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Master of Arts Translation

Institutional Norms in East African Conference Interpreting Contexts

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Chapter 1: Introduction

'I suspect millions of people from my generation probably have comparable stories to tell: if not of sports simulations then of Dungeons & Dragons, the geopolitical strategy of games like Diplomacy, a kind of chess superimposed onto actual history.'

- Steven Johnson

1.1 Research Background

In any specialized field, the practitioners of an art or science tend to develop norms that govern their practice.This is the case in conference interpreting, especially in institutions.The issue with these kinds of norms is that sometimes they are developed in specific contexts and thereafter professionals operating in different spaces try to adapt them in their practice. Given the differences in socioeconomic and cultural contexts, in different geographical spaces, it may be difficult to take norms developed in a particular context in their original form and impose their use in another context. Moreover, if we speak of context we cannot leave out the element of geopolitics. Cohen (Cohen, 2003:12) defines geopolitics as follows:

> Geopolitics is the analysis of the interaction between, on the one hand, geographical settings and perspectives and, on the other hand, political processes. (…) Both geographical settings and political processes are dynamic, and each influences and is influenced by the other. Geopolitics addresses the consequences of this interaction.

In this study I examine how geopolitics influences not just the training of interpreters but also how they practise their profession. A review of the literature reveals that most research has been on simultaneous conference interpreting and that there is very little on other forms of interpreting that are used in the world such as liaison interpreting (notably community and court interpreting). Mona Baker notes with respect to interpreting in politically sensitive contexts:

> Although some work has recently been done on consecutive interpreting (especially as performed in the conference setting) and on liaison interpreting (in community and court settings), research on interpreting is still heavily influenced by the priority which has traditionally been given to simultaneous conference interpreting. (Baker in Cronin, 2002: 50)

Cronin refers to Daniel Gile's attempt to explain this from a geopolitical perspective. He indicates that most conference interpreters « *ont leur domicile professionnel dans les pays européens, surtout en France, en Suisse, en Belgique et dans d'autres pays d'Europe occidentale* » ('are based in European countries, particularly in France, Switzerland, Belgium, and other Western European countries' [*Cronin's translation*]). The largest conference interpretation markets are Paris, Brussels, Geneva, and Tokyo, and almost all the research centres mentioned by Gile are found in the developed world. (Gile in Cronin, 2002b)

The International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC), for example, focuses primarily on Western Europe as roughly half of its members are based in Brussels, Geneva, London and Paris with around six times as many AIIC interpreters in Paris alone than in the whole of Africa. (Altman in Cronin, 2002b) It should nonetheless be noted that freelance interpreters travel extensively to carry out their interpreting missions. There places of residence do not therefore determine where they work or what working languages they use. Owing to advancements in electronic communications it is also becoming more common for interpreters to service some meetings without their physical presence being required.

Current AIIC membership in the world:

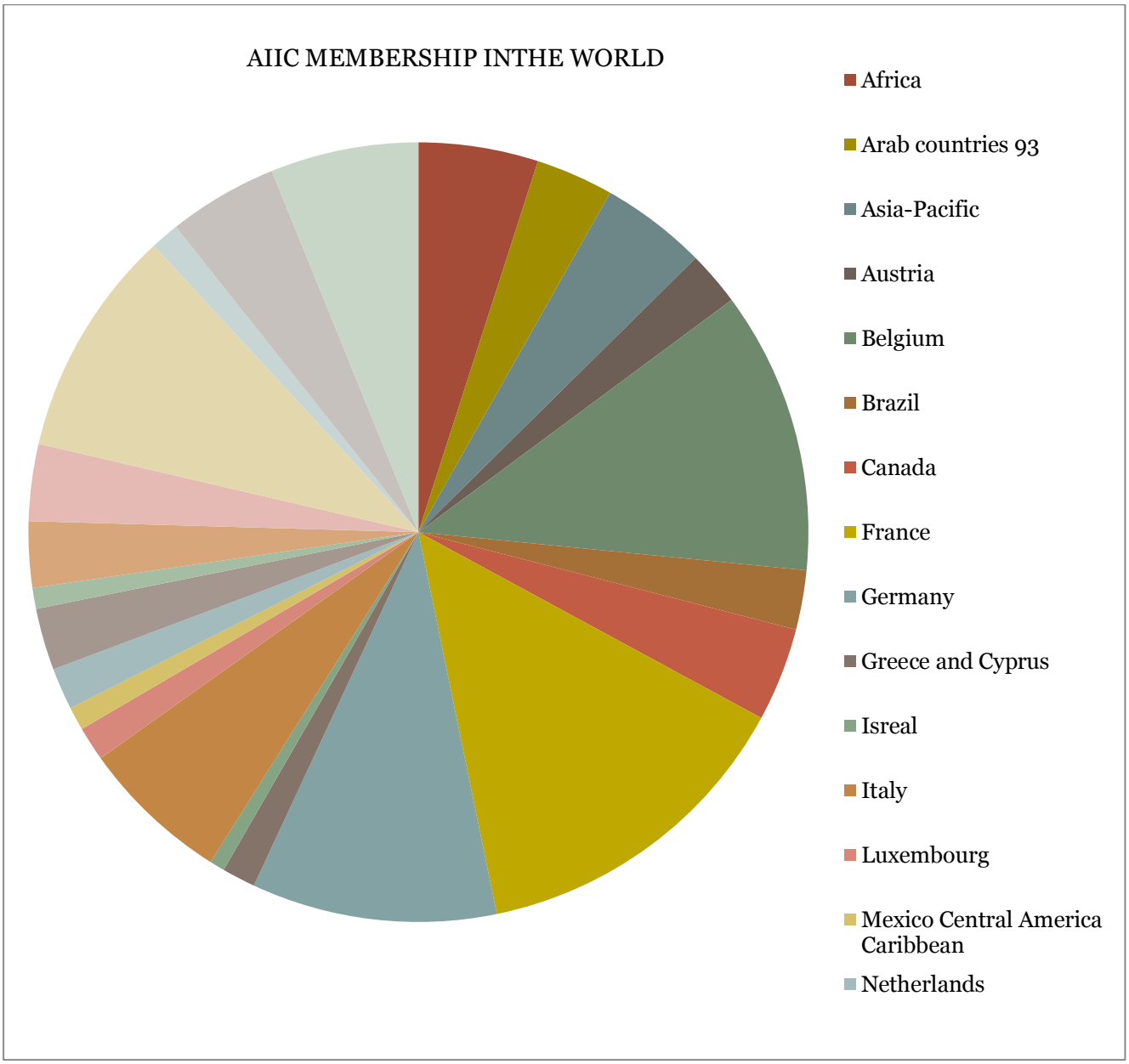


Figure I[1]

[1] Pie chart based on information from http://aiic.net/directories/interpreters/georegions

AIIC membership by Regions

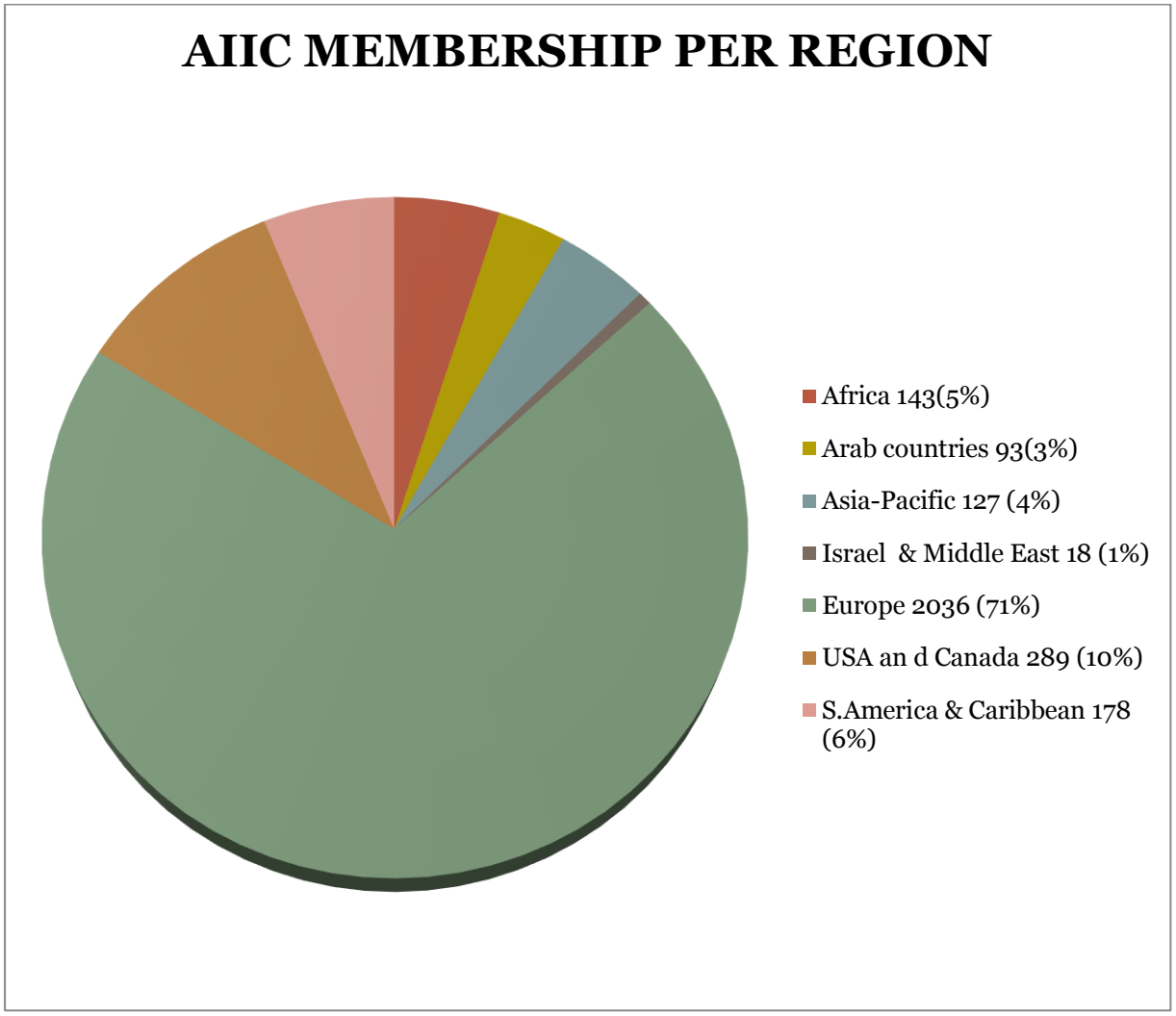


Figure II[2]

It would therefore seem legitimate to ask ourselves if the norms and standards established by AIIC are inclusive and whether they take into account the needs and interests of all interpreters in all regions of the world.

This study focuses on institutions operating in East Africa.The institutions under review are the African Union in Addis Ababa and its organs, such as the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) in Arusha and the African Union-Interafrican Bureau for Animal Resources (AU-IBAR), the International Conference on the Great

[2] Extrapolation of Figure I by regions.

Lakes Region (ICGLR), with its headquaters in Bujumbura in Burundi, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), and the African Development Bank which has a Regional Resource Centre in Nairobi. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), with its headquaters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and the United Nations Office in Nairobi, Kenya, which are United Nations agencies in the region (and most likely to present a situation comparable to what happens in the western world), are used as a basis for comparison since AIIC has an agreement for interpreters with the United Nations. The choice of institutions is justified by the intention to cover as many institutions in the East Arican regions as possible.The above institutions are institutions with which I have, at some point or the other, had the privilege of working and I therefore would be exploiting networks already established in the region.These institutions use interpretation services extensively in their work and will potentially benefit from the research as the study seeks to come up with recommendations for norms to be used in these and other similar institutions.

1.2 Research Problem

The hypothesis of the present study is that East African Institutions have specific institutional norms which may be very different from ‘established/ international’ norms and which tend to influence the way interpreting is done in East African institutions.

1.3 Aim

The over-arching aim of this research is to assess whether we can speak of the geopolitics of interpreting norms and whether conference interpreting norms should be universal or vary according to different geopolitical spaces.

The interpreting norms applied in a particular geopolitical space, that of East Africa are investigated and the particularities of these norms compared to the so-called international interpreting norms applied through AIIC. Identification and analysis of these differences provide the basis for recommendations on how best to deal with the divergences in these norms.

1.4 Research Questions

- ✓ How do East African institutional interpreting norms compare with existing AIIC norms? (or What are the existing AIIC interpreting norms? What interpreting norms are applied in East African institutions? What are the differences?
- ✓ How do (East) African institutions deal with existing AIIC norms[3]?
- ✓ Are different institutional norms applied in the case of AIIC/ freelance interpreters and institutional interpreters? What are the differences?
- ✓ What issues arise from the use of different norms by interpreters in this region? What recommendations can be made with regard to norms in the East African context?

1.5 Contribution of the Research and Rationale

No prior research has been carried out on the tensions that exist when different interpreting norms are applied in different regions or geopoltical spaces. This research identifies these differences and seeks to understand the reasons for such differences. It then formulates recommendations to improve or optimise the working conditions for conference interpreters in Africa and in particular in the institutions in the East African region

Given that little research has been carried out in this area, the present study addresses this gap.

This research also aims to lay the ground work for a discussion around the geopolitics of conference interpreting norms with the need, or otherwise, to establish context specific norms relevant to interpreters in their specific contexts.

[3] AIIC,the International association for Conference Interpreters will be used as a reference since it brings together professionals from all continents.

1.6 Organisation Of The Study

1.6.1 Chapter 1: Introduction

In this part of the research report the aims and purposes of the research topic are explained. The rationale and well as the research problem are stated, and the outline of the dissertation is provided.

1.6.2 Chapter 2: Literature Review

This part of the research report contains a review of literature in the field of conference interpreting in general. Existing literature on norms and institutions in conference interpreting, and the geopolitics of conference interpreting is be examined. Descriptive Translation Studies is used as a theoretical frame for the study.

1.6.3 Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical framework that underpins my study and the method used in conducting this research.

1.6.4 Chapter 4: Data Analysis

In this chapter, I start off with an overview of norms in conference interpreting in East African contexts. Here, I examine the identified East African institutions i.e. the African Union in Addis Ababa and its organs like The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) in Arusha and The Inter African Bureau for Animal Resources in Nairobi, the International Conference on the Great Lakes region (ICGLR) with its headquarters in Bujumbura in Burundi, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and The African Development Bank which has a Regional Resource Centre in Nairobi. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and the United Nations Office in Nairobi.

In this chapter, I also scrutinize the data collected through questionnaires and face to face/Skype interviews and an analysis will be carried out. Ethnography as a qualitative method of research will be used.

1.6.5.Chapter 5: Findings and Recommendations

This chapter reveals the findings of the study and makes recommendations against the findings.

1.6.6. Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter concludes the research and suggests further research in this area.

1.7 Conclusion

This introductory chapter lays the foundation for this study. The concept of institutional norms in the East African region was mentioned and the notion of geopolitics introduced. The research problem and questions were highlighted and the manner in which the study goes about attempting to answer these questions was described. In the next chapter, the reader will be able to access more detailed information on the literature review used in this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

'Literature is where I go to explore the highest and lowest places in human society and in the human spirit, where I hope to find not absolute truth but the truth of the tale, of the imagination and of the heart.'
-Salman Rushdie

2.1 Introduction

Existing literature informs us about the current geopolitical landscape in which interpreting has been evolving. The chapter reviews how different authors depict the notions of norms, institutions and ideology. It provides the background to the present research report, providing an overview of the current situation in relation to the geopolitics of conference interpreting and the views of scholars in this regard.

For the interrogation of the notion of norms in interpreting, I begin from a simple dictionary definition which gives an idea of how the term is used by the general public. This is followed by reference to definitions provided by scholars who have studied translation and/or interpreting to see whether the definitions converge with how the general public would perceive the notion.

I also examine interpreting from the point of view of institutions and I compare what it means to work as a conference interpreter for an institution as opposed to working as a freelancer.

This chapter also investigates the notion of ideology with some definitions and also examines how ideology relates to interpreting.

2.2 Geopolitics of Interpreting

2.2.1 Definition of Geopolitics

This study seeks to observe interpreting in context and if we look at context in conference interpreting, it is important to examine the geopolitical landscape in which this activity occurs.

Departing from Cohen's definition of geopolitics as quoted in chapter one, the consequences of the interaction between the geographical setting and perspectives, i.e. how people in different places perceive things and the political processes that stem from different perspectives, are crucial for conference interpreting as this informs how the profession is organized and how conference interpreters the world over view their role.

2.2.2 A Geopolitical Perspective of Simultaneous Interpreting

Simultaneous conference interpreting is today practised routinely in conferences the world over but the profession traces its origins to Europe in 1934, when André Kaminker, one of the first interpreters in the world, used the 'simultaneous translation' system (or the IBM hushaphone Filene-Finlay system), invented by Filene and Finlay. He interpreted Hitler's crucial speech at the Nuremberg Rally for a French radio station. (Gaiba, 1998:30) Before that, in 1920, after other languages other than French were recognized as diplomatic languages, only whispering and consecutive interpreting techniques were employed at the League of Nations in Switzerland. (Gaiba, 1998:31)

The first interpreting school was established in Geneva in 1941 and trained interpreters in whispering and consecutive interpreting for the League of Nations. (Gaiba, 1998:28)

After the Nuremberg trials, simultaneous interpreting, which was devised in an attempt to save time as the consecutive mode would elongate proceeding unnecessarily, became the most widely spread mode of interpreting especially for international multi-language conventions. These were for instance meetings for the International Labour Organisation, the International Congress of Physiology inter alia. (Gaiba, 1998:31)

Today, simultaneous conference interpreting is still the mode of interpreting that is commonly used in multi-lingual meetings and even the literature on interpreting seems to focus more on this mode of interpreting.

According to Mona Baker:

> Although some work has recently been done on consecutive interpreting (especially as performed in the conference setting) and on liaison interpreting (in community and court settings), research on interpreting is still heavily influenced by the priority which has traditionally been given to simultaneous conference interpreting. (Baker in Cronin, 2002b:50)

Even today, this focus on training and in research in simultaneous conference interpreting continues, despite the fact that other forms of interpreting (e.g. community/bilateral and dialogue) are more extensively practised as noted by Altman (Altman in Cronin, 2002b:50) and Gile (Gile in Cronin, 2002b:50).

It is therefore not surprising that interpreting, and especially conference interpreting practice, followed in the footsteps of the European pioneers of the profession and this is evident in numerous aspects. Many studies carried out on conference interpreting are done by Europeans and many examples in the literature indicate what happens in Europe. Most research centres mentioned by Gile for instance are in the developed world. (Gile in Cronin,2002b:50). The International Association for Conference Interpreters is commonly known by its acronym AIIC which comes from the French ***A****ssociation* ***I****nternationale des* ***I****nterprètes de* ***C****onférence*. The Website is available in only two languages English and French even though members drawn from all regions of the world (AIIC, 1998-2017). It is no surprise that AIIC membership is dominated by members from European countries as illustrated in figures I and II in chapter one.

