higher percentages. The aggregate percentages show that just over half of all the respondents (53.8 %) understood the interpreter. Regarding the explanations the interpreter gave to the prisoner about the intended process of the interpreting, such as the time and the length of the spoken text that the interpreter was able to interpret without a problem, as well as the provision of clarifications, the prisoners stated, at a percentage that ranges from 58 % to 66 %, that they had no information whatsoever from the interpreter. In contrast, the percentages of positive response to the explanations made by the interpreter about the intended procedure varied from 20 % (for men) to 36 %

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[2] There seems to be an inconsistency regarding the percentages between the first and second questions. This is apparently because some of the respondents answered the second question, even though they had already answered the first question negatively.

(for women). On the whole, a very high percentage (73.7 %) of all the prisoners who answered this question gave a negative answer. As for taking notes, the vast majority of the interpreters (82 %) did not take any notes throughout the procedure.

On the question of whether the officer/judge had addressed the respondent at any point during the process, 56 % of the respondents that answered the question clearly responded that the officer/judge had not addressed them directly, while 44 % gave an affirmative answer.

In the case of the negative answers (that the officer/judge had not addressed the foreigner directly), a high percentage (35 %) of the prisoners in Ioannina stated that the officer/judge had not addressed the interpreter either, while 33 % gave an affirmative answer (that the officer/judge had addressed the interpreter). From the Corfu prisons, 38 % of the prisoners stated that the officer/judge had not addressed the interpreter and 44 % answered positively. Finally, from the prisons in Thiva, 27 % answered that the officer/judge had not addressed the interpreter and 58 % answered positively. As a whole, in 46 % of the cases of those who had responded negatively to the previous question, the officer or the judge had not addressed either the foreigner or the interpreter, whereas 54 % answered that the officer or the judge had addressed the interpreter in those cases when s/he had not addressed the foreigner.

Of particular interest is the question of whether the interpreter interpreted for the prisoner everything that was said during the investigative and hearing process. The majority (63 %) of the prisoners in Ioannina answered negatively. The percentage of the prisoners that gave "no" as an answer to this question was even higher (75 %) for the Corfu prisoners, while a negative answer from the prisons in Thiva was given by 55 % of the prisoners. According to the prisoners that answered clearly, in 81.2 % of cases the interpreter had not interpreted to the prisoner everything that had been said during the process. At this point we have to admit that these negative answers cannot provide any sufficient evidence concerning what percentage of the discussion has been interpreted. Neither can we draw any conclusions on selective interpreting on behalf of the interpreter. See Table 9.2 for a breakdown of these results.

When prisoners were asked if the interpreter had used any dictionaries, books or other translating tools, 92 % of answers were negative. This constitutes strong evidence of possible misconduct by the interpreter.

Table 9.2 Results of prisoner survey regarding interpreter experiences

	Ioannina (%)	Corfu (%)	Thiva (%)
No presence of interpreter during contact with the police	48.53	60	54.55
No option for the prisoner to choose their interpreter	79	86	90
The interpreter used the mother tongue of the inmate	52	41	66.67
The foreigner understood the interpreter	41	46	63.64
The officer/judge addressed the himself/herself to the interpreter	33	44	58
The interpreter did not interpret everything that was said to the foreigner	63	75	55

Strong evidence was also gathered by the answers to the question of whether the prisoner "felt" that the interpreter was neutral towards them. The proportion of negative answers that came from the prisons in Ioannina and Corfu was as high as 62 %, while only 33.3 % of the answers that came from the prison of Thiva were negative.

A first finding the percentage of the women who believe that the interpreter was neutral is higher. On the whole it was estimated that in 70 % of the cases the interpreter had not been neutral. From the prisoners that believed that the interpreter was not unbiased, in the prisons in Ioannina 66 % stated that the interpreters had been negative towards them, while only 6 % stated that the interpreter had been positive. In the Corfu prisons, 73 % found the interpreter to be negative towards them and only 9 % said they had been positive. Finally, 51.52 % of the female prisoners in Thiva thought that the interpreter had been negative towards them and 18.18 % gave a positive response. Out of the people who answered, 87 % believed that the interpreter had been negative towards them and almost 13 % talked about the interpreter being positive. Also high were the percentages of the respondents who—despite stating that the interpreters had not been neutral towards them—did not clarify whether the interpreters were positive or negative.

The above findings are best summarised in the results of the question "Are you overall satisfied with the process of interpreting?" For this question we also used the Likert scale. The majority (56 %) of

the prisoners in Ioannina graded the whole process with "not at all" and almost 2 % with "very much". A percentage of 72 % of the foreign prisoners on Corfu graded the whole process with "not at all" and almost 2 % with "very much". Finally, 42.42 % of the prisoners in Thiva graded the whole process with "not at all" and 6 % with "very much". It is important to note that when the prisoners were asked to rate their satisfaction with the interpreting on a five-level scale, a large number of both males and females decided not to answer. Furthermore, 1, which was the lowest value, was selected more by the male than the female prisoners. Conversely, the cumulative percentage of men who rated the process with "agree" or "strongly agree" was significantly lower than the rate for women.

Finally, the overall percentage of men and women that reported the lowest degree of satisfaction from the interpreting is 75.8 %, while only 3.2 % expressed complete satisfaction. Directly related to the previous answer is the one for the question of whether the foreign prisoner would choose the same interpreter again. An overwhelming 88.8 % of the respondents stated explicitly that they would not choose the same interpreter again in the future, but we do not know if this was actually due to a poor quality of interpreting. We found out, however, that some of the prisoners would compromise with interpreting services of lower quality, because even though some of the respondents stated that they were not satisfied with their interpreter, they then answered that they would choose the same interpreter again. An important note: although these rates are prima facie similar to the 87 % and 13 % figures regarding the negative or positive attitude of the interpreter towards the prisoner, as mentioned above, we would not want to risk any correlation.

Conclusions

The results of our research depict a rather disappointing situation. As a matter of fact, a general dissatisfaction on the part of the involved foreigners was recorded, regarding the quality of interpretation. Additionally, the fact that nearly 60 % of the prisoners stated that there had been no interpreter present during their contact with the Greek police or the court is striking. In our opinion, this needs further investigation since, as we have seen, in

accordance with the national and European legislation (Directive 2010/64/EU) the appointment of an interpreter is an obligation of the state.

At least two out of five of the interpreters appointed did not speak the language of the defendant. The law, however, provides for the appointment of interpreters in cases of languages that are not widely spoken. It is also surprising that a high percentage of the interpreters that did not speak the language of the defendant exclusively used the Greek language during the process. Perhaps these are the reasons why almost half of the respondents alleged that they did not understand the interpreter. Moreover, it should be noted that three out of five prisoners reported that they had had no information from the interpreter about the interpreting process, notwithstanding the provisions of European legislation.

As for the professionalism of the interpreter during the pre-hearing and the hearing procedure, the vast majority (nearly 90 %) of the respondents said that the interpreter did not take notes, so there would have been no way to ensure accuracy and truth when it came to rendering longer utterances. Moreover, from those who gave a clear answer, the survey showed that in eight out of ten cases the interpreter did not interpret for the prisoner everything that was said during the process. This is totally incompatible with the legal requirement for the accurate interpreting of what is said. Moreover, in at least nine out of ten cases the interpreter did not use any translation tools. Additionally, seven out of ten respondents admitted that the interpreter was not neutral towards them, and almost nine out of ten spoke of a negative attitude on the part of the interpreter. So we see that there was an amateur stance on the part of the interpreters, possibly due to poor or non-existent training.

On a third level, according to more than half of the answers, the officer or the judge did not address herself/himself directly to the defendant, while for a percentage a little higher than 50 % the officer or the judge addressed the interpreter in those cases that they did not address the foreigner.

Finally, nine out of ten respondents who explicitly answered this question stated that if they had the opportunity they would not choose the same interpreter again, even though some of them would compromise with interpreting of lower quality.

Overall we see that there are some deficiencies in the organisation of legal interpreting. These are spotted on the side of the state and concern

the selection and training of interpreters as well as a lack of respect on the part of all official parties regarding the language rights of non-Greek speakers. These deficiencies result in a bad quality of legal interpreting in Greece. To sum up, a court interpreter in Greece has no training, no assessment, no professional status, is poorly paid and his/her potential as an expert in intercultural communication is being ignored.

If we were to generalise our findings so far, we would have to admit that the treatment of foreigners in their contact with the Greek authorities is poor. This stems from the loose legal framework that does not set strict rules concerning legal interpreting. Indeed, the absence of requirements for professional standards on the part of the interpreters, the lack of formal training, the lack of accreditation and the ease at which an individual may claim knowledge of a foreign language, thus becoming an interpreter, make the terrain of court interpreting adverse. In contrast to what takes place in other countries (e.g. the USA with its organised corps of court interpreters), Greece remains far behind. This organisational lag is possibly due to the lack of tradition on that issue, given the fact that it was only recently that Greek courts first came in contact with a large numbers of foreigners. Also, it might have been caused by the bureaucratic structure of central government, which means that it takes considerable time to respond to new needs. Additionally, there might be another reason: a strong belief spread among the individuals involved that knowledge of the local language (in the case we examine, Greek) is to be taken for granted.

At this point we have to state that the survey on which this chapter is based is not yet complete. A second phase has been conducted in parallel to the one described here. It involves investigation of those persons on the "other side of the hill". Hence the follow-up survey involves the distribution of questionnaires to all officials and professionals involved in the preliminary investigation, the investigating and the hearing processes, that is, police officers, lawyers and judges. Data processing and cross-checking this new information with the data we have already processed will allow us to have a more comprehensive view of the current situation in Greece. Possibly, this will allow us to draw some conclusions on the factual causes of this situation and proceed to further suggestions in the local (Greek), as well as the European context.