A closer examination of AIIC membership reveals that the majority of members are from Western European countries as previously indicated in chapter 1, and repeated here for emphasis. Regarding language combinations of AIIC members, from over 3000 professionals, 938 work from English into French, and 922 from French into English.

AIIC membership is dominated by European interpreters. English and French also seem to dominate the other languages.

Janet Altman (Altman in Cronin, 2002b) and Daniel Gile (Gile in Cronin, 2002b) reach similar conclusions as quoted in the previous chapter when they examine the activities of AIIC.

It would seem that in the world of interpreters, as in most other domains in the world, there is an element of language imperialism and by extrapolation then, a certain degree of cultural imperialism. There is a tendency in the world, even with the emergence of new economies that are neither from Francophone or Anglophone regions, to move, because of globalization, towards a standard way of doing things.

Andrew Moravcsik attempts to explain this by stating with regard to language:

> Europeans enjoy enduring advantages, since the world's second languages are mostly European. English, of course, is a dominant second language across the globe, while French and Spanish also play important roles. The languages of other great powers, notably Mandarin and Russian, have quite limited sway. (Moravcsik, 2017)

Michel Cronin in this regard says:

> A repeated difficulty in charting the emergence of a new economy and a new global order is to reduce all societies to a standard (usually western) model [his emphasis]... (Cronin, 2003:3)

Much as globalization is creating the need to interact with people from other countries and regions and increasing the need for translation and/ or interpreting, some languages still seem to dominate others: 'the direction of translation (and by extension interpreting) is overwhelmingly from and into English.' [My emphasis] (Venuti in Cronin, 2003:88). The prevalence or dominance of certain languages such as English and French however long preceded the current globalization trend. (Moravcsik, 2017) AIIC as an international association has tried to set the stage for interpreters worldwide and to provide guidelines as to how the profession ought to be practised.This is particularly useful for a highly paid and highly specialized profession whose access is not controlled by professional bodies as is the case in medical or legal professions.

In its unifying role, AIIC therefore needs to ensure that the association resonates not just with interpreters who are members of the association, but with other potential members.This would mean that all AIIC interpreters would need to feel that their considerations are taken into account regardless of their language combinations or geographic location.This seems to be a challenge and as Altman states:

> The challenge facing the association will be how to serve the interests of interpreters who have extremely diverse geographical,social and linguistic backgrounds whilst continuing to appeal to its original constituency,namely conference interpreters primarily in the western world. (Altman in Cronin, 2002b: 50)

According to Gile there is an attempt to superimpose developed world perceptions and context on to the rest of the world:

> The professional concerns of the first world thus become the theoretical concerns of humanity and the theoretic paradigm of interpreting is restricted to reflect the market

and institutional realities of wealthier nations.The relative neglect of other forms of interpreting (...),is arguably grounded in material inequalities that universalize First World experience.(Gile in Cronin, 2002b:51)

2.3.Norms in Conference Interpreting

2.3.1 Definition of Norms

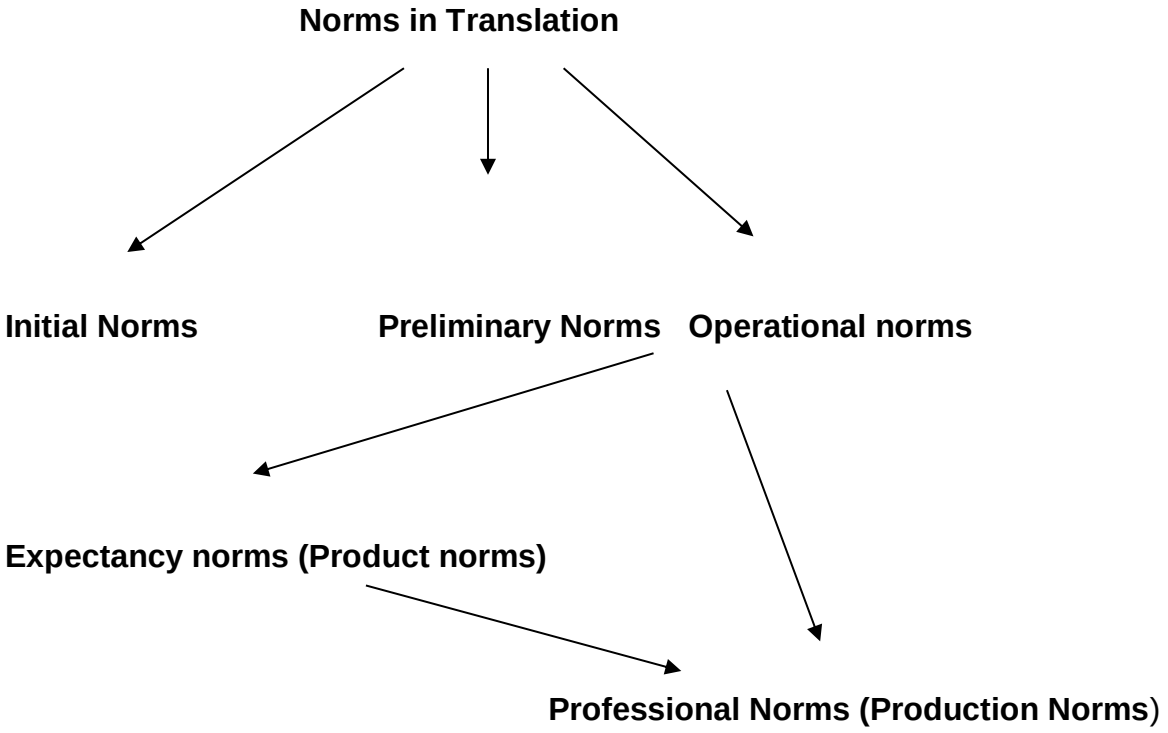
A Norm according to the Merriam-Webster English dictionary is a principle of right action binding upon the members of a group and serving to guide, control, or regulate proper and acceptable behaviour.

For this study, AIIC, because of its international presence, is used as the reference group, and an example of a norm stipulated on the AIIC website was used to examine how it 'serves to guide control or regulate proper and acceptable behaviour in interpreting'. It is also very close to the definition given by Toury (1999) who was the first one to introduce norms in Translation studies. He argues that translating is bound to be affected by norms, as is every other socially relevant activity, norms being 'the translation of general values or ideas shared by a group, as to what is conventionally right and wrong, adequate and inadequate, into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations' (Toury 1999: 14). The acquisition of a set of norms for determining the suitability of that kind of behaviour, and for manoeuvring between all the factors which may constrain it, is therefore a prerequisite for becoming a translator within a cultural environment.' (Toury 1995:53)

These norms are acquired by internalization in four phases:

- ✓ by environmental feedback from any party to the communication event, concerning the translator's output
- ✓ by sanctions and/or rewards applied by the group in which the translator operates
- ✓ by the translator developing an internal monitoring mechanism
- ✓ by the full internalization of norms in his/her competence, which results in decisions often being made more or less automatically (Toury 1978/ revised 1995:248-254; Toury 1999: 26-27).

Toury differentiates these norms as **initial norms**, **preliminary norms** and **operational norms**. (Toury 1978/revised 1995). Chesterman (Chesterman 1993, Chesterman 1997) further refines operational norms by introducing a further division into **professional norms** (production norms) concerning the translation process and at least in part validated by norm authorities, but also by actual practice and **expectancy norms** (product norms) concerning the form of the translation product, based on the expectations of the prospective readership. Chesterman places expectancy norms higher than professional norms, as they shape production norms and are validated only by virtue of their existence in a certain community and in a specific communicative situation. Norms according to these two authors can be represented by a diagram as follows:



Toury claimed that the norm concept could be applied to written as well as oral translation (i.e. interpreting) but the usefulness of norms for the study of interpreting was not immediately recognized. Shlesinger opened the discussion about the introduction of the concept into interpreting research (Shlesinger 1989). Since her programmatic article, quite a lot has been written about the methodological aspects of such research. Most authors however, underline the methodological obstacles involved, in spite of which, all authors agree that the norm concept is indispensable

for the study of interpreting, as it can help to shed light on phenomena that cannot be explained by a purely cognitive approach.

2.3.2 How Does the Notion of Norms Apply in Conference Interpreting?

AIIC standards for the profession are internationally recognised as previously mentioned, in particular the AIIC Code of Professional Ethics and Professional Standards (AIIC, 1982) could be viewed as norms as per the definition used above.

The aspect of quality was considered and in this regard AIIC's position is that since conference interpreting is a '**professional communication service'**, quality in interpreting is a function of communication. It is therefore the interpreter's job not only to '**communicate the speaker's intended messages'** but to do so as '**accurately, faithfully, and completely'** as possible. (AIIC, 1998-2017)

Diriker (Diriker, 2004) examines the norm and calls it **'fidelity to the speaker',** suggesting that the interpreter 'communicates the speaker's intended messages(...)accurately, faithfully, and completely**'** (AIIC, 1998-2017), but uses a Bahktinian dialogical model quote which claims that 'Receivers cannot access authorial intentions completely because each instance of language use contains more meanings, intentions and accents that its formulator may have intended and any single receiver can purport to have accessed' (Diriker, 2004:31). This therefore questions the interpreter's ability to 'communicate the speaker's intended messages (...) accurately, faithfully, and completely' .This aspect of fidelity seems to be a moot point with authors like Gile whose case study suggested that depending on the person who is assigned the task of appreciating whether the norm of fidelity was adhered to or not, the weight and the definition of fidelity might shift. (Gile 1990).This study does not look at fidelity in detail as it would require some corpus based considerations that are not covered by the scope of the study. This study instead generally examines this aspect as part of the role of the interpreter and as part of the professionalism discussion.

There is an apparent contradiction between the requirement for 'fidelity' and interpreters' intimate involvement in the events they are assigned to interpret according to the narratives of professional codes of ethics. Interpreters are therefore not simply professionals working in that space 'in-between' cultures, untouched by events. (Wallmach, 2014). Eliminating 'impurities' such as distinct accents,

grammatical mistakes, regionalisms, flawed formulations, etc., thus improving the 'package' of the original for the sake of ensuring a smooth and unproblematic flow of communication is seen as a natural and desirable part of the interpreter's task and is not considered to contradict even the strictest notions of fidelity to original meaning; such interventions are assumed to take place at the level of the 'word' and not 'meaning'. (Diriker, 2004). AIIC represents this as 'seamless multilingual communication' as one of the roles of interpreters as professional interpreters is to render the message naturally and fluently, adopting the delivery, tone and convictions of the speaker'. (AIIC, 1998-2017)

One of the conclusions that Diriker draws from practical observation of interpreters at work is that the reality of Simultaneous Interpreting (SI) somewhat diverges from what the meta-discourse around SI seems to suggest, that interpreters convey the speaker's message accurately, faithfully, and completely. This discourse seeks to bring actual behaviour closer to the most socio-culturally and commercially viable image of the profession, with norms and values that are gradually selected and ordered according to hierarchy, suitable for preservation and reinforcement of the professional interests of simultaneous interpreters. (Diriker, 2004)

Diriker also provides the wider socio-cultural context in simultaneous interpreting by examining the meta-discursive representation and self-representation of simultaneous conference interpreters. She examines the codes of ethics and websites of professional organisations like AIIC and SCIC(Service Commun Interprétation-Conférences)[4],general reference books (such as dictionaries and encyclopaedia), academic literature, printed and electronic media, with a view to establish how simultaneous interpreters are represented and self-represented from the standpoint of expectations and performance, comparable to Chesterman's professional and expectancy norms, as well as from an ethical point of view.

As an interpreter, this norm that is both a professional and expectancy norm is something I have to grapple with all the time. Fidelity to the speaker speaks to both the process and to the product of interpreting. I strive to be the speaker's honest spokesman but this requires being able, first and foremost, to have access to what the speaker intends to pass on as the message. Sometimes this is problematic and for

4 The Directorate General for Interpretation, the European Commission's interpreting service and conference organiser.

instance on the African continent where there is a very rich diversity in terms of languages, most speakers (if not all) in certain meetings will use languages like English and French, which may not be their first and second languages. Even when these two languages are peoples' native languages on the African continent, they are usually spoken in parallel with other languages which obviously influence how the language is spoken. The most obvious effect of this melting pot of languages is the different accents that people acquire. The same words can be pronounced very differently and in some places where there is a dominant influence of another language some sounds may be pronounced very differently to the extent of making the words unrecognizable. In Kenya for example, some people from the Kikuyu community tend to have a problem with the 'L' and 'R' sounds and they tend to invert them. Some people in this same community find it difficult to pronounce consonants like 'D' or G especially at the beginning of words. A word like /girl/ would sound like /*ngao*/ (a word with these two letters following each other seems impossible to pronounce for most people in this community), /dull/ would sound like /*ndur*/ and /room/ would be pronounced as /loom/. A sentence as simple as /*the girl was in a dull room*/ would sound like /*the ngao was in a ndur loom*/.

In Uganda, they have a similar situation and as Bernard Sabiiti puts it 'the Bantu languages spoken in southern Uganda tend not to have consonants sounded alone without a vowel in the syllable. Indeed, the Luganda word for consonant is 'silent letter'. Thus the letters *l* and *d* in *Alfred* /ˈælfrɛd/ will be given sound by the addition of /i/, making the pronunciation of the word /ˈalifuredi/. Luganda never has /r/ starting a word; it only appears following the letters /e/ and /i/ within a word. The /l/ sound, conversely, cannot follow these sounds. Thus the word *railway* gets its /r/ and its /l/ substituted, giving /leyirwe/.' (Sabiiti, 2015)

These sorts of 'accents' exist in all manner of degrees, perhaps more so on the African continent, and they make the work of interpreters difficult and sometimes even impossible.

Rendering the speaker's message accurately as a norm can also be hindered by the differences in how languages are spoken and this difficulty can also be observed in the usage of words. The intermingling of languages means that languages sometimes borrow from each other. African speakers will sometimes '*alter foreign words to make*

them sound more euphonic'. This might result in words creeping into the language. In Kenya a /machete/ for instance is called a /*panga/,* a /hoe/ is referred to as a /*jembe/* and a /farm/ is called a */shamba/.* These words can even be found in English school books. These are very basic references to tools commonly used and are used metaphorically to depict a situation where the right tools are used for the right purpose. It is not uncommon to hear the expression */one cannot go to the shamba* without a *panga* or a *jembe/.* For the average Kenyan, this sentence is in perfect English and some people are not even aware that there are other words for any of the three in English. Sometimes it is words that actually exist in English (or French) that are used very differently in different countries. In Kenya for example /to graduate from high school/ is referred to as /*to clear high school/.* Another phrase that Kenyans (and actually most African communities) use in a somewhat peculiar manner is /I am Sorry/. Much as it is used in the conventional way that the English language intended it, i.e. as an apology, the word /sorry/ also translates the Swahili word /*pole*/. Much as it causes no confusion in cases where /*pole/* is sometimes an apology in Swahili as well, it might cause a bit of confusion when it is used as a polite way of sympathizing with someone. So for instance in Kenya when you trip and fall, sorry is what people say, if your mother dies, we say sorry, if you are having a bad day, we also tell you sorry. 'In Cote d'Ivoire, in formal Abidjan French of the educated people /*La fille m'a subtilisé mon argent*/' (Katja Ploog, 2002) would be used to say *'The girl stole my money'*; *subtiliser* in this case may cause confusion as the more common word in French for stealing is *voler.*

If the norm in interpreting is therefore to communicate the speaker's intended messages as accurately, faithfully, and completely as possible, and considering that the language used in conferences is usually quite complex, distilling the meaning with all these 'interferences' would be a task next to impossible for most (if not all) interpreters. Interpreters confronted with the examples given, even with the best of efforts would render to their listeners the version of the message as they understand it.

In some meetings, it so happens that people get a little carried away and might use very emotional ways of expressing themselves. I for one choose never to repeat any expletives coming from the floor or any other non-verbal expressions of emotion that might stir up any disagreement. I have several times been in some very sensitive

meetings where delegates get up and face the interpreters saying ‘tell him exactly as I said it’ because they feel that interpreters are sort of modulating very emotional discourse. In these situations, I resort to the third person and say ‘...the speaker says this or that...’ How interpreters deal with such situations will not be examined particularly in this study as it would excessively broaden the scope.

Toury (Toury, 1995) speaks of environmental feedback from any party to the communication event, concerning the translator’s output as one of the ways norms are internalized. I think interpreting is one of the professions where you do not have to wait for too long before you get feedback on your performance. Since our listeners play the role of the judge, jury and executioner while we are in the booth we get feedback somewhat instantly. Instant feedback tends to be negative feedback and so we are always keen to see the reaction of our listeners to what we say at all times. When people start facing backwards to try and see who the interpreter is or put down their earphones (another very dreaded occurrence in a meeting) the interpreter is quickly made aware that communication is not working very well. If for instance an interpreter is in a two-language meeting and s/he notices that no one is using their earphones, it becomes quickly apparent that no one is listening and in that case the interpreter would stop interpreting. In a high level meeting, Some interpreters feel that something is amiss when the chair does not acknowledge the good work of the interpreting team as he adjourns the meeting and some are of the opinion that if the interpreters are mentioned, then they have failed in their task of making the listeners forget that they were listening to the speakers through the voice of interpreters. Both of these scenarios actually present some form of environmental feedback but without external feedback an interpreter is quickly aware of his/her performance; an interpreter knows when s/he is struggling and when things are working smoothly. This awareness is shaped by what an interpreter knows to be quality interpreting and what is expected of a good interpreter and these are two other ways of internalizing norms according to Toury who speaks of an internal monitoring mechanism and full internalization of norms in the interpreters’ competence, which results in decisions often being made more or less automatically.

In some cases, the aspect of monitoring is external to the interpreter where a person is specifically assigned either by an institution or by a delegation to listen to the interpretation, with or without the knowledge of the interpreters. While this is useful in

order to evaluate the accuracy and quality of interpretation, the practice can make even the most seasoned interpreters nervous, and hence have an influence on the quality of output. It can also be a subjective exercise and depending on the person assigned to carry out this task, it sometimes leads to unjustified criticism and fault-finding.

When an interpreter is committed to performing his/her role to the best of his/her ability then quality becomes a norm, even with all other obstacles, an interpreter is always sure that his/her role is well played, whatever the context, whatever the subject matter and whoever the client. Different people speak the same language differently and they therefore appreciate certain aspects of a language with certain degrees of variation. If the environment plays the role of a monitoring mechanism, it is plausible therefore, that different environments would end up with some different conclusions on what norms would best apply. If the environments are not standard, it seems unnecessary to have standardised norms for everyone.

2.4 Institutional Interpreting

2.4.1 What is an Institution?

The notion of institution needs to be defined in order to effectively discuss institutional interpreting.

Kim Wallmach and Kaiza Koskinen (Wallmach, 2014) define this notion.

According to Wallmach the concept can be understood on three levels: abstract institutions (such as religion) give rise to more formal institutions (such as the church) that are, for practical reasons, further divided into concrete institutions (such as local parishes) with their assigned activities.

As Koskinen in (Wallmach, 2014) puts it:

In principle, we can study institutions on a range of levels, from the abstract level to concrete realisations, and from the world-system to the level of individuals and everyday micro processes. On all these levels, institutions share a number of features: any institution can be defined as a form of uniform action governed by role

expectations, norms, values and belief systems. […] This also partially explains the confused meanings: modern societies have built a number of concrete institutions in order to carry out their various governance, control and education activities. Scott (Scott, 2001) also offers us an alternative understanding that is also useful for this study from a methodological point of view, as according to him:

> Institutions are social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience. [They] are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life. Institutions are transmitted by various types of carriers, including symbolic systems, relational systems, routines, and artefacts. Institutions operate at different levels of jurisdiction, from the world system to localized interpersonal relationships. Institutions by definition connote stability but are subject to change processes, both incremental and discontinuous.

We can from these excerpts establish a working definition of what an institution is for the purposes of this study as a form of uniform action governed by role expectations, norms, values and belief systems.

This study uses the above definition when looking at institutions that require the services of interpreters, as this definition connects the institutions under study: the African Union, including its organs like the Pan African Parliament and the African Court of Human and People's rights, The United Nations and its organs and other Institutions in the East African region Like COMESA and the ICGLR.

2.4.2 Interpreting in Institutions

The notion of institutional interpreting was examined, in the sense of interpreting for a particular institution and how it compares with the private market, or freelance interpreting. I consider what powers are at play (tangible or not, official or not etc.) and how those will impact on the interpreter's production, the perceived expected quality of the production, the working conditions, the terminology used etc.

What is said in any given context and by extrapolation how it is interpreted by interpreters is shaped by the context in which the utterances take place.

Levinson (Levinson in Arminen, 2000) shows our understanding of turns at talk, or utterances, requires a reference to the larger activity of which they form a part. Levinson gives examples ranging from the yells at a baseball game to questions and answers in court and class rooms, and points out that our conclusion about what has been accomplished through talk 'rests on our knowledge of the kind of activity the talk occurs within'.

Levinson suggests that we assign to an utterance a function or an import by reference to the 'language game' or 'activity type' which the utterance is a part of. These larger units both place constraints on what kinds of contributions are regarded as allowable and allow parties to use strategies to produce preferable contributions for the kind of activity in question.

Conference interpreting occurs in meetings that tend to follow the same format. If we compare the agendas of meetings for different organisations, it is common to find for instance during the opening and closing ceremonies, formal speeches that are read by different speakers; formal speeches tend to follow a particular common thread. It can be concluded that interpreting in conferences is comparable in the different institutions as it falls under the same 'language game', but in this study I interrogate this language game to see if it really is the same in the whole world.

In this study, by conference interpreting, I refer to interpreting that occurs within conference settings during meetings, where interpreters sit in booths and use simultaneous interpreting equipment. The notion of institution also can be linked to ideology in the sense that Thompson (Thompson, 1984) depicts it. A certain ideology provides a social structure which creates social institutions with agents that perpetuate the ideology. Institutions are created to fulfil very specific objectives and the agents in these institutions play a critical role in advancing an ideology. We can therefore argue that since institutions are created to advance ideologies, this is the case for the institutions under study.

2.4.3 Is the Institutional interpreter a 'Conference Interpreter' in the same sense as a freelancer?

It is important here to establish if there really is a difference between a freelance interpreter and an institutional interpreter. A translation agency (Rixtrans translation Agency, 2012) carried out a comparative analysis between an in-house translator (that

for the purposes of this study compared to an institutional interpreter or staff interpreter) and a freelance one.

The agency gives the following definitions:

An in-house translator is a translator who works for a specific company (or organisation) as an employee on a full-time basis, usually at the company office. Some of the advantages include a regular workflow and set schedule as well as a salary, often with additional benefits such as healthcare and paid vacations.

A freelance translator is a translator who works as an independent contractor from home or a private office with a variety of clients and with no binding agreements to accept all tasks.
One of the advantages to being freelance is a more flexible schedule.

These definitions are comparable to what happens in actual practice and one major difference between these two kinds of interpreters is the regularity of work for the institutional interpreters; with that, comes a certain routine and a certain kind of vocabulary depending on the specialty of the organisation/ company in question. A freelance interpreter will on the other hand be exposed to different clients who work in a variety of fields. A freelance interpreter also has the luxury of choice. S/He can refuse any job assignments that they simply do not like, and turn down an assignment for which they do not feel competent. Working for one organisation enables an interpreter to specialize in a certain field. Specialisation over time makes work easier as one always uses the same vocabulary and therefore the effort of looking for terms is much less. This obviously contributes to reducing the levels of professional stress.

It is however not unusual for in-house interpreter to end up as freelance interpreters and sometimes freelance interpreters look for employment as staff interpreters depending on particular moments in their lives where they feel like they need a bit more professional stability.

In terms of what is expected from either group of interpreters, there seems to be no difference in the literature and these two groups seem to even be called upon interchangeably and this is based on factors like budgets and organisational needs.

From all this, it appears that one interpreter can very well, at one point or another, be a freelancer or a staff interpreter in an institution. Does it mean that the person needs

to play a particular role when they are employed on permanent/ contract basis for the sole purpose of pleasing their employer?

In my opinion, this question is a pertinent one but probably not just for interpreters. Other professionals would find themselves asking the same question if the possibility of working as staff or as freelancers was available. Taking a permanent job with any employer requires that one follows a certain set of rules and adopts a certain behaviour that is the 'norm' within the organisation in question. If a monitoring and evaluation specialist works for an organisation that fights for women's /girls' rights for instance, s/he may start off from a point where s/he is not quite an advocate for women /girls rights but the constant exposure to certain situations may contribute to shaping their opinion on the matter of women's/girls rights. I do not think that in this case this can be referred to as just toeing the line in order to please anyone. As humans, we tend to adapt and become more sensitive to what we are exposed to, whether we like it or not. The same would apply to interpreters. If a freelance interpreter is hired by an institution, s/he would in time end up adapting to the ways of the said institution, its idiosyncrasies and ideologies and inherently its vocabulary. The meta-discourse on interpreting that Diriker (Diriker, 2004:25) refers to regarding simultaneous interpreting can here be used as a reference. As she puts it:

'As professionals, conference interpreters are surrounded by both the immediate conference settings where they work day by day and the broader socio-cultural, ideological and interactional context(s) that position, honour and constrain them as professionals. It is this broader social context which grants simultaneous interpreters the status of experts in the possession of certain skills for which they gain prestige, credibility and money.'

How interpreters work, like any other professionals, tends to be influenced by the context in which they are hired. For the institutional interpreter, it is therefore not just an act s/he puts up to merely please the employer' but a natural professional adaptation process to the context and work environment. This adaptation makes working in the institution easier as certain automatisms and reflexes settle in; in order to reduce work related pressure and stress. This study seeks to examine what kind of adaptation is required and whether or not these are context specific depending on one's geopolitical environment.

Investigations into which aspects of SI are 'prescribed' or 'forbidden', 'tolerated' and 'permitted' provide a particular context in which interpreters work. Conference interpreters, (both institutional and freelance) therefore operate within a certain 'professional identity' and as Toury puts it:

> In that larger socio-cultural context, conference interpreters, like all other professionals, operate with a 'professional identity' which shapes and is shaped by the way a variety of actors and institutions inside and outside SI see and describe the profession(al).(…). As such, the meta-discursive representation of simultaneous interpreters does not embody just a neutral description of intrinsic professional features, but presents a selected and hierarchised set of 'norms'. (…).These norms convert those general values or ideas into performance instructions which specify what is prescribed and forbidden, as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension. (Toury, 1995)

The literature available on interpreters does not seem to distinguish between conference interpreters that practise as staff interpreters or those that practise as freelancers at least not in the way the two groups carry out their duties. It however seems to make reference to certain 'performance instructions'. These 'performance instructions' are in my opinion what shapes how an interpreter carries out their functions and they apply to both freelancers and institutional interpreters. This study therefore concludes that the context dictates how an interpreter performs their duties and both institutional interpreters and freelancers operate within more or less the same contexts. If we compare the African Union (AU) and The United Nations Organisation (UN) from a General point of view, the funding levels of the two organisations differ and this in turn, influences how the two organisations operate. If we compare for instance the remuneration packages in the two organisations, conference interpreters get remunerated differently. The UN has access to more funds and hence a bigger budget for interpreters than the African Union and this will influence the distribution of work between the teams of interpreters; their working conditions will also be different. The institution also dictates the kind of behaviour that is acceptable or not. It is not uncommon for instance for interpreters at the UN to leave a session when the working hours allocated are over. When a session goes beyond the usual 3 hour session, the team leader approaches the presiding officer and requests that interpreters be released and if necessary negotiates and extension of the time, e.g. an extra 15 to 30 minutes. Beyond that, a relief team should be called in. This is justified by the notion

that the interpreters' concentration and attention span decline rapidly beyond the 3 hours and hence the quality of interpretation is affected as well as the interpreters' health. This for instance is unheard of at the AU where interpreters sometimes work for very long hours beyond what is recommended. The contracts for UN organisations are based on the agreement, (UN-AIIC agreement Annex 1) which clearly states the working hours. The AU contracts (Annex 3 and 4) are not as specific in the determination of working hours which leaves a bit more room for manoeuvring and negotiation. This also influences the behaviour of meeting organizers; at the UN, they know they have to follow the working hours scheduled if they wish to fully utilize the interpretation services. At the AU, interpreters are at the mercy of the meeting's chairperson and they can only leave when the chairperson adjourns the meeting. Two interpreters working for these two different institutions would therefore have very different professional experiences.

This study seeks to establish whether there is an international 'professional identity' or whether this identity shifts depending on where, from a geopolitical angle, one exercises their profession, either as a freelancer or as an institutional interpreter.

2.5 Ideology and Interpreting

2.5.1 Introduction

We cannot talk of geopolitics without examining the notion of ideology. Ideology shapes the way people think and informs their actions. It determines for instance what is important to a people and this is reflected in for instance how much budget allocation is given to certain aspects of life in a society and generally shapes how society works and how different societies interact with each other. In this part of the study, I seek to correlate interpreting with ideology to see if and how the two are linked.

2.5.2 Definition of the Term Ideology

Contemporary interpretation of the term ideology originates from the works of German philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (in Brooker,1999) In their original

sociological analysis, they defined Ideology as ‘The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas … The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production.’ The entirety or the system of ideas of the ruling class would be the Ideology of a given society. The function of ideology would be the continual reproduction of the means of production and thereby to ensure the continuous dominance of the ruling class. Ideology achieves this by distorting reality. While in fact the split in ruling and subservient social classes is artificial (i.e. man-made) and serves the needs of the economic system, the ideas of ideology make it appear natural. It makes the subordinate classes accept a state of alienation against which, they would otherwise revolt. This state of alienation was also referred to as ‘false consciousness’ by Engels.

The concept of ideology as formulated by Marx and Engels has been critiqued and is even today considered as obsolete as it contributed to the negative understanding of ideology as ‘a form of cognitive distortion, a false or illusory representation of the real’ (Gardiner 1992:60 in Beaton, 2007). It was later expanded to adapt to the changes our societies underwent since the 19th century. The most obvious and fundamental critique would be that human beings have moved in most societies from an industrial economy to a service economy and thus the assumption of a social division into a ruling class that controls the means of production and a working class that is forced to sell its labour in order to survive no longer applies. Cultural critics have suggested alternative categories other than social class in which hierarchical power structures are also at work. The more obvious of those are gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality. In those contexts, ideology would work analogous to Marx’ and Engels’ model to maintain the existing power relations of, for example, a patriarchal society.

Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist philosopher, provides another crucial extension of the concept where he introduced the concept of *hegemony*, by which he means that ideology’s power derives primarily from consent as opposed to the use of force. Secondly, Gramsci argued to expand ideology from a set or formal ideas to include ‘common sense.’ By the latter he means habitual attitudes which have been assimilated from ruling class ideas, i.e. they appear completely natural or commonsensical, yet they originally came into being as artificial concepts that served the interests of specific social group. The French critic Louis Althusser built on this concept to describe two types of ‘apparatuses’ for maintaining dominance: ‘repressive

state apparatuses' (the army, police, etc.) which have explicit agendas to exert control and 'Ideological State Apparatuses' (the media, education, the family) which often function semi-independently and without explicit intent to exert control. Ideologies, along with discourse, are the two central concepts in understanding the cultural transmission of ideas, values, and assumptions. A key point of contention in this developing concept is how much ordinary people can resist, negotiate, or reconceptualise ideology on their own, or whether only cultural critics armed with analytical tools for unmasking the normalizing functions of ideology and discourse can successfully play this role. (Rafferty, 2016)

Martin Seliger (in J.B.Thompson, 1984) combined different elements of ideologies as expressed by writers like Marx and Engels inter alia and offers us what he calls an 'inclusive' definition of the term.In this regards he says:

> An ideology is a group of beliefs and disbeliefs (rejections) expressed in value sentences, appeal sentences and explanatory statements. It is designed to serve on a relatively permanent basis a group of people to justify in reliance on moral norms and a modicum of factual evidence and self-consciously rational coherence the legitimacy of the implements and technical prescriptions which are to ensure concerted action for the preservation, reform, destruction or reconstruction of a given order.

Despite J.B. Thompson's (Thompson, 1984) criticism of this definition, as according to him, Seliger's conception of ideology is related in only the most diffuse way to the institutional and structural features of society and to the analysis of power; this definition for that same reason is the one I find most interesting for this study.

Fowler (Fowler in Beaton, 2007) offers another alternative conception of ideology as something which is manifest in all discourse, and hence text, concluding that all thought is ideological. Thus, critical discourse analysts, for instance, use the concept of ideology 'in the neutral sense of a world view, a largely unconscious theory of the way the world works accepted as 'common-sense'.

2.5.3 Ideology in Institutions

Ideology in the sense that J.B. Thompson (Thompson, 1984) depicts it, where a certain ideology provides a social structure which creates social institutions with agents that perpetuate the ideology here comes to light. Institutions are created to fulfil very

specific objectives and the agents in these institutions play a critical role in advancing an ideology. We can therefore argue that since institutions are created to advance ideologies, this is the case for the institutions under study.

Ideology in this sense is interesting for this study as stated previously. I look at the (East) Africa as the social structure with the African institutions as the social institutions with agents that perpetuate the ideology, in this case people who work in these institutions including conference interpreters.

If ideology is manifest in all discourse, the vector language of the discourse also bears elements of this ideology. This brings to mind for instance the nationalist ideology, as explained by Benedict Anderson, which according to him has been the 'primordial fatality of particular languages and their association with particular territorial units'. (Anderson, 1983 (Revised '91,'06):56) He speaks of the building of the nation in the United States of America where the population was sold the idea of civilisation and nation building through one language, the English language.The African continent's case is comparable as it bears similarities in the sense that language has been used as a unifying factor in many African countries.It is also interesting to note that when the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was born in 1963, with the aim of unifying African countries in a context of lingering colonialism, the official languages that the founders of this African organisation chose were indeed colonial languages.To date,the only African language that has made it to the list of official AU languages is Kiswahili. Its use is still very limited as interpretation into and from Kiswahili is only available during heads of states summits. It would be interesting to examine whether the languages used in (East) African institutions play a role in pushing ideology but this would be beyond the scope of the current study.

If we look at the language booth arrangements, at the UN, there are English, French, Spanish, and Russian, Arabic and Chinese booths. Of the six official languages, only English and French are used as relay languages. This means that the other four languages have to go through either of the two to get interpreted. This is also the case at the AU where English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic and Swahili are the official languages. In most African organisations, English (and sometimes French) is the official language used in meetings. This plays a role in how languages are considered in organisations as it appears as though the intention is to gravitate English

(and to a certain extent, French) as the common global language. This, even on the African continent, where these languages are mostly not native languages. AIIC evokes the notion of 'A' language as a mother tongue level language. For interpreters who are born and raised on the African continent, where the mother tongue is in most cases not English (or French), this definition is worth investigating. AIIC (AIIC, 1998-2017) (see figure below) has a database of interpreters with their language combinations and in this directory, only nine languages form 95 percent of all the languages. Swahili, one of two African languages (the other one is Afrikaans) on the list recognized by AIIC falls under 'other', representing the rest of the world languages. This means that an interpreter without one of the nine languages would struggle to join the Association, as one of the conditions for joining the organisation is to have at least three sponsors with the same languages, including two from the same region as the applicant and who have 5 years of seniority in the said languages. AIIC's current directory (at the time of this study) only has one interpreter with French <> Swahili in their language combination.

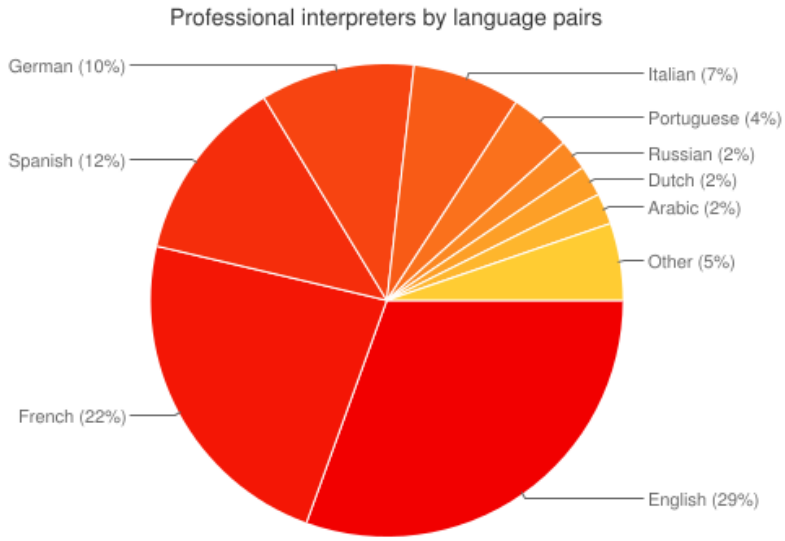


Figure 3 (AIIC, 1998-2017)

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter constituted a review of the literature and how it has addressed the notions of geopolitics and institutional interpreting. A detailed overview of studies on norms was given. Included in this discussion was an explanation of the intersections between

ideology and interpreting. In the next chapter of this report, I present the theoretical underpinning of my study and discuss the methodology used to draw conclusions about the institutional norms in East African conference interpreting contexts.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

'Whenever a theory appears to you as the only possible one, take this as a sign that you have neither understood the theory nor the problem which it was intended to solve.' - ***Karl Popper***

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical framework that underpins my study and the method used in conducting this research. The chapter also presents and describes the research method and the data collection process. It further discusses the ethical considerations and examines how the data was collected through questionnaires and face to face/Skype/WhatsApp interviews and what I sought from the questions.

3.2. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

This study examine how norms in East African institutions are perceived by interpreters and those who recruit them; this is a phenomenological approach. As Lester (Lester, 1999 :1) puts it, the purpose of the phenomenological approach is as follows:

> …to illuminate the specific, to identify phenomena through how they are perceived by the actors in a situation. In the human sphere this normally translates into gathering 'deep' information and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews, discussions and participant observation, and representing it from the perspective of the research participant(s). Phenomenology is concerned with the study of experience from the perspective of the individual, 'bracketing' taken-for-granted assumptions and usual ways of perceiving.

The phenomenological approach employed in this study serves to collect perceptions from conference interpreters in the East African region on norms and their experiences in the institutions under study. While this approach is robust in indicating the presence of factors and their effects in individual cases, it is here used tentatively in suggesting their extent in relation to the population from which the participants or cases were

drawn (Lester, 1999). The intention of the study is to get a sample that would be as representative as possible, but even from a good sample, it might be difficult to establish the effects of perceptions and experiences beyond the individual cases.

In this study,I also use ethnography as an overlapping qualitative method of research. Hale and Napier (Sandra Hale, 2013) define ethnography as 'the study of a social group or individual or individuals representative of that group, based on direct recording of the behaviour and 'voices' of the participants by the researcher.'

Ethnography has been used by authors like Koskinen (Koskinen, 2008), who employed this method to study the notion of culture in the translation work place. The institutional dimension of my study brings to light the situated nature of interpreting and magnifies certain elements that constrain and regulate interpreters' work. Based on Scott's definition (Scott, 2001) as discussed in chapter 2 of this report, my analysis focuses on the rules and regulation governing institutional interpreting practice, the norms and values constraining and guiding interpreters' actions and the shared conceptions and understanding of the interpreters (Koskinen, 2008:35). This methodology complements the phenomenological approach and brings on board the represantativity of the participants' perceptions in the study. It offers a robust and adaptable framework for a situated analysis of a particular group of people. (Koskinen, 2008:36). With these methods,I seek to uncover 'the shared norms or cultural conventions governing who can say (or do) what in particular situations and attempt to provide a 'thick description' of the cultural and conceptual world in which interpreting is practised in the East African region.' (Geertz in Sandra Hale, 2013)

Just as Simeoni (Simeoni, 2008) questions the geopolitical unconcious of translation studies, my study does the same and introduces a geopolitical substrate in the investigations carried out. Discussions on geopolitics in interpreting circles on the African continent often happen in corridors and behind closed doors. This discussion is one that most people shy away from as it makes us uncomfortable; to speak of geopolitics it to challenge the status quo. It forces us to examine ourselves and to ask difficult questions as to why things are done as they are. I tackle this issue by interrogating the notion of ideology, in the current context of 'intercontinental dissensus' (Simeoni, 2008). The discussion on ideology has over the years taken different dimensions. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels brought forward ideas that

‘contributed to the negative understanding of ideology’ as ‘a form of cognitive distortion, a false or illusory representation of the real’ (Gardiner 1992:60 in Beaton, 2007). Social class seems, at some point, to be an obsolete idea as society has undergone various social changes since the 19th century. In order to discuss ideology and geopolitics, we are today obligated to consider other categories like gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality especially in the globalized world we live in. Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci introduced the concept of *hegemony* where we see the dominance of some nations over others; the dominance is characterized by some degree of consent from the subordinate as no force is overtly used.

Siegler also introduced another dimension to the notion of ideology that is interesting for this study. He termed his definition more ‘inclusive’ but this conception of ideology was highly criticized by Thompson as related in only the most diffuse way to the institutional and structural features of society and to the analysis of power. (Seliger in J.B. Thompson, 1984)

Beaton (Beaton, 2007) analyses yet another alternative conception of ideology as something which is manifest in all discourse, and hence text, concluding that all thought is ideological and today, critical discourse analysts, use the concept of ideology ‘in the neutral sense of a world view, a largely unconscious theory of the way the world works accepted as common-sense’.

The study interrogates ‘how the [interpreting] world works’ and whether people have a common understanding of what is ‘common-sense’ or in this case the ‘norm’. The study employs Toury’s Descriptive Translation Studies (Toury, revised 2012) as as a theoretical reference, and examines the link between his definitions and Chesterman’s.It examines operational norms in (East) Africa as a geopolitical context. It particularly interrogates expectancy norms based on the prospective audience,which in this case are the institutions under study and the participants of conferences.The internalization of norms by interpreters and their perceptions,based on their experiences as interpreters and how their role is viewed not just by their audience but by themselves is investigated. Professional norms are also examined by dissecting the environement within which interpreters work through contracts and agreements that frame the work of interpreters.

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis Instruments

For this research, an effort was made to collect the perceptions of persons in charge of hiring interpreters, at least two interpreters who are employed as permanent staff and at least two freelance interpreters that work regularly with the institution in (East) Africa. As a descriptive study it, endeavoured to have a sample that would be properly representative of what perceptions practitioners in the interpreting profession have. Participation letters and letters of consent and questionnaires were sent out to the specific people from the institutions as per above criteria from the UN, the AU, the ICGLR and COMESA. The same was also sent to interpreters practising in the region who are on a list that was compiled with the help of one of my senior colleagues, who is a freelancer and works with most of the institutions under study. In total 60 potential participants were targeted.

3.3.1 Contracts

The study examined a few contracts from different organisations, which provide 'the rules and regulations governing institutional interpreting practice.' (Scott, 2001)

The participants of the study were happy to let me use samples of contracts under which they have worked. I also used contracts under which I have worked. See annexes).These contracts provided an entry point to understanding the standard relations entered into between interpreters and the organisations.

3.3.2 Questionnaires

This study also used a questionnaire as one the data collection tools. The questionnaire was sent on *typeform*, an online platform. A copy of this questionnaire can be found on https://wangecieve.typeform.com/to/q25USu and in the annexes (Annex 10).The questionnaires were composed of 22 questions.

These first three questions were personal information questions with instructions to only indicate the initials of the participants instead of their full names. This was important as it enabled me to protect the anonymity of the participants. I also had a question on the age and gender of the participants aimed at establishing the

demographics of my participants. This information provides insight into the *face* of interpreters in the East African region.

Question 4 was a question on the participants' occupation as the study is aimed at investigating both professional interpreters and those involved in their recruitment, who in some cases are not interpreters.

Questions 5 and 6 were questions on working languages addressed to the interpreters to give an indication of language representation in the region and directionality.

Questions 7 and 8 were on interpreter training to elicit information on the kind of training interpreters undergo. These questions provide information on access to the profession in the region.

Questions 9 and 10 were about AIIC membership to elicit information on the number of AIIC interpreters in the region and on how well the association is known in the region. Question 11 was about AIIC norms to establish whether interpreters were aware of the norms according to which AIIC proposes that people work. These data were relevant in terms of the investigation of interpreting norms in East Africa. This question was followed up in the one-on-one interviews where open ended questions could provide more insight into interpreters' perceptions in relation to the notion of norms.

Question 12 focused on the organisations for which the interpreters usually worked as the sample included freelance interpreters. This question served to confirm that the participants did indeed work for the organisations under study in order to link the rest of their answers on their experiences to these particular institutions.

Question 13 focused on the work environment provided by the organisations concerned. The participants were specifically asked whether they thought that the organisations complied with the prescribed norms. They were asked to provide an answer on a scale of 1 to 5 where one was 'Always' and 5 was 'Never'. Analysis of the data provided insight into how, according to the participants, AIIC norms were applied within the organisations under study. Question 14 required participants to justify why, in their opinions, there was a discrepancy between what AIIC prescribed and what was practised. This was an open ended question.

Question 15 was also an open ended question which sought to find out if the interpreters thought there was a difference between working in the (East) Africa region and working elsewhere in the world. The question was interesting in terms of amplifying on question 12 and in determining what the interpreters' experience was and how it compared to other professionals in other regions of the world.

Question 16 was an open ended question on the role of an interpreter. This was aimed at collecting the perceptions of the participants on what, in their opinion, was expected of them. The question was aimed at providing data that could be compared to what 'others', including the literature, AIIC, the general public etc. had to say about the role of the interpreter.

Questions 17 related to the participants' work environment and whether the latter provided a conducive environment for fulfilling the role as explicated in question 16.Question 18 gave the participants the opportunity to provide details of how their work environment enabled them to fulfill their role and, if it did not, how this could be explained.

Question 19 also related to the role of an interpreter but sought to establish whether the clients[5] were aware of the role of the interpreter. The question was aimed at providing insight into the perceptions of the end users of interpreter services on the role of interpreters, from the interpreters' point of view.

Question 20 focused on the sensitization of clients vis-à-vis the role of the interpreter in respect of those clients who were not familiar with the interpreting process.

Question 21 was a video link (http://www.calliope-interpreters.org/calliope-resources-event-planners-and-speakers/smart-speaking?lang=en), a video produced by Calliope Interpreters, a network of interpretation service providers, all owned and managed by seasoned, practising conference interpreters accredited by international organisations such as the United Nations and the European Union (Calliope Interpreters, 2000). This Network of interpreters falls under AIIC which, according to them, '…sets standards in the field of conference interpreting'. The video is addressed to the clients of interpreters explaining what the role of the interpreters in the meeting is. The video was selected as it provides a clear summary of the role of the interpreter

[5] A Client in this case corresponds to anyone who uses the services of the interpreter. This included the audience in meetings and the organisers of meetings.

as it speaks of '…making it easier for the interpreters to communicate ideas well…'. It raises the issues that interpreters face in the booth and it proposes simple solutions. It, for instance, addresses the issue of speed during presentations, and the problems this may create for the audience of the interpretation…

The aim of the video was to present a summary of the role of the interpreter briefly to the participants of the study. This video aimed to trigger a discussion on the role of the interpreter during the follow up interview, providing mutual reference points for the researcher and the participants.

Question 22, the last question, was on whether the participants thought the video would help improve the working conditions for interpreters in the East African region. The question was aimed at establishing whether interpreters thought that the issues they faced arose mainly from experiences in the booth or from other sources.

Typeform® enabled me to collect data easily from participants from the region. The online questionnaire could be completed from any smart device including smart phones, tablets and computers. The platform also provided the possibility of seeing how many people had visited my typeform and also provided a report which gave insights to the data collected.

3.3.2 Interviews

My third data collection tool was a follow up interview which was conducted with the same participants of the study who had sent back their questionnaires. The objective of the interviews was to obtain a better idea of the participants' perceptions about their work environments and to further collect their opinions on what role they feel an interpreter plays. For the AIIC members, it was interesting to hear how they deal with the rules of the Association in their day to day experiences in interpreting.

The interviews enabled me to gather perceptions about the differences and/similarities in the experiences of interpreters when working for the different organisations based in the region. I also asked the participants to talk about their experiences in the booth regarding team work and booth behaviour, including turn lengths etc. Perceptions on access to the profession and retirement age were also discussed.

From the geopolitical perspective, the notion of 'Africanness' was discussed. With reference to the African Union's agenda 2063 (The African Union Commision, 2013) which talks of *'The Africa we want',* I sought to establish who the inclusive 'We' used to formulate the different declarations representing 'the voices of the African people' really represents and how this is experienced by interpreters. I sought to understand how different points of view in meetings were dealt with and whether consensus was always necessary. In the case of those who worked in both markets, interpreters were asked about the differences between audiences in the Western world and Africa The difference in the contents of meeting in the Western world and in Africa were also discussed.

Interview questions also centred on perceptions of the profession in the regional/international media and whether the participants felt that the interpreter gets a voice in their invisibility?

These interviews provided the opportunity to listen to interpreters on the general experience of interpreting in East Africa much as most people wanted to express their views under the veil of anonymity and there were many mentions of off the record sharing.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

I was careful to take into account ethical considerations for this study. 'Ethnography can only be practised in an intimate relationship with the object of study and this intimacy (…) pushes to the fore front the personal and ethical aspects of the endeavour'(Koskinen, 2014:36). It was possible to guarantee the participant complete anonymity as they were not required to fill in their names in full on the questionnaires. In the study all participants are referred to as participant 'X'. Each interpreter was required to sign a consent form (Appendix ref) which allowed me to use their information collected in my report. The participants were also provided with an opportunity to ask questions related to their participation either on phone or by email. All data collected for the study was therefore used with the full knowledge and understanding of the participants of the purpose the data would serve. I also

conducted interviews, either face to face or on Skype/WhatsApp[6].These interviews were conducted in an informal manner as the interviews main objective was to gather perceptions. A formal interview setting provided a better platform for asking questions, and the interviewees, fully aware that their answers would not be attributed to them in the report, shared their opinions freely.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the reader was given an overview of the theoretical framework and methodology used in this study. The research was contextualised within the translation setting, from which researchers in the field of interpreting borrow a great deal, and the interpreting setting. The instruments used to collect data, the types of data and details of how the data would aid in the analysis were highlighted, as were the ethical considerations. In the next chapter, the data collected will be discussed in detail and analysed.

[6] Online video/audio platforms

Chapter 4 : Data Analysis

*'In God we trust, all others must bring data.' - **W. Edwards Deming***

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will first of all give an overview of the institutions under study in order to give their history briefly and to present their mandate and later, the norms used in these institutions that use interpretation services. Here, I also examine the data collected from various interpreter contracts, and existing agreements, and from questionnaires and interviews. The finding of this data will be presented in the next chapter.

4.2 Overview of Conference Interpreting Norms in East African Contexts. A study of Institutions.

4.2.1 Introduction

This part of the research report will look into the identified East African institutions i.e. the African Union in Addis Ababa with its different institutions such as The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) in Arusha, the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) with its headquarters in Bujumbura in Burundi, and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa(COMESA).This will be compared to The United Nations Organisation organs such as the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) headquartered in Addis Ababa and the United Nations Office in Nairobi(UNON).

The present study examines how the institutions interpret some norms and will give an indication of the extent of comparability of the norms applied in East African Institutions.

4.2.2 The African Union (AU)

The African Union (AU) is a continental union consisting all of 55 countries in Africa Previously all African countries were part of the AU with the exception of Morocco. Morocco today is part of the African Union after 33 years. Morocco had left the OAU, the AU predecessor, in 1984 after the body recognised the independence of Moroccan-occupied Western Sahara. (Mohammed, 2017)

The AU was originally founded as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to promote cooperation among the independent nations of Africa. 'On 9th September 1999, the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity issued a Declaration (the Sirte Declaration) calling for the establishment of an African Union, with a view, inter alia, to accelerating the process of integration in the continent to enable it play its rightful role in the global economy while addressing multifaceted social, economic and political problems compounded as they are by certain negative aspects of globalisation. The Durban Summit (2002) launched the AU and convened the 1st Assembly of the Heads of States of the African Union. The African Union was hence established as a unique Pan African continental body, charged with spearheading Africa's rapid integration and sustainable development by promoting unity, solidarity, cohesion and cooperation among the peoples of Africa and African States as well as developing a New Partnership Worldwide. Its Headquarters is located in Addis Ababa, capital city of Ethiopia.' (The African Union Commision, 2013)

'Under article 11 of the Protocol to the AU Constitutive Act, the official languages of the AU and all its institutions are Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Kiswahili and any other African language. The AU's working languages are Arabic, English, French and Portuguese and this means that the AU needs interpreters to service all its meetings.' (The African Union commision, 2016)

The AU has staff interpreters who are employed either on three year renewable contracts or on short term (I to 3 months renewable) contracts. The AU also regularly employs freelance interpreters from their data base. These interpreters are hired on the basis of a 2 year framework contract and a service form which stipulates the specific period of time during which the interpreters' services are required (See Annex 3 and 4).

4.2.3 The International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR)

'The International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) is an inter-governmental organisation of the countries in the African Great Lakes Region. Its establishment was based on the recognition that political instability and conflicts in these countries have a considerable regional dimension and thus require a concerted effort in order to promote sustainable peace and development. Most notable among the conflicts that have had cross-border impacts or origins are the 1994 Rwandan genocide that led to the loss of more than 800,000 lives, and the political instability in DRC. These conflicts constituted a major threat to international peace and security.

Its founding history began in 2000 when the United Nations Security Council, as stated in its resolutions 1291 and 1304, called for an International Conference on peace, security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region. Later that year, the Secretariat of the International Conference was established in Nairobi, Kenya, under the umbrella of the United Nations and the African Union.

In November 2004, the eleven Heads of State and Government of the member countries unanimously adopted the Declaration on Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes region in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. This Dar es Salaam Declaration presented a political statement with the intention to address the root causes of intractable conflicts and constraints to development in a regional and innovative approach.

The Heads of State and Government convened once again in Nairobi in 2006 to sign the Pact on Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region. The Pact included the Dar es Salaam Declaration, Programmes of Action and Protocols. This marked the end of the preparatory phase and ushered in the implementation period.

The organisation is composed of twelve member states, namely: Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Republic of South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania and Zambia. The official languages of the organisation are English, French, Arabic and Portuguese.' The organisation therefore requires interpreters for their meetings.' (The ICGLR secretariat, 2012)

The ICGLR has only one staff interpreter who has a renewable 5 year contract. The rest are freelance interpreters from their database of interpreters based in the great lakes region. They work under mission based contracts that stipulate the specific period during which the interpreters' services are required (Annex 6).

4.2.4 Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) is a free trade area with nineteen member states including Djibouti, Egypt, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Sudan, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Burundi, Seychelles, Democratic Republic of Congo Comoros, Swaziland, Eritrea, Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya and Libya. COMESA was formed in December 1994, replacing a Preferential Trade Area which had existed since 1981. COMESA with its 19 member states has three official languages: English, French and Portuguese (COMESA secretariat, 2016). There is one member of staff who is referred to as the 'Chief interpreter' and this person is responsible for the recruitment of freelance interpreters on a need basis since the institution has no other staff interpreters.

4.2.5 The United Nations (UN)

'In 1945, nations were in ruins. World War II was over and the world wanted peace. Hence, the United Nations was founded as an international organisation to replace the ineffective League of Nations. At its founding, the UN had 51 member states; there are now 193. The headquarters of the United Nations is in Manhattan, New York City, and experiences extraterritoriality as other offices are situated in Geneva, Nairobi, and Vienna. The organisation is financed by assessed and voluntary contributions from its member states. Its objectives include maintaining international peace and security, promoting human rights, fostering social and economic development, protecting the environment, and providing humanitarian aid in cases of famine, natural disaster, and armed conflict.' (The United Nations, 2016)

'There are six official languages of the UN. These are Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. The correct interpretation and translation of these six languages, in both spoken and written form, is very important to the work of the Organisation, because this enables clear and concise communication on issues of global importance.

The United Nations is one of the world's largest employers of language professionals. Several hundred language professionals work for the Department for General Assembly and Conference Management (DGACM) in New York, Geneva, Vienna and Nairobi. Many more are hired by the regional commissions of the United Nations in Addis Ababa, Bangkok, Beirut and Santiago. At the United Nations, the term 'language professional' applies to a range of specialized and interrelated occupations, mainly interpreters, translators, editors, verbatim reporters, terminologists, reference assistants, copy preparers and proof readers.' (The United Nations, 2016)

4.2.6 Comparative Overview of Norms in the Institutions

This part of the study, examines what the organisation's position on certain norms is. The contracts organisations issue to interpreters were scrutinized in order to see if the organisations take a position in the contracts given to interpreters, regarding some of norms. The norms in question are production norms (or professional norms) which speak to conditions under which interpretation is carried out, that are stipulated in contracts. These are aspects such as confidentiality, working conditions such as team strength and working hours, as well as travel conditions for instance per diem or daily subsistence allowance (DSA) and travel days.

The table below presents the different institutions' positions on the different norms:

The contracts and agreement (annexes 1 to 8) used for this analysis are all for freelancers but as indicated earlier in Chapter Two, since all interpreters work under more or less the same conditions regarding norms as they are considered as either consultants or staff of the organisations and are bound by the same rules as the rest of the employees of the organisations in question, we can infer that the conditions indicated in the contracts are the same for all interpreters including staff interpreters.

	United Nations	African Union	COMESA	ICGLR
Confidentiality	(b) Shall be bound by the strictest confidentiality and secrecy, which must be observed towards all persons with regard to information gathered in the course of professional practice.	The Freelancer shall not during or after the termination of the Agreement or any Service form disclose to any third party any confidential information arising from the Agreement or any Service Form (other than in the proper performance of their duties hereunder as may be required by a court or arbitration panel of, competent jurisdiction except with the prior written permission of the African Union. The freelancer may use other general information only where the use of such information would not cause embarrassment to the African Union provided that suitable acknowledgement is made to the African Union.	You shall not communicate to any person or other entity any unpublished information made known to you by COMESA in the course of performing your obligations under the terms and conditions of this contract, or publications or production of any material, including writings, films and tapes which may result from the study, except upon prior written authorization by the Secretary General of COMESA. b. The obligation not to disclose the unpublished information shall continue after the duration of this contract.	Article four stipulates that 'By accepting the present offer you are committing to not communicating to any person or entity any information obtained in the course of performing your duties as an interpreter under the present contract' (Own translation from the original French version)
Working conditions • Interpreter teams	a) At no time shall fewer than two interpreters be assigned [8] per booth. (b) No interpreter shall be assigned as the only member of a team capable of providing relay from a given working language. (c) In the case of two-language meetings [9] serviced from one booth, at least three interpreters capable of working into both languages shall be assigned. (d) In the case of the Arabic and Chinese booths, specifically referred to in paragraph 33 below, at least three interpreters shall be assigned to the booth, of whom at least two must be capable of working into two of the languages used. Accordingly, no interpreter shall be called upon to work at more than two meetings per day. There shall be a break for a period of no shorter than one and a	The contract is silent on working conditions.	The contract is silent on working conditions but makes reference to terms and conditions of the COMESA and to COMESA staff rules and regulations. (Document not available)	The contract is silent on working conditions.

	half hours between such meetings. (c) Similarly, no interpreter shall be assigned for more than two and a half to three hours from the time when that interpreter is required to be on duty. An interpreter who has been summoned to duty and has arrived at the place of assignment at the scheduled time of assignment shall be deemed to have been assigned, even if the meeting to which that interpreter has been summoned has concluded or has been cancelled in the meantime. **Working hours** (a) It shall be the responsibility of the employing Organisation to ensure a normal workload for interpreters. In this context, a normal workload is one that complies with the conditions stipulated in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, pursuant to the 1974 report of the Joint Advisory Committee, which established these workloads. (b) Similarly, no interpreter shall be called upon to work more than eight meetings on average per week, a week being a period of seven consecutive days. For periods of employment of fewer than five days, a normal workload is five meetings in a three-day contract, or a maximum of seven meetings in a four-day contract. The maximum period over which meetings may be averaged shall not exceed two consecutive weeks. For ease of reference, a table indicating the respective number of assignments is attached as Annex C. (c) Short-term conference interpreters should, whenever possible, be given reasonable notice of meetings outside normal working hours.			

	(d) Except on the last day of contract, for the purposes of workload calculation, and without prejudice to the maximum weekly workload established in this paragraph, a late-hour meeting straddling more than one day shall count as one meeting only and towards day one. (e) Interpreters assigned after 20h00 shall have a break of at least 12 hours. (f) If, in a genuine emergency, an Organisation is unable to implement the above provisions regarding weekly workload and if adequate time off cannot be given within the short-term conference interpreter's period of employment in accordance with subparagraph 32(d) above, it shall grant that interpreter compensation in accordance with the terms set forth in Annex D.			
Travel Conditions • Travel days • DSA	22. Except as may be otherwise provided in this Agreement, the travel rules applicable to the regular staff of the employing Organisation while on official travel shall be applicable to the travel of short-term conference interpreters. In cases of non-local recruitment, travel shall be provided for the short-term conference interpreter to proceed from her/his professional domicile (or from another place within the same cost) to her/his place of work and return. This provision shall not preclude any arrangement whereby costs may be shared between the employing Organisation and a previous or subsequent employer in instances when the periods of employment are consecutive. The Organisations shall make every effort to ensure uniformity of practice in respect of travel rules.	The AUC shall bear the cost of travelling (Economy class Ticket) from the country of residence/or Home country or professional domicile of the freelancer to the required Destination (Meetings place). The freelance, at the earliest opportunity, shall submit his/her travel claim to DCMP for processing and payment by the AUC, The freelancers are required to travel only by economy class, using the most direct route and cheapest air ticket, subject to Article 5. Where the Freelancers are required to purchase their own ticket, it shall be refunded based on the real cost after verification by AU Travel	The contract is silent regarding travel conditions	The contract is silent on travel conditions

	DSA 27. A short-term conference interpreter engaged to serve in a duty station away from her/his professional domicile shall be entitled to receive the applicable DSA in accordance with the DSA rates established by the International Civil Service Commission (ICSC) and in accordance with the travel advances policy of the employing Organisation. The conditions for the payment of the allowance shall be those applicable to the regular staff of the Organisation, including in respect of adjusted rates (e.g., when accommodation, transportation and/or meals are provided) and supporting documentation requirements, as well as, where necessary, recourse procedures.	Unit. Where the ticket is purchased using frequent flyer miles, only the tax element shall be refunded.		
Professionalism	6. Recruitment of interpreters shall be consistent with the principles laid down in the Charter and the Constitutions of the Organisations, in particular and for example, Article 101(3) of the United Nations Charter: 'The paramount consideration in the employment of staff ... shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity ...'. It shall also be without any form of discrimination whatsoever, without prejudice to the Staff Regulations and Rules of the Organisations.	The freelancer undertakes to perform the services with the highest standards of professional and ethical competence and integrity. Should the freelancer be unprofessional, unethical or compromise his/her integrity DCMP shall terminate the assignment immediately.	The contract makes no mention of this aspect but refers to the staff rules and regulation.	The contract makes no mention of the notion of professionalism

4.2.7 Conclusion

In this part of the study, I endeavoured to give an overview of the organisations that use the services of interpreters. Contracts and agreements are a compelling way of comparing what different organisations offer to interpreters for the same work. The tone of contracts gives insight on how interpreters are perceived by these

organisations. It is interesting to note how organisations that are not party to the AIIC agreement deal with the issues that guide how interpretation should be undertaken. There is a clear difference between how these issues are tackled and the current debate (discussed in chapter 5) on these issues between AIIC-Africa members and the African union gives an idea of the general view of African institutions on interpreting. How Interpreters perceive these differences is what the study discusses in the next part of this chapter.

4.3 Analysis of Data Collected.

4.3.1 Contracts

A review of different existing contracts and agreements for interpreters in different institutions established under what conditions interpreters are hired by the different institutions. This was interrogated against the existing AIIC rules and guidelines to see how these are comparable and/ or compatible and, if discrepancies exist, what explains the differences, and if interpreter perceptions suggest the need for reforms and what kind of reforms would be necessary.

Contracts from different organisations that use the services of interpreters in the East African region were examined. This included the AIIC-United Nations agreement 2012-2017 (Annex 1) (United Nations Negotiating Delegation, 2012-2017) and an example of a contract (Annex 2) of the World health organisation[7], with a conference interpreter practising in the region for an assignment in Dar es Salam, Tanzania, shared for the study by one of the participants. I was unable to get contracts from UNON or the ECA but this has no influence on the data analysis as UN-AIIC agreement and WHO contract provide enough information on how institutions party to this agreement deal with interpreters. This is an interesting point of departure as it gives an idea of the position of the umbrella body for Conference interpreters in the world regarding certain norms. The WHO contract makes reference of the AIIC-UN agreement:

[7] An international organisation that follows the same rules and regulations as the United Nations, concerning interpreting among other things.

‘Your conditions of employment are established in accordance with the Agreement concerning conditions of Employment of Short-term Conference interpreters with the Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence (AIIC). This agreement can be consulted through the website www.aiic.net/info.’

Regarding professionalism, the contract (Annex 2) states that ‘…the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity will be expected of you…’AIIC is very clear on the issue of professionalism and AIIC members are expected to have a certain level of competence in order to be members of the association. The association also gives a clear definition of the role of the interpreter and the idea of having older members of the association sponsoring the membership of the new members ensures a level of quality of the interpreters the association admits. New interpreters applying to join the organisation are required to have signatures of members of the association who have worked with them and can vouch for the quality of their work. AIIC expects that its members be interpreters with a shared vision of their job and of the conditions under which it should be done, and work together to spread good practice and to raise the profile of the profession. The work contracts therefore enshrine these requirements of quality and professionalism from the individual interpreters hired.

On the issue of confidentiality the contract makes mention of it at the last part where the interpreter who intends to accept the contract must sign. It states:

> I solemnly undertake to exercise in all loyalty, discretion and conscience the functions entrusted to me as an international civil servant of the World Health Organisation, to discharge those functions and regulate my conduct with the interests of the World Health Organisation only in view, and not to seek or accept instructions in regard to the performance of my duties from any government or other authority external to the Organisation

The UN-AIIC agreement also states under responsibilities of the interpreter that ‘…(The interpreter) shall be bound by the strictest confidentiality and secrecy, which must be observed towards all persons with regard to information gathered in the course of professional practice.’

4.3.2 Questionnaires

A list of all interpreters and those involved in their recruitment in the region was the starting point. Their contacts were obtained from the AIIC website and from my own

personal contacts. I further narrowed down the list using a list provided by one of AIIC's officials. 60 invitations to potential participants were sent out and I unfortunately I received only 11 back; these are the ones I have used in this study. This low number obviously affects the findings of this study and especially raises the issue of representativity of the data collected. Given that phenomenology is concerned with the study of experience from the perspective of the individual,I endeavoured to draw as many conclusions tentatively in suggesting their extent in relation to the interpreters in the regions. (Lester, 1999)

From the first three questions of the questionnaire, I established that the age group of the participants ranged from 28 years old to 65 years old and 67% of the participants were male and 37% were women. Question 4 established that all the participants of the study are indeed practising conference interpreters.

Question 5 and 6 on the working languages of the interpreters, I noted that all the participants of my study have English as one of their working languages. The other languages mentioned were Kiswahili, Italian and Arabic. 50% of the participants have English as either their A language or B language. Only 20% of the participants have Spanish as an A language .Kiswahili, Italian and Arabic were only mentioned as C languages. On the issue of directionality, 40% of the participants reported working only into their A language; 60% work either into their A or B languages.

On the question of training, 80% of the participants in the study had undergone some form of training but the training periods and levels ranged from one month short courses to 2 years masters programs. This question needed some follow up as I needed to dig deeper to get the participants' perception on the issue of training. I furthered this question with the participants during the interviews.

Regarding AIIC membership the study revealed that 60% of the participants were at the time of the study members or had previously been members of AIIC.10 % reported that they held positions within the organisation.20% were members who had at some point quit the association. 88% however reported being familiar with AIICs norms and working conditions. I also asked the participants to name the organisations that they usually worked for. 100% of the participants reported working for one or more of the organisations under study. 60% reported working for the United Nations or one of the UN agencies like UNECA, WHO etc.40 % work for the AU, 30% for COMESA and 20% reported working for the ICGLR. I further asked whether their work environment

complied with the prescribed norms and only 10% responded that their work environment *always* complied.50% answered that it did *most times,* 30% answered *sometimes* and 10% responded *rarely*. On further investigation regarding compliance with prescribed norms, the respondents reported that the UN and other UN agencies complied with the prescribed norms as there was an agreement the UNCEB-AIIC agreement which provided guidelines for interpreter recruitment and it is apparently well adhered to. Other organisations appeared not to adhere to prescribed norms for varied reasons including budget constraints, lack of awareness and poor planning. There was also the issue of an informal market 'the grey market' that was raised. One participant notably said: 'Organisations which use interpreters from the grey market do not comply with the norms as these interpreters are not keen on them anyway - Interpreters, including qualified ones, do not often insist on compliance with norms by organisations and accept to work in sub-standard conditions because they are afraid that if they do, they may lose their clients.

The following are some other sample responses to this question:

Kindly give details of reasons why your organisation may not comply with the prescribed norms:

Participant A: '*UN agencies are bound by the UNCEB-AIIC Agreement. However, some planners do not comply with the provisions due to ignorance. The AU has its own recently introduced framework agreement that actually impinges on the rights of interpreters (i.e. no DSA on the date of arrival of the meeting; no staff status for interpreters during assignments yet this is provided for by the Host Agreement; etc.). AU organs ironically do have better working conditions. Poor terms are justified by lack of resources. NGOs and CBOs are governed by procurement rules with the lowest bidder principle applied. This goes hand in hand with poor terms.'*

Participant B: '*Many organisations are not aware of the prescribed norms and professional standards - Due to budget constraints, organisations tend to have meetings with fewer days and longer agendas and therefore tend to take shortcuts (…)- Absence of a body/association of interpreters in East Africa which could defend their interests by working with organisations to ensure compliance.'*

Participant C: '*Small organisations, NGOs, etc. have very limited budgets. They go for price, not quality. The prescribed norms are expensive. At times, they do not really know what is involved in the organisation of a conference. Often, they do not give a hoot whether the non-English speakers can or cannot follow the conference, for they come to have a declaration or any other document adopted and that is all they care [sic].*

On the differences between working in the East African region and elsewhere in the world, the question triggered a variety of opinions. Some respondents who had actually worked in other regions like Asia and Europe said *'the work is similar but the working environment is different despite similar challenges that cut across…'*
Another respondent's answer was that *'Each location has its own specificity. However, violations to interpretation rules occur across the board. The mushrooming of the grey market phenomenon is common. The introduction of new ICTs in interpreting and remote interpreting is facing the entire profession.'*

Some respondents seemed to think that working in Africa meant working in an environment where standards and rules are not adhered to, despite their lack of basis for comparison. As one person put it, *'I've only worked in the Africa region and can't therefore authoritatively make a comparison. The only thing I can say is that from a technical perspective, there's no difference. Interpreting is interpreting. The major difference in my view would be the fact that in Africa we tend to ignore rules and standards, which negatively affects working conditions and performance*.

For others, working conditions were better in the East African region for instance, *'yes, the working conditions are even better actually than in some of the regions of rest of the world in my opinion.'* For others the region is still 'immature' and the differences stemmed from 'ignorance' about the profession and a general lack of unifying bodies for interpreters.

The 'seriousness' of organisations was also questioned by some respondents and for them this seemed to be a factor contributing to the negative experiences interpreters have in their work. Some sample answers to this question are as follows:

Participant A: *'For serious organisations it is. Some organisations just want to save money through short cuts. There seems to be a lot of possibility for short cuts in Africa.*

Interpretation is fairly unknown on our continent therefore sometimes we do not get the place and respect we deserve. There is also a problem of how one gets to be an interpreter in Africa. Some people assume that just speaking more than one language is enough.'

Participant B: *'I have interpreted all over Africa and in China. Didn't [sic] notice much difference. The difference is between serious organisations and those that can't afford to be serious.'*

100% of the clients responded *Yes* to the question on client awareness about the role of the interpreter. The respondents reported that their clients are used to using interpretation services therefore they are well versed with interpretation generally.
I asked about client sensitisation on the interpreters role and most partcipants didn't have much to say as they felt their clients were well educated on the issue.The answers were more general responses on cleint education rather that what exactly the participants do.Some sample responses to the question are as follows:

20. Are your clients aware of what role an interpreter plays?
Yes/No
21. If no, what do you try to do to educate them regarding this role?

Participant F: *'I do try to sensitive them of the need to have interpretation under optimal conditions.'*
Participant D*: 'yes absolutely! you can never educate too much.'*
Participant H: *'Often'*
Others participants however tired to explain how client education should be done as illustrated by their responses:
Participant C: *'Most clients are aware of my role. I take time to sensitise those who are not aware (face-to-face meetings, telecons; web materials, etc).'*
Participant E: *For them that do not (understand how interpreting works) or are using the services for the first time,I usually make a point of meeting with them before if possible in order to establish a few rules.I always put together teams that I would be happy working in, with the conditions I prefer to work under.If after explaining how interpretation works the client still wants me to work under impossible conditions e.g working alone in a booth,I simply do not take the job.*

In the final part of the questionnaire, respondents were requested to view a video and give their thoughts on the same. Much as the video link did not work for 50% of the participants, who subsequently couldn't answer the question, those who were able to open it thought it *'useful', 'interesting'* and *'very well done'*. Another participant said: *'This is a wonderful video and it serves the purposes of the interpreters but also the delegates including those who understand the language of the speaker'.* The participants thought it would definitely help improve working conditions of interpreters in the East African region.

4.3.3 Interviews

The follow up interviews were conducted in an informal manner. The aim of the informal nature of the interviews was to put the participants at ease and invite them to talk rather than 'quizzing' them on their thoughts. (Napier, 2013)I requested to have the interviews recorded but all the participants declined since for them, it was very easy to be identified from a voice recording. Some interviews also had to take place impromptu in the booth during meetings due to time constraints; I therefore proceeded with the interviews and only took notes.

From the interviews, I sought to obtain a better idea of the participants' perceptions about their work environments. All respondents reported that their work conditions were satisfactory, just as stated in the questionnaires. Participants who work for the UN and other UN agencies, that respect the agreement that exists between AIIC and the UN. Some UN agencies were cited as not party to this agreement. They therefore resort to open bidding for the conference interpreting contracts and in this respect tend to fall into the traps on the lowest bidder. In most cases, this translates to poor working conditions as the negotiating parties who often are not interpreters tend to cut costs in order to win contracts.

For the AIIC members (60%), it was interesting to hear how the rules of the Association perform in their day to day experiences in interpreting.80% reported that they only work when AIIC conditions are met and 20% reported being open to negotiation depending on the client. The older AIIC members (Above 60 years of age) reported

that they were less likely to negotiate work conditions that did not correspond to the prescribed norms.

The interviews enabled me to gather perceptions about the differences and/similarities of on interpreting in the region and other regions. Participant C explained that for him, the differences stemmed mainly from the lack of an association that unified interpreters. He said that much as AIIC exists on the continent, some interpreters were not members and it was therefore '*not unifying enough*' He cited for instance the issue of interpretation tariffs which were not harmonized. According to him, it is impossible to negotiate 'proper terms', pecuniary or otherwise, if there was no reference body with rules followed by everyone. For all participants, there was a clear correlation between a clients' readiness to offer 'good rates' and general conducive working conditions.

I also asked the participants to speak to team work and booth behaviour including turn lengths etc. The participants expressed that they worked in teams of at least two interpreters which for all was an absolute minimum. Teams of two were for some participants (40%) only for short meetings of one or two days. Beyond that, they reported that either at least an extra interpreter was required in order to ensure quality interpretation. The participants reported that it was common to have two interpreters per booth per language but it was more difficult to find Portuguese and Arabic speakers. These booths usually have retour interpreters who work both ways. This often causes problems with the relay, if the interpreters' English is not very good.

The issue of access to the profession and retirement age prompted varying opinions. The participants reported that access to the profession was easier in Africa and that notably created the possibility of a 'grey market'. The existence of this 'grey market' that was composed mainly of unqualified interpreters explained for some participants why the East African market was difficult to work in. Interpreters based in Nairobi reported having to look for work outside the country as the Nairobi market was the 'worst hit' by this phenomenon. Participant A notably said that Kenya being an English speaking country, with enticing socioeconomic opportunities for foreigners attracted unqualified French speakers who posed as interpreters who are the main fuelling force for the 'grey market'. Participant F on the other hand, blames Kenyans as according to him, young Kenyans with no proper qualification were responsible for 'undercutting' contracts especially in a context of corruption especially in government and other local

organisations. For him, age was a determining factor as he felt that younger interpreters were ‘desperate’ for work and were ‘willing to accept anything’. For participant D, she opines that the East African market doesn’t have enough young interpreters. She says that for them the older generation would like to see ‘serious’ younger interpreters in the market for whom she would even be willing to be a mentor. To her, most young interpreters want to take ‘short cuts’ and are unwilling to get trained properly.

The question on retirement was met with a lot of humour by all participants, especially the older ones. Participant A for instance asked me in reaction to the question whether I thought he was ‘too old’ to be in the booth. Participant F responded that for him, age is nothing, if it’s not used to improve oneself. He said he sure hopes he has been getting better with age and hopes to retire ‘soon’. For participant J, he was glad to have chosen interpreting as a profession and given the choice, he ‘will die in the booth’. He however notes that many interpreters do not make it past the age of 50 years and this is according to him is because interpreting is ‘stressful’.

From a geopolitical angle I asked about ‘Africanness’ and the use of inclusive terminology such as ‘We’. The term Africanness raised eyebrows for some participants and for some; it was an amusing notion.30% of the participants were originally from other regions of the world but all had settled in the region over 20 years ago. It was particularly interesting to hear what they thought of this notion. Participant H said ‘despite my appearance, I feel very African’. She reported that despite what she feels about it, when most people see her, they first of all see her as non-African. I asked how that plays out in her professional life and she says that in the beginning, it was very difficult to blend in and that she really struggled with the different accents. When the term ‘We’ is used especially in meetings, in for example a sentence like ‘We the African people’ she likes to think that the term refers to everyone who ‘feels’ African. Participant C finds it sad that when this notion is raised especially in meetings, it is usually from an ‘us against them’ perspective and he explains this by the fact that there are still so many inequalities. Participant H finds that ‘We’ always negotiate from a point of weakness and regret that he might not be alive when Africa gets a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Participant D who holds a position in AIIC, says that there are still power struggles between colleagues on the African Continent and those from other areas. She notably mentioned the tension that there was around the AIIC

General assembly that was recently help in Addis Ababa. She reports that 'many' people from other continents, did not want to come just because the meeting was in Africa. She says that for her being African is still far from being recognized as a good thing in her opinion. For participant C he says that he only realized he was African after leaving his country to go to a western country for his studies. He also opines that it is high time Africans stopped being victims. 'We cannot complain forever, we now need solutions to our own issues'.

Regarding the difference in contents of meeting in (East) Africa compared to the rest of the world, some of my respondents did not have any experience in other markets but for those who did, they said that there are some common cross cutting issues and some that are very particular to the African continent. For participant F, the main difference in content is mainly that in Africa there are a lot of developmental issues as Africa still has a lot of 'issues to sort out' e.g. infrastructure, setting up of systems generally compared to the Western world. According to him, there were also more peace building meetings and conflict resolution initiatives but he noted that this might be due to the nature of organisations he works for.

I also enquired about the perception of the profession in the regional/international media and whether the participants felt that the interpreter gets a voice in their invisibility? This question was met with a lot of interest and especially in the context of the US presidential debate where in the media, interpreters were reported to be 'struggling to translate' one of the US candidates. For all the respondents, there was general frustration of invisibility 'when all goes well' but on the other hand a lot of attention was given to interpreters in situations of difficulty. Participant H notably cited the case of the English-Swahili interpreter who was convicted for providing 'false' interpretation. He opines that this is mostly due to ignorance regarding the profession since it seems like a very 'young profession' on the continent. This opinion was shared by most other participants who thought that the profession is generally not well known.

4.4 Conclusion

The data collected from the contracts questionnaires and interviews provides an interesting view of interpretation in the East African Region. It gives us a snapshot of

the norms used in interpretation and how interpreters feel about these norms. This part of the study was for me the most challenging especially since it took a lot of time. It involved a lot of multitasking, as I had to couple the tasks of the study with working in the booth as these were privileged opportunities I would probably not get later with the participating interpreters. The following chapter will present the findings of this analysis from which I will endeavour to formulate recommendations.

Chapter 5: Findings and Recommendations

'Research is to see what everybody else has seen, and to think what nobody else has thought.' - ***Albert Szent-Gyorgyi***

5.1 Introduction

This study started off with a hypothesis that East African Institutions have specific institutional norms which may be very different from 'established/ international' norms and which tend to influence the way interpreting is done. I used AIIC as my reference for these international norms as it is the association that represents interpreters worldwide. I sought to establish what norms are used in different institutions in the East Africa region and how these compare to the international norms.I departed from the contracts and or agreements that form the basis of interpreters work for these institutions and thereafter sought to gather interpreter perceptions through questionnaires and interviews.The previous chapter carried the analysis of this data.In this chapter, I present the findings from this data analysis and I also make some recommendations against them.

5.2 Summary of Findings and Recommendations

5.2.1 AIIC in (East) Africa

The international Association of Conference interpreters seeks to represent the interests AIIC was encouraging all interpreters in the world to join the association as according to the association, 'there is every reason for staff interpreters to join AIIC, thereby contributing along with their freelance colleagues to ensuring the future of our profession' (AIIC, 1998-2017). It however highlights that there have been challenges in recruiting new members and in retaining the older members within the association. In this regard AIIC states that 'nowadays, too few interpreters join AIIC and too many let their membership lapse after a few years, either because they no longer see its relevance to their needs or they believe that their professional status is sufficiently

guaranteed, or because of the high annual membership fee[8], which is the same for staff and freelancers'. This despite claims that the association 'has proven its worth to interpreters with national and international organisations'. AIIC notably reports, 'among our many hard-won achievements, one which particularly stands out is AIIC's success (setting a world-wide precedent), after a protracted legal battle against the Federal Trade Commission in the 1990's, in having the American authorities recognise the legitimacy of basic working conditions, long defended on behalf of staff and freelance interpreters to safeguard their health and promote quality interpretation (AIIC, 1998-2017). In my sample of interpreters, 70 percent responded that they were not members of AIIC and of these, 30% were previously members and left the association after a certain number of years. One of the participants reported that having relocated to Africa after a career in Europe; she left the association because the association no longer seemed to represent her fully as long as she was practicing her profession on the African continent, even with the presence of AIIC Africa. Other participants who had not yet joined the association cited the complexity of the joining process, where it was difficult to find sponsors with the same language combinations and even when they were there, they were unwilling to sign the paper work necessary for various reasons. The issue of languages was another reason mentioned as some participants felt that joining an association that would not recognize all their languages did not serve them any purpose. For participants who are still members, they reported that AIIC's benefits are only felt in organisations that are party to the UN-AIIC agreement and that no new ground has been covered. Working for these organisations, whether as a member or a non-member, has no advantages as the conditions apply to everyone across the board, the only difference is that AIIC members have to pay the membership fees.

This association works like a union and its mandate, as in the case of all other unions, is first of all to fight for the interests of its members. It therefore has pondered over the issues of working conditions and carried out many studies to justify the recommendation it makes. AIIC notably has an agreement with UN organisations (Annex 1) which speaks in detail to all norms on working conditions, travel arrangements, professionalism inter alia.

[8] Annual membership fee amounts to 557 CHF

AIIC Africa and Arab Countries' Region initiated discussions in order to have an agreement in place with the African Union and at the time of the current study negotiations were ongoing.(Off-the-record Information from confidential discussions with and AIIC-Africa bureau member) AIIC interpreters expressed concern that their working conditions did not correspond to 'international good practice'. Among the contentious issues was the status of conference interpreters as the AU issued a new framework contract (Annex no.3) where interpreters, translators, revisers, translation assistants and conference support specialists are referred to as 'Freelancers' although the tasks and deliverables of these categories of professionals are distinct. The freelancers are no longer, according to this new agreement, considered AU staff for the duration of their assignment. This is an uncommon practice as freelancers usually enjoy the same privileges as the rest of the staff of organisations for the duration of meetings. According to the new framework, contract freelancers are considered as private sector operatives. Aside from the remuneration considerations, the change has tax implications and practical consequences for such things as visa applications, access cards or passes to meeting venues, special rates when covering AU meetings etc.

Subsequent to numerous inconclusive meetings, a joint statement (annex 7) was issued by the AIIC Africa and Arab Countries' regions on the matter on 10 March 2016. The framework contract was adopted, and the proposed amendments were not taken into account. Further to that, some Members of the bureau were blacklisted and no longer permitted to work at the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa.

AIIC seeks to have its members work under the best conditions possible and members are expected to give the best attainable quality in return. This certainly does not mean that the terms of UN agreement must be copied and pasted, as they probably do take into account the same considerations as the AIIC-AU agreement would need to.

Recommendations:

The African Union would have nothing to lose by signing an agreement with AIIC. As one of the largest employers of interpreters in this region, such an agreement for me would help set standards for everyone else.

AIIC-Africa would certainly benefit from the support of AIIC world and just like in the Federal Trade Commission in the USA, in order to have the legitimacy of basic working conditions recognized in Africa.

Professionals on the African continent should refer to what others are doing in their regions, draw lessons from that, in order to come up with appropriate solutions that would suit our region.

5.2.2 Working Conditions in (East) Africa

On the issue of working conditions all the contracts examined are silent on working conditions, with the exception of the AIIC agreement which gives very detailed guidelines on the number of interpreters required in each booth, according to the number of languages used in the meeting. The agreement (Annex 1) which is also referred to in the contract (Annex 2) fixes the minimum number of interpreters to two interpreters per booth and, where relay interpreting is required, it goes further to state that 'No interpreter shall be assigned as the only member of a team capable of providing relay from a given working language.' Chinese and Arabic booths are given special guidelines: instead of two, the agreement speaks of three interpreters per booth. These guidelines provide clear ways to deal with the issue of how interpreter teams should be formed and as a result there is no ambiguity in this regard. The other institutional contracts from the AU, ICGLR and COMESA do not mention working conditions. The participants noted that the minimum number of interpreters per booth is generally two but sometimes interpreters find themselves working very long hours in these teams of two. The absence of guidelines in this regard leaves the matter open to interpretation and sometimes to abuses. One participant gave an example of a job where they were required to be available for a meeting, and the meeting did not take place according to the time schedule. The interpreters were in the booths from 08h00 until 15h00 when they were asked to leave. The meeting organizer claimed they had not worked all day and requested that they remain on standby for the rest of the evening and, since the meeting had not taken place at all that day, the client was unwilling to pay for that day. Interpreters frequently find themselves in these types of situation and interpreters feel uncomfortable about speaking out against such working

conditions as doing so makes them appear to be ‘difficult’. For freelancers especially, this jeopardizes the chances of getting future contracts with the institutions.

Recommendations:

Having clearly defined working conditions is in everyone’s interest as they leave no room for ambiguity. All sorts of scenarios for conference meetings are possible and in many of these scenarios it is difficult to anticipate the working hours required, as in the case of peace building meetings. Working conditions should be clearly defined and the contracts offered should clearly stipulate the working hours the interpreter teams and the way forward in case of delays or lengthy working hours. The guidelines on working conditions should not lose sight of the fact that simultaneous interpretation is stressful work in the best of conditions, and there's a limit to how long a person can remain alert and sustain a high level of concentration.’ (AIIC, 1998-2017)

There should also be a possibility for pay for extra work load that goes beyond the working hours clearly defined in contracts.

5.2.4 Travel Conditions in East Africa

On the issue of travel conditions, the AIIC agreement and the African Union contracts are very specific. The contracts of other institutions are silent on the matter but study participants reported that there were generally no significant issues around travel conditions. Organisations generally prefer to hire locals in order to save on travel and subsistence costs. This has an impact on the quality of interpreters recruited especially for certain languages. Videoconferencing technology is also increasingly being considered as a solution to the travel aspect for interpreters but this practice is still very far from being the norm. All organisations pay for the travel costs and provide ‘decent’ subsistence allowances. Some organisations do not, however, pay for travel days (days interpreters spend travelling to the meeting venue) or waiting days (days spent at the meeting venue without working).This contributed to the lack of satisfaction vis-à-vis working conditions in some organisations and is currently one of the contentious issue in the ongoing debate between AIIC interpreters and the African Union.

Travel is and will always be part of an interpreter's job. Even in other professions where people have to travel, it is common practice for them to be given travel allowances, even when they are permanently employed.

Recommendation:

The African Union used to have a different policy with regard to travel payments until it was changed for some reason. It is unusual to give people benefits and then withdraw them after some time as people generally expect their working conditions to improve rather than the contrary. Even as African organisations endeavour to establish their own home- grown best practices, these should not put interpreters or any other professionals at a disadvantage especially on acquired benefits. African organisations should therefore endeavour to offer travel conditions in line with international best practice. Any acquired benefits should be retained in order to ease and even encourage the mobility of interpreters in the region.

5.2.5 Directionality in East Africa

On directionality, AIIC first of all gives definitions and thus defines ''A' languages as the interpreters' mother tongue (or its strict equivalent) into which interpreters work from all their other working languages in both consecutive and simultaneous interpretation. The 'B language' is a language 'other than the interpreter's native language, of which she or he has a perfect command and into which she or he works from one or more of her or his other languages, but may prefer to do so in only one mode of interpretation, either consecutive or simultaneous (often in 'consecutive' because it's not so fast). It is also considered an active language for the interpreter…)'A 'C' language is one which the interpreter understands perfectly but into which they do not work. They will interpret from this (these) language(s) into their active languages. It is therefore a passive language for the interpreter.' (AIIC, 1998-2017)

AIIC gives preference to interpreters working into their A languages, despite two different schools of thought on the matter. Daniel Gile makes the point that 'interpreting directionality preferences are contradictory and based on traditions rather than research' (Gile, 2005).In a globalized and competitive world, interpreters, including

those in the East African region, are faced with challenging market factors such as supply and demand which influence the provision of their interpreting services. In order to remain competitive, interpreters (including AIIC members) often work in two directions and the main reason for this is the reduction of costs for interpreting services.

The issue of languages definitely needs to be looked into further as the language considerations in the region and on the Continent are different. AIIC to date only has one member with Swahili in their combination and one member with Afrikaans. It is however possible that some AIIC members have other languages in addition to those listed on the AIIC repertoire, especially for African interpreters who more often than not speak at least one African Language. This poses an issue of sponsorship for aspiring members for these languages or any other non-recognized languages used in meetings in the East African region like Kirundi or Kinyarwanda or even Amharic. This however goes beyond the scope of the present study and was therefore not investigated in detail.

Recommendations:

The Swahili booth in particular would have to be considered as it is only in Africa that Swahili is spoken. The African Union could also help in giving status to this African language whose is current situation does not give the possibility for an aspiring AIIC member to have it in their language combination (see discussion in chapter 3).Other African languages used in the region like Kinyarwanda and Kirundi should also be recognized as there are interpreters who already work into and from these languages. In the same way, AIIC Africa should negotiate other terms regarding directionality which cannot be perceived the same way everywhere. The conditions for joining AIIC should be revised in order to enable interpreters with language combination with few or no sponsorship options to join the Association.

On the African Continent, people interact differently with languages and for most people, neither English nor French are their ‘mother tongues’. The classification of languages as A, B or C languages would need to be reviewed in order to reflect the reality of the African Continent.

5.2.6 The Role of the Interpreter in East Africa

AIIC's position with regard to this question is that 'Interpreters work with spoken words in a particular context, conveying a message from one language to another. (….) Professional interpreters will render your message naturally and fluently, adopting the delivery, tone and convictions of the speaker.' (AIIC, 1998-2017)

All participants in the study agreed with AIIC's view of an interpreter's role and they reported that their clients were mostly aware of this role. For the clients that are not aware of their role, efforts are constantly made by interpreters in order to sensitize them on the question. The Calliope video was very well received and was a welcome suggestion in the endeavour to educate clients who might not have a clear understanding of the role interpreters play. The video points out specific issues that speakers need to keep in mind in order to facilitate the work of interpreters and enable them to perform their role optimally. The video was tailored for the European market as Calliope is an organisation for interpreters who work in Europe but resonated very well with interpreters working in East Africa.

Recommendation:
A similar video could be developed for African markets in the different languages used in the region in order to clarify the role of interpreters in the region and also in order to make the work of interpreters easier for the benefit of both interpreters and their clients.

5.2.7 Interpreter Training in East Africa

On the issue of training, the Association encourages those considering getting into the profession to get some form of training and it even goes further to offer continuous professional development opportunities for its members. As AIIC puts it:

> Choosing a reputable school is one of the most important steps you will take on your path to becoming a trained conference interpreter. (AIIC, 1998-2017)

There are debates about whether an interpreter is born or made, and whether it is possible to learn the art of Interpreting just by attending some form or training. Certain

people tend to just be gifted in the art with little or no training and some people never quite achieve excellence in the profession even after and having attended very prestigious training institutions. It therefore seems that Interpreting is an art for which one requires a certain talent and should be taken into account when considering interpreter training and interpreting norms.

Most participants in the study had undergone some form of training although they had been exposed to varying levels of training. Some participants had had only one to six months of short-course training and some had Master's degrees in Translation and/or interpretation. During the interviews, the participants reported that people generally get into the profession without necessarily having any training. Some people actually stumbled onto the profession by virtue of their proximity with other interpreters or because they spoke more than one language in a context where bilingualism was not very common. None of the participants with Master's Degrees had studied in East Africa as there had not been any interpreting schools in the region previously. The University of Nairobi currently offers a Master's in Translation and Interpretation, which is part of an 'African Project', the Pan-African Masters Consortium in Interpretation and Translation (PAMCIT). PAMCIT was launched by the heads of the language services of several international organisations (United Nations, European Commission, European Parliament, African Union, ACP Secretariat, African Development Bank…) who participated in the First Pan-African Conference on the Training of Translators, Conference Interpreters and Public Service Interpreters, held at the United Nations Office in Nairobi in February 2009.This is the only school in the East African Region that trains translators and interpreters and there are only 5 other similar institutions on the continent, with two centres scheduled to be launched in two other institutions in Africa (European Commision, 2016). This situation poses a problem in terms of training of interpreters in the region and has made the issue of access to the profession very unclear. Even for the clients it is not clear who a qualified interpreter is since some people have been working for many years notably in 'grey market' where anyone who speaks the meetings' languages can claim to be an interpreter. The issue with this market is that even international organisations that are known for their requirements for quality and high standards of service, still find themselves procuring these services due to the open bidding systems. This also poses an issue when it comes to professionalism if access to the profession is not sanctioned by any form of

qualification documentation. Most people in the 'grey market' tend to be driven only by pecuniary considerations, often at the expense of the profession's reputation. In the East African region, the situation has created tension between interpreters and notably between the younger interpreters and the older ones as the younger interpreters are perceived as a threat, especially in the freelance market. The organisations that do not use the open bidding system and intermediary service providers but rather have a pool of interpreters that they recruit directly after consideration of qualifications and/ or experience seem to have found a way around the quality issue.

Recommendations:

All African organisations should have a pool of interpreters that they recruit directly after consideration of qualifications and/ or experience in order to maintain quality in the profession. This will probably take a long time for this to be systematic but in the long run it will improve the quality of interpretation on the continent.

African organisations should endeavour to eliminate intermediaries and the use of the open bidding system in the recruitment of interpreters. Where necessary, consultant interpreters can help recruit other colleagues but this should be based on qualifications and experience.

In all professions there are always older more experienced people and younger ones who join the profession. It is no different in interpreting and therefore there needs to be a better system for the two groups to get the best out of the situation. Most other professions have professional bodies and alumni organisations in the schools where these professionals are trained. It would be appropriate for the region to have such a professional body and alumni organisations for interpreting and especially conference interpreting. Currently, the number of Interpreting schools is on the rise and the PAMCIT project is a commendable effort that has so far seen quite a few challenges in its implementation. More interpreters need to be involved in this project and in order to offer mentorship and training to their younger colleagues. This would help build relationships and foster trust. A professional association would help to ensure a high level of standards and that only qualified interpreters are able to practice the

profession. This would help to elevate the place of the profession in the eyes of the general public.

African institutions which require the services of interpreters should get more involved in the training of interpreters as this would be to their benefit. They could for instance establish internship programs for student interpreters in order to link the training in schools to actual practice.

5.2.8 Geopolitics of Conference Interpreting In East Africa

Regarding the notion of geopolitics it was interesting to note that most participants reported that working in the East African region was almost the same as working elsewhere in the world and even better in some cases. On closer scrutiny, most participants who felt this way worked for international organisations which were party to the UN-AIIC agreement. African organisations still seem to be lagging behind when it comes to working conditions for interpreters and the silence of contract on some pertinent issues is a suggestion in this direction. Analysis of the data shows that interpreters do not actively seek to work for some African organisations even when it is suggested that working for these organisations should trigger a sense of pride, when for instance current frameworks like the African Union Agenda 2063 has 'the Africa we want as a slogan'. According to one participant, this particular argument is used by clients but always seems to be used in order to exploit interpreters or transgress the rules. The contracts that the African organisations propose to interpreters make no reference to working conditions and these institutions are the same institutions that interpreters mention when expressing dissatisfaction around working hours. The UN-AIIC agreement addresses the issue of offers and categorizes job offers into three categories:

- ✓ a 'firm offer' that is binding both on the organisation and on the interpreter who accepts such an offer,
- ✓ an 'option' is a proposal of work that is non-binding for both the Organisation and the interpreter,
- ✓ a 'request for availability' which is not an offer of work but merely an enquiry by the Organisation concerning the availability of the interpreter for a period of work. It is in no way binding on either party. (UN-AIIC Agreement Annex1)

One results of such clear guidelines is that interpreters that do not receive a firm offer can opt out of the arrangement without fear of repercussions if they get other competing offers if an option or a request for availability are not confirmed within 24hrs of the first working day after the interpreter makes an enquiry on the said offer. As freelancers, this gives more possibilities of getting actual work as organisations, out of the fear of not getting interpreters for meetings, would tend to give more firm options. The participants of the study all expressed frustration with the African institutions studied concerning work offers. Sometimes these organisations make offers and cancel them even less than 24 hours before the beginning of the meeting and the interpreter loses a working day and gets no compensation for it.

A distinct difference in the kind of content that is dealt with in meetings in the East African region is the peace building kind of meetings. These particular meetings have very many unpredictable parameters as sometimes the parties that are meant to enter into discussions do not come to the table willingly. It becomes very hard to anticipate the program of activities and as a result, the kind of working conditions for service providers including interpreters. Sometimes meetings tend to drag on for hours just because people do not agree on one point. It seems that on the African continent, a consensus is important in order to make decisions. African nations tend to deal with each other from a position where the sovereignty of nations is important and each Nation gets an equal voice when it comes to decisions. This is different for instance from the UN system and notably in the Security Council where some countries have veto power. In other UN bodies however, consensus based negotiations can become so protracted and run beyond the allocated time but the UN system also provides for relief teams and this also provides opportunity for short-term seasonal work opportunities for freelance interpreters.

I have been in situations where meetings have ended extremely late because people could not agree on the wording in a communiqué. It is maybe a different way of doing things and as long as we are doing things in a certain manner, I think it would be important to take into consideration our specificities in order to propose the best solutions. From one of the interviews, a participant who participated in the AU-AIIC discussions had a lot to criticize about how one of the organisations deals with interpreters based on what AIIC proposes, despite the fact that the AU did not have any agreement with AIIC.I couldn't help but wonder whether that is one of the reasons

why the discussions collapsed. The organisation could very well just be refusing to copy paste an agreement, but I still believe that an agreement that takes into account African specificities can be reached.

The 'Africanness' of particular organisation turns out to be more of a deterrent than an enticement. People are only willing to share this information under the veil of anonymity and during off the record interviews. 'Working for Africa' often means working in difficult situations like in peace building meetings where interpreters work with no particular end in sight as negotiations sometimes drag on into the night. There is also a general perception that developmental issues have been discussed for many years, and nothing much has changed. One participant notably referred to meetings for Non-governmental Organisations operating in the region as 'talk shops' as for her, the same issues had been discussed over the years with no tangible or visible impact. Africa is a growing continent with its own particularities weaknesses and strengths. There are things that we can certainly learn from others who have done things before us as there would be no point in reinventing the wheel. It does not, however, mean that we need to ape everything that others are doing as it may not always work for us. It is also not enough to copy the physical infrastructure of conference interpreting settings with interpreter booths and equipment if the rest of the working conditions are conditions that affect the interpreters' health negatively. For instance AIIC's working hour guidelines are based on studies that have shown that 'the stress brought about by an excessive workload--in any kind of occupation, even those less stressful than SI--has an impact on health over the years. Simultaneous interpretation is stressful work in the best of conditions, and there's a limit to how long a person can remain alert and sustain a high level of concentration.' (AIIC, 1998-2017)

From my personal experience, it seems that feedback is usually not very welcome when dealing with some institutions, especially when no clear guidelines exist. Some people with some sort of power over others get to decide what happens, even if there are clear reasons against particular decisions. Refusing to toe the line or questioning the status quo is perceived as an affront and rarely as an opportunity to improve how things are done. This is for instance demonstrated by the black listing of interpreters from the AIIC-Africa bureau following disagreements on the revised framework contracts.

Recommendations:

On the African continent, we need to make cogent choices and we also need to take into account our own specificities even as we draw lessons from the experiences of others. Contracts and agreements need to take into account such specificities and offer solutions. The contracts that the institutions under study offer need to be updated in order to clearly take into account especially the issues of working conditions.
Organisations need to be willing to negotiate openly in order to find the best solutions possible for everyone especially regarding working conditions of highly skilled professionals so that 'working for Africa' can one day become something positive that resonates with all of us.

5.3 Conclusion

The aim of this research was to assess whether we can speak of the geopolitics of interpreting norms and whether conference interpreting norms should be universal or vary according to different geopolitical spaces.The findings of this study suggest that the intention was to replicate conference interpreting settings that resemble one template, the AIIC one. AIIC was, however, formed in Europe and their points of references are usually European and are sometimes far removed from the realities of other continents,including Africa.The different Regions have their own branches of AIIC but it is clear with the African one,these regional branches are not very different and do not take into account specificities of each region and this poses problems with regional and continental bodies as illustrates the situation between AIIC and the African Union.
The last chapter of this study will present the conclusion of the study and also present its limitations.It will also make suggestions on areas for further study.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

'In literature and in life we ultimately pursue, not conclusions, but beginnings.'
*– **Sam Tanenhaus, Literature Unbound***

6.1 Conclusion of the Study

The investigation into institutional interpreting indicated that institutional interpreters (at least in the sense of interpreters that work for institutions as conference interpreters) had to work under the same norms and standards as conference interpreters, as did freelance interpreters servicing conferences. They all had to follow the same performance instructions. No institution is fully able to satisfy its interpreting needs using in-house interpreters alone, and it is logical therefore that the same norms and expectations in terms of quality of work and working conditions would apply to freelance interpreters as to institutional interpreters. In addition, it is important that interpreters have similar repertoires of vocabulary and terminology in order to provide effective interpreting.

Interpreters, tend to be agents of ideology in institutions, as to work for an institution one tends to conform to the habitus under which they are hired. As Inghilleri (INGHILLERI, 2005a) states: 'Professions tend to be distinguished by their own institutions and habitus (ways of behaving sanctioned by the network)'. A conference interpreter who works in a certain institution not only works differently from a colleague in a different organisation but both of these professionals would probably work differently from an interpreter who works as a freelance professional. The freelancer however has to learn about the habitus of the different institution for which they work in order to operate within a certain 'professional identity'.

From a practical point of view, if we examine the notion of terminology for instance, each institution has its own way of saying and /or doing things. If, for instance, an interpreter works for a religious organisation such as the Islamic Development Bank, s/he would have to adhere, or at least be sympathetic, to certain religious ideologies. People working at such an organisation (interpreter or otherwise) cannot reject such an ideology whether they support it or not. Non-Muslims (assuming they would even get hired) would only be able to work effectively at the Islamic Development Bank if they were familiar with the Qur'an and other religious principles of Islam. The same

case would apply to a new interpreter working at a legal institution such as the African Court of Human and People's Rights. Context therefore plays a big role in determining what is desirable and what is acceptable and hence what is the norm.

Conference interpreting as we know it today has been the subject of changes in different ways for different people in different places. As with any element of language and communication, the context and target audience plays a role in shaping what is acceptable and or desirable. Conference interpreting started off at the Nuremberg trials in 1945. Shortly after that in 1953, AIIC was formed and the association has to date managed to claim international visibility as the association that represents the interests of interpreters worldwide. In spite of this there are some regions that are not adequately represented because the considerations of AIIC do not include region specific particularities like language combinations. African organisations are today not convinced about the validity of these international norms proposed by AIIC. An initial investigation of conference interpreting on the continent nonetheless seems to suggest that the intention was to replicate the same international requirements in terms of physical setting. The booth setting is the same, the equipment is the same, but the nonphysical work environment for interpreters, as covered in particular by the working conditions and contracts and agreements provide a different picture. The study reveals that in (East) Africa there are certain differences between organisations that have an agreement with AIIC and those that do not. The UN-AIIC agreement provides specific details of the working conditions while the contracts from the African institutions under study provide no details, an example of unclear work environment which creates unnecessary tension between the interpreters and their clients. Other differences between the two contexts the 'International' one and the African one is the content of meetings. In Africa there are notably conflict situations which create very particular meeting environments especially since the arduously achieved consensus is usually necessary. The differences in the content of meetings suggest that there are different language games if we consider the African continent as compared to the developed world. The element of language and the directionality that AIIC proposes seems to exclude speakers of languages like English and French inter alia. For most Africans, these languages are rarely 'mother tongues' in the strict sense of the word.

With these differences, the answer to the questions as to whether AIIC norms and standards are inclusive and whether they take into account the needs and interests of

all interpreters in the world today, is negative. At least with regards to (East) Africa, AIIC still has a lot to do for its impact to be felt and also in terms of taking into account the needs and interests of all interpreters.

6.2 Limitations of the Study

As mentioned in chapter 4, the study set out with an intention to have as many participants as possible. 60 participants were invited to participate but only 11 responded. This obviously affects the analysis as the issue of representativity of these 11 perceptions can be questioned. This report however used contracts and agreements that all interpreters in the institutions studied work for. The study therefore takes into account a greater number of interpreter experiences than just those of the 11 participants. The study would nonetheless have been enhanced by the inclusion of a greater number of participants and therefore a broader, more generalizable database to work from. Further data could also have been collected from sites where data was not gathered for this study. Having access to more categories of participants like those involved in the recruitment of interpreters, who were targeted but did not wish to participate in the study, would have enhanced this study further. It would also have been beneficial to obtain the perceptions of those listening to the interpretation in order to establish what the audience prefers and better understand what is considered by (East) African conference attendees to be a good interpretation.

Time limitations on the study meant that opportunities for face-to-face interaction with participants and potential participants were limited. Owing to the researcher's own geographical location, it was only possible to meet a few participants and this factor contributed to the low response rate.

6.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The findings and conclusion drawn in this study came from a descriptive analysis of data collected from contracts or agreements, questionnaires and interviews. The data provided a broad, overall depiction of the Institutional norms in conference interpreting contexts in the East African region. However, there were several aspects noted in this study which warrant a more detailed investigation. The following areas of research

could be undertaken to deepen our understanding of the norms and the geopolitical considerations that are at play in this region:

- ✓ Corpus based study to see how ideology is interpreted in institutional discourse in (East) Africa. It would be interesting to investigate whether interpreters are indeed used as agents in institution to push ideology.
- ✓ Language in context could also be studied to see the influence of African languages in the use of languages such as English and French.
- ✓ A corpus based study would also be useful in substantiating conclusions on norms. It would, for example, be interesting to investigate what the reception of interpreted texts is by East African listeners and what they consider good interpretation.
- ✓ The notion of quality such as fidelity to the speaker could also be enriched by corpus based study which would compare the audience's satisfaction with actual interpreted text.

It is hoped that this preliminary study provides the basis for further research into Institutional Conference Interpreting Contexts in East Africa and that such research, including the present study, will result in better articulated norms that take into account the specificities of the (East) African context. Improved working conditions for interpreters in the region would lead to higher professional standards that are better understood and supported by all parties to the benefit of the continent.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1

AIIC-United Nations Agreement (2012-2017)

Agreement between the United Nations Common System/Chief Executives Board for Coordination and the Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence, regulating the Conditions of Employment

1. In meetings between representatives of the *Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence* (hereinafter referred to as 'AIIC') and representatives of the United Nations Common System/Chief Executives Board for Coordination (CEB) (hereinafter referred to as 'the Organizations'), it has been agreed that, subject to the approval of AIIC and of the Organizations, the conditions of employment of short-term conference interpreters shall be governed by the provisions set out below. [1]

I. Scope and implementation

Scope

2. This Agreement shall be applicable to the servicing of conferences and meetings organized by the parties to the Agreement, by any mode of interpretation and on a worldwide basis, pursuant to their mandated activities.[2] It shall be open to all existing organizations of the United Nations Common System and shall be extended by mutual agreement to other organizations of the Common System invited to join the Agreement during its period of validity. The list of organizations that are party to the Agreement is contained in Annex F. A more detailed list of organizational entities to which the Agreement applies is contained in Annex G.

Duration

3. This Agreement shall be valid for the period from 1 July 2012 to 30 June 2017. If a new Agreement cannot be concluded before the expiry date, the Agreement may be extended for a fixed period to be agreed by all parties. However, every effort should be made to conclude the negotiations for a new Agreement prior to the expiry date, and negotiations should therefore commence well ahead of the date of expiry.

Notification of acceptance

4. Each Organization and AIIC shall notify the CEB Secretariat of its acceptance of the Agreement. The CEB Secretariat shall inform all parties of the acceptance notices received.

Exceptional conditions that would require a renegotiation of the Agreement

5. The provisions of this Agreement specifically concerning remuneration may be renegotiated, at the request of AIIC or of the Organizations in the event of:

(a) A reform of the international monetary system; or

(b) The abandonment, by the Organizations, of the United States dollar as the sole basis for the establishment of professional category salaries or allowances; or

(c) A modification of the United Nations post adjustment system; or

(d) Any other exceptional event or major change of circumstances in one or several of the ratifying Organizations, which leads any of the parties to believe that they cannot fully respect the terms of the present Agreement,

provided that any of the above events significantly affect the remuneration levels of interpreters.

II. Appointment and termination

Non-discrimination in recruitment

6. Recruitment of interpreters shall be consistent with the principles laid down in the Charter and the Constitutions of the Organizations, in particular and for example, Article 101(3) of the United Nations Charter: 'The paramount consideration in the employment of staff ... shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity ...'. It shall also be without any form of discrimination whatsoever, without prejudice to the Staff Regulations and Rules of the Organizations.

7. As set out in the United Nations Staff Regulations and Rules and the standards of conduct, all international civil servants, including short-term conference interpreters, may form and join associations, unions or other groups to promote and defend their interests and they should enjoy protection against discriminatory or prejudicial treatment based on their status or such activities as staff representatives.

Offers of work

8. Offers made by an organization to an interpreter are of two categories: firm offers and options.

(1) Definitions

A 'firm offer' is an offer of work that is binding both on the Organization and on the interpreter who accepts such an offer.

An 'option' is a proposal of work that is non-binding for both the Organization and the interpreter.

A 'request for availability' is not an offer of work but merely an enquiry by the Organization concerning the availability of the interpreter for a period of work. It is in no way binding on either party.

(2) Firm offers

The Organization shall endeavour, whenever possible, to make firm offers without resorting to options.

The interpreter, in accepting a firm offer, thereby undertakes to fulfil the ensuing contract and only to withdraw from it if the Organization has consented to a suitable alternative.

(3) Options

The Organization, if it is unable to commit itself immediately to a firm offer, may propose an option to the interpreter and maintain that option until such time as the interpreter calls upon that Organization to confirm it as a firm offer.

The interpreter, in accepting such an option, thereby undertakes to accord priority to the Organization for the period concerned until such time as either the offer is confirmed as a firm offer or cancelled.

Should servicing of the meeting no longer be required, the Organization shall inform the interpreter as soon as possible and release that interpreter from the option.

Organizations should endeavour to restrict the number of options to their expected requirements. Similarly, interpreters should refrain from accepting more than one option for the same period.

(4) Competing offers

The interpreter, if offered work elsewhere for part or all of the period covered by an Organization's option shall request the Organization to confirm its own option as a firm offer before accepting any other option or offer.

When an interpreter requests confirmation of an option as a firm offer, the Organization shall, within 24 hours of the first working day of receipt of the interpreter's request, provide a response and shall endeavour either to confirm the option as a firm offer or to cancel it and thereby release that interpreter.

In the absence of a response from the Organization by the deadline referred to above, that option shall automatically be deemed to have lapsed.

(5) Payment of indemnity

Only a firm offer that is accepted by the interpreter shall give rise to the payment of indemnities as provided for in paragraph 12 (Cancellation or termination of appointment).

Letters of appointment

9. When accepting work for an Organization of the United Nations Common System, a short-term conference interpreter shall be granted a temporary or short-term letter of appointment. The terms of the letter of appointment shall comply with the provisions of this Agreement, to the extent that they differ from the rules of the Organization governing temporary staff. The contracts granted to short-term conference interpreters shall indicate: (a) the place of work; (b) the dates of engagement; (c) the applicable remuneration rates, whether daily or monthly; (d) a reference, where applicable, to a Caisse and/or accident and sickness insurance when the regulatory framework of the hiring Organization provides for this option, and the corresponding percentage to be deducted; and (e) whether the short-term conference interpreter's engagement involves travel and whether a daily subsistence allowance (DSA) is payable and, if so, in what form.

Privileges, immunities and responsibilities

10. When working for Organizations of the United Nations Common System, short-term conference interpreters:[3]

(a) By virtue of their contract, shall have the status of officials,[4] pursuant to the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies and relevant agreements with host countries, as applicable to each Organization, and therefore enjoy the privileges and immunities, and have the responsibilities, pertaining to that status;

(b) Shall be bound by the strictest confidentiality and secrecy, which must be observed towards all persons with regard to information gathered in the course of professional practice.

Professional domicile

11. The following provisions are established with respect to professional domicile:

(a) For the purpose of this Agreement, the professional domicile of the short-term conference interpreter is the domicile for which that interpreter declares her/himself local;

(b) The professional domicile of short-term conference interpreters who are members of AIIC shall be published in the AIIC Yearbook. The Organizations shall request an interpreter who is not a member of AIIC to declare that interpreter's professional domicile, which shall be applicable to every Organization that is party to this Agreement. Any such interpreter may have only one professional domicile at any one time and may change it only for consecutive periods of no fewer than six months. Employment conditions shall be governed by the professional domicile of the interpreter at the time employment is offered, irrespective of that interpreter's home address or actual place of residence;

(c) AIIC's professional delegations shall liaise with the Organizations to ensure that AIIC's list of all short-term conference interpreters' declared professional domiciles is kept up to date. Organizations shall provide information upon request and with the concurrence of the interpreter concerned, but cannot assume responsibility for any inaccuracies. Any breaches of the rules governing professional domicile shall be corrected through AIIC's appropriate disciplinary procedures, as applicable.

Cancellation and termination of appointments

12. When an Organization terminates or cancels the appointment of a short-term conference interpreter, the following provisions shall apply:

(a) For reasons such as ill health,[5] abandonment of appointment or assigned function, misconduct, unsatisfactory service or the discovery of facts anterior to the appointment of the staff member which, had they been known at that time would, under the principles established in the Charter and the Staff Regulations and Rules, have precluded her/his appointment, the short-term conference interpreter shall be paid such indemnities as are provided for in the Staff Regulations and Rules of the Organization applicable to short-term or temporary staff;

(b) For any reason other than in subparagraph 12 (a), and without prejudice to subparagraphs 12 (e) and (g) below, if the cancellation of a monthly contract is communicated more than 15 days before the beginning of the appointment, or more than 30 days for a daily contract, the short-term conference interpreter shall be paid an indemnity equal to 50 per cent of the salary for the period set out in the letter of appointment or other document which would be issued by the appropriate authority within the Organization concerned at the time that the engagement of the short-term conference interpreter is confirmed;

(c) For any reason other than in subparagraph 12 (a), and without prejudice to subparagraphs 12 (e) and (g) below, if the cancellation of a monthly contract is communicated 15 days or less before the beginning of the appointment, or fewer than 30 days for a daily contract, the short-term conference interpreter shall be paid an indemnity equal to 100 per cent of the salary for the period set out in the letter of appointment or other document issued by the appropriate authority within the Organization concerned at the time that the engagement of the short-term conference interpreter is confirmed;

(d) For any reason other than in subparagraph 12 (a), and without prejudice to subparagraph 12 (e) below, if the cancellation is communicated after the beginning of the appointment, the short-term conference interpreter shall be paid an indemnity equal to 100 per cent of the salary derived from that engagement in respect of the unexpired period;

(e) As a consequence of the cancellation of meetings owing to circumstances of force majeure which prevent either party, for reasons beyond their control and independent of their will, from fulfilling their obligations,[6] the Organization shall pay the short-term conference interpreter an indemnity equal to 50 per cent of the salary for the period set out in the letter of appointment, if said cancellation is effected 30 days or fewer prior to the scheduled starting date of the appointment.

(f) The Organization shall reimburse the interpreter for costs, authorized by the Organization within its travel policy limits, that the interpreter may have incurred in direct connection with that appointment;

(g) As a general principle in respect of cancellation indemnities, the short-term conference interpreter shall make every effort to find equivalent employment for the period in respect of which such indemnities are payable, and if employment is obtained with an Organization or third party, the indemnity payable shall be reduced by one day for each day thereof.

III. Remuneration policy

13. The remuneration of short-term conference interpreters employed by Organizations party to the Agreement is specified in Annex A hereto.

14. Appointments shall be formalized by the issuance of a contract by Organizations. The contract shall indicate the specific period of engagement and the number of days to be paid, as well as the applicable remuneration rate.

15. Subject to the provisions of this Agreement, specifically paragraph 32 (Workload), one daily rate shall be payable to the interpreter for each contract day, a day being defined as a 24-hour period from midnight to midnight or part thereof (including public holidays within the period of contract).

16. By reference to the seven-day weekly calendar, the sixth and seventh days shall also be paid to interpreters when they are under contract outside their professional domicile.

17. Similarly, such sixth and/or seventh days shall be paid to interpreters under contract at their professional domicile if the employing Organization has requested them, either at the time of the firm offer or thereafter, to be available to work on those days. Such days shall be paid irrespective of whether any such interpreter is actually assigned to work on those days.

18. The salary rates set out in Annex A are net of both income tax and staff assessment.[7]

Daily remuneration rate

19. A short-term conference interpreter employed by an Organization for fewer than 60 days from the first day of her/his appointment shall be employed on the basis of a daily appointment and the daily rate conditions.

Monthly remuneration rate

20. The following provisions shall apply with respect to monthly rates:

(a) A short-term conference interpreter employed by an Organization for a continuous period of 60 days or more shall be employed from the first day on the basis of a monthly appointment and the monthly rate conditions;

(b) When a period of employment at daily rates is extended in such a way that the extension, together with the original duration of the contract, exceeds 60 days, the provisions governing monthly appointments shall apply from the 61st day;

(c) For short-term conference interpreters employed on monthly appointments, leave shall accrue at the rate specified in the Staff Regulations and Rules of the employing Organization and pro rata for each part of a month. The Organization may indicate the periods falling within the employment period when the accrued leave must be taken, provided that the short-term conference interpreter is given at least 15 days' notice;

(d) At the end of an appointment, the unused leave days shall be paid in accordance with the Staff Regulations and Rules of the employing Organization.

Remuneration during travel

21. The following provisions shall apply with respect to remuneration during travel:

(a) The travel rules applicable to the regular staff of an employing Organization shall be applicable to the travel of short-term conference interpreters;

(b) When a short-term conference interpreter is required to travel to a duty station away from her/his professional domicile, s/he shall be equally entitled to the applicable subsistence allowance in accordance with the policy and practice for regular staff of the employing Organization.

(c) For the purposes of this Agreement, authorized travel time of short-term conference interpreters is work time for all purposes, as for regular staff. The travel dates shall be specified in the contract whenever possible. Accordingly, except where it is agreed in advance that any necessary travel can reasonably be accomplished during the period of assignment, a short-term conference interpreter recruited from outside the duty station shall be paid one half of the relevant rate in Annex A in respect of the calendar day preceding the beginning of her/his assignment and one half-day's salary in respect of the calendar day following the end of her/his assignment. For any full calendar day of travel time, including authorized stopovers and rest periods, as detailed in paragraph 26 below, the short-term conference interpreter shall receive a full day's salary.

IV. Travel conditions

General

22. Except as may be otherwise provided in this Agreement, the travel rules applicable to the regular staff of the employing Organization while on official travel shall be applicable to the travel of short-term conference interpreters. In cases of non-local recruitment, travel shall be provided for the short-term conference interpreter to proceed from her/his professional domicile (or from another place within the same cost) to her/his place of work and return. This provision shall not preclude any arrangement whereby costs may be shared between the employing Organization and a previous or subsequent employer in instances when the periods of employment are consecutive. The Organizations shall make every effort to ensure uniformity of practice in respect of travel rules.

23. No travel shall take place without a travel authorization, including prior medical and security clearances where applicable. The hiring Organization shall not be held liable in the event that a short-term conference interpreter does not provide appropriate medical certification prior to her/his engagement. Failure to do so shall result in the withdrawal of the offer or termination of appointment without compensation. The employing Organization shall inform the short-term conference interpreter of these requirements at the time of the proposal of work.

24. When an Organization offers the short-term conference interpreter a contract, it shall inform her/him of the travel arrangements it intends to make. This information can be provided via the offer of appointment or other official written communication, such as e-mail notification. If the short-term conference interpreter accepts the contract, s/he shall also accept whatever travel arrangements are made, unless her/his professional obligations prior to or subsequent to her/his contract are such as to render impractical, in the opinion of the Organization, participation in such arrangements.

25. Applicable DSA shall be payable to the short-term conference interpreter during the length of the assignment while on travel status, including any travel days in addition to the normal length of the assignment which s/he is required to spend away from her/his professional domicile by reason of the travel arrangements authorized by the employing Organization.

Stopovers and rest periods during air travel

26. In scheduling the departure of an interpreter for a meeting, the employing Organization shall ensure that when travel takes place by air, or mostly by air, the departure takes place sufficiently early that (in the case of a journey with no intermediate stop-overs):

If the scheduled travel time for the journey is between six and ten hours, the interpreter is not required to commence duty within 12 hours after arriving at the duty station;

If the scheduled travel time is more than ten hours, the interpreter is not required to commence duty within 24 hours of arriving at the destination;

Minor variations from these minima arising from scheduled flight timetables (for example, infrequency of flights) shall be acceptable within reason, subject to agreement before the journey begins;

Subject to paragraphs 21, 22 and 24 above, the interpreter shall be entitled to utilize these rest periods either at the destination or in the form of stopovers en route.

Daily subsistence allowance

27. A short-term conference interpreter engaged to serve in a duty station away from her/his professional domicile shall be entitled to receive the applicable DSA in accordance with the DSA rates established by the International Civil Service Commission (ICSC) and in accordance with the travel advances policy of the employing Organization. The conditions for the payment of the allowance shall be those applicable to the regular staff of the Organization, including in respect of adjusted rates (e.g., when accommodation, transportation and/or meals are provided) and supporting documentation requirements, as well as, where necessary, recourse procedures.

V. Social security

Social security

28. The remuneration rates for short-term conference interpreters set out in Annex A are net of tax and include a social security element of nine per cent. At the written request of the short-term conference interpreter and subject to the Organization's rules, a percentage of the short-term conference interpreter's emoluments may be withheld by the employing Organization and paid in the name of the short-term conference interpreter into an applicable scheme such as the *Caisse de Pensions des Interprètes et Traducteurs de Conférence or the Caisse de Prévoyance des Interprètes de Conférence*.

Loss of earnings, sickness and accident insurance, and sick leave

29. To the extent possible, and subject to the rules of the employing Organization, short-term conference interpreters may be allowed to participate in a loss of earnings and insurance scheme for illness or injuries occurring during their respective appointments.

30. With respect to sick leave, Organizations may grant reasonable leave as provided for other temporary staff under the applicable Staff Rules, and within the terms and duration of the contract in force without any related obligation for the Organization (such as in respect of hospitalization, insurance, etc.).

VI. Working conditions

Team strength

31.

(a) At no time shall fewer than two interpreters be assigned [a] per booth.

(b) No interpreter shall be assigned as the only member of a team capable of providing relay from a given working language.

(c) In the case of two-language meetings [9] serviced from one booth, at least three interpreters capable of working into both languages shall be assigned.

(d) In the case of the Arabic and Chinese booths, specifically referred to in paragraph 33 below, at least three interpreters shall be assigned to the booth, of whom at least two must be capable of working into two of the languages used.

(e) More interpreters shall be assigned when:

The language combinations are such that fewer interpreters would not be sufficient to cover them;

Numerous written presentations are to be given;

The technical or scientific nature of the conference calls for extensive in-session preparation.

(f) Teams including one or more Group II [a] interpreters should comprise enough experienced pivots in the same or other booths. Group II interpreters shall thus not be required to provide relay.

Workload

32.

(a) It shall be the responsibility of the employing Organization to ensure a normal workload for interpreters. In this context, a normal workload is one that complies with the conditions stipulated in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, pursuant to the 1974 report of the Joint Advisory Committee, which established these workloads.

(b) Accordingly, no interpreter shall be called upon to work at more than two meetings per day. There shall be a break for a period of no shorter than one and a half hours between such meetings.

(c) Similarly, no interpreter shall be assigned for more than two and a half to three hours from the time when that interpreter is required to be on duty. An interpreter who has been summoned to duty and has arrived at the place of assignment at the scheduled time of assignment shall be deemed to have been assigned, even if the meeting to which that interpreter has been summoned has concluded or has been cancelled in the meantime.

(d) Similarly, no interpreter shall be called upon to work more than eight meetings on average per week, a week being a period of seven consecutive days. For periods of employment of fewer than five days, a normal workload is five meetings in a three-day contract, or a maximum of seven meetings in a four-day contract. The maximum period over which meetings may be averaged shall not exceed two consecutive weeks. For ease of reference, a table indicating the respective number of assignments is attached as Annex C.

(e) Short-term conference interpreters should, whenever possible, be given reasonable notice of meetings outside normal working hours.

(g) Except on the last day of contract, for the purposes of workload calculation, and without prejudice to the maximum weekly workload established in this paragraph, a late-hour meeting straddling more than one day shall count as one meeting only and towards day one.

(h) Interpreters assigned after 20h00 shall have a break of at least 12 hours.

(i) If, in a genuine emergency, an Organization is unable to implement the above provisions regarding weekly workload and if adequate time off cannot be given within the short-term conference interpreter's period of employment in accordance with subparagraph 32(d) above, it shall grant that interpreter compensation in accordance with the terms set forth in Annex D.

33. Except for two-language meetings serviced from one booth, there shall be one booth, working in one direction only, for the official languages of the Organization concerned. However, owing to a shortage of multilingual interpreters with Arabic and Chinese, it may be necessary in the case of these two languages to use a two-way booth working both into the language concerned and from it into one of the other languages of the meeting, the remaining booths working from the interpretation in relay. The Organizations and AIIC agree that this method is unsatisfactory and that it should be used only in the case of the two official languages stipulated above as well as of any non-official language of the Organization concerned for which no multilingual interpreters are available to work from that language.

Disclaimer for broadcasting

34. For the purpose of this Agreement, the term 'broadcasting' refers to transmission by television, radio and webcasting for on-line use or for downloading, as appropriate under arrangements for access, in accordance with the policy of the employing Organization.

35. The Organizations shall consult the Provisions governing Broadcasting of Interpretation (Annex E). In the event of webcasting of interpreted sessions, the following disclaimer shall be prominently displayed on their respective websites:

The interpretation of proceedings serves to facilitate communication and does not constitute an authentic or verbatim record of the proceedings. Only the original speech is authentic.

36. An audio/video file of interpretation shall be the property of the employing Organization. When such files are broadcast or otherwise made publicly available, any responsibility or liability shall be vested in the Organization.

Technical installations

37. Organizations should endeavour to provide facilities for meetings at headquarters or elsewhere, compliant with the international standards applicable to simultaneous interpretation facilities, such as:

ISO 2603:1983 for built-in booths
ISO 4043:1981 for portable booths
IEC 914:1988 for equipment

and, whenever possible, also with ISO 2603:1998 and IEC 60914:1998.

38. In planning for the construction or modification of booths and/or equipment for simultaneous interpretation, Organizations shall make every effort to comply with the latest version of the relevant standards, keeping in mind the need for uniformity of equipment and facilities within the Organizations.

VII. Discipline

39. Without prejudice to its right to apply the remedies and disciplinary measures that are foreseen in its internal rules or in the letter of appointment, including the withholding of all or part of the remuneration due, such as when an interpreter abandons her/his position or assigned function prior to the completion of the period of employment, an Organization may draw the attention of AIIC to any case where the conduct of one of its freelance members has been unsatisfactory. In that event, AIIC shall conduct a disciplinary investigation, further to which it shall decide upon the necessary actions it considers appropriate, in consultation with the Organization concerned.

VIII. Settlement of disputes

40. Every effort shall be made to resolve disagreements between Organizations and short-term conference interpreters in an informal and expeditious manner with a view to settling them without recourse to the procedures outlined in paragraph 42 below.

41. Disputes between a short-term conference interpreter and an Organization arising out of the application of an individual letter of appointment shall be settled through the relevant procedures and under the same conditions applicable to the regular staff of the Organization concerned, or any other procedure provided for in the letter of appointment or in this Agreement.

42. Disputes between AIIC and an Organization or Organizations arising out of the interpretation or application of this Agreement shall, in a first stage, be the subject of direct conversations between AIIC and the Organization or Organizations concerned, with a view to settling the dispute; if no settlement can be reached, the two parties shall refer the matter as rapidly as possible to a jointly agreed third party for an opinion. On the basis of that opinion, the parties shall endeavour to find, within a reasonable time frame, a mutually acceptable solution.

IX. Other provisions

Training

43. Organizations should facilitate the participation of short-term conference interpreters in training programmes provided to regular interpretation staff, provided that such participation shall carry