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General Conclusion

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The aim of this book was to obtain insights into what really happens in Public Service Interpreting (PSI) practice. This is because when interpreting practice is mentioned, it is often associated with standards and ethics which are influenced the international existing standards for the industry. Given the fact that PSI and conference interpreting do not take place in the same environments and settings, it is clear that there many discrepancies between them in terms of operational features. And yet, people seem to display the same expectations of them when it comes to interpreters' behaviours. Authors in this volume have reminded the readers that if, in principle, interpreting practice rightly accommodates interactional activities, it is possible to move away from the conduit model to accepting and using some communication features, such as linguistic and cultural mediation. However, these trends are not new in interpreting research developments.

The contribution of this volume is not limited to the examination of how far communicative mediation strategies can be extended and what impact such an approach can have on practice. Rather, it lies in the examination of factors that contribute to the gap between expectations and reality. By going beyond theoretical assumptions that relate

to interpreting standards and principles, this book reflects discrepancies between theories and practice. While some examples of generic interpreting challenges which were drawn from theoretical backgrounds have been mentioned, in an attempt to explain conceptual frameworks for a wider perspective on interpreter-mediated encounters, the focus of this book remains firmly on the PSI sector.

It has been made clear in this book that in its current state in most European countries, PSI is still suffering from being an unregulated and fragmented industry. Faced with economic constraints, governments have increasingly been struggling to cater for language service needs of the population. Observing the principle of making intra-social services (immigration, justice, health, housing, social services, employment and education) accessible to every resident by law has become a significant challenge. The contributors to this volume have demonstrated how, in the absence of a robust national regulation of the industry, Language Service Providers (LSPs) and service users have set their own criteria for the professionalisation of the industry. Available PSI training institutions and bodies have often opted for fast-track short courses to validate the bilingual skills of their trainees. This easy option has led to the recruitment of untrained or poorly trained interpreters, which has generated more tension in interpreter-mediated encounters. With a heavy reliance on freelance interpreters, PSI has not managed to fill the gap between the industry in relation to mechanisms to safeguard standards.

From the training to the recruitment and management of public service interpreters, the book gives a picture of mixed feelings of disenchantment and hope at the same time. The mitigating circumstances that keep that hope more vivid relate to the fact that PSI as an industry is an emerging sector within interpreting service provisions. It operates in a context where external pressures, such as the legal requirement to provide access to interpreting services combined with the underfunding of those services, undermine professionalisation.

The target audience of this book includes academics, trainers, employers, service users and practising professionals in liaison/consecutive interpreting. In order to get a true picture of what is going on in the PSI industry, the researchers used observations which were related to specific examples, events, experiences, testimonies, stories and secondary research data.

This approach has allowed them to identify some contentions that divide theory and practice in an expectations/reality dichotomy. Hence, reflections made by contributors to this volume have unveiled some of the challenges, tensions and genuine opportunities that PSI presents. The scope of the investigation took the form of an exploration of the current practice with the aim of signposting new or possible developments in future directions.

This volume concludes that in the current PSI operational context, there is a clear need to narrow the gap between the demand and the supply of fully qualified interpreters. The contributors have suggested some proposals with regard to what would be the appropriate form and types of training, self-development and qualifications if PSI standards were to be really recorded on the list of professional practices.

With an insight into the way stakeholders see the current state and development of the industry, this book ignites further debates on how education, training and qualifications could trigger a clear shift in regulating the industry for the sustainability of the sector. Such a shift will require a refocusing of the industry and of the power/influence balance between stakeholders. This can be achieved by harnessing synergies between collaboration and competition among those stakeholders. Instead of going for an easy option by lowering the interpreting standards bar through the recruitment of unqualified interpreters, there should be a clear platform determining roles and responsibilities for stakeholders such as LSPs, agencies, end users and interpreters, providing them with an interface of expected standards and ways of achieving and fostering them.

In conclusion, it is important to underline that it would be pretentious to suggest that this volume has covered all the issues that the PSI industry is currently facing. The book has attempted to link its rationale to the breadth of available research, and has highlighted lapses in the preparedness of interpreters to carry out interpreting assignments in an ethical and professional manner. It has highlighted the need for training and standardisation of PSI practice through contrasting current provision with the findings in terms of training. It has clearly made references to the UK National Occupational Standards in Interpreting and their perceived implementation in current training provision. The focus of the book has also gone beyond the UK context by including contributions reflecting on practices in Norwegian and Greek contexts. However,

while the bulk of the empirical data displays clear transferability between national situations and broadens the book's international scope, a much larger-scale study is needed to reinforce our claim that challenges and opportunities in PSI which were analysed in this book represent a true and accurate picture of this industry in the world.

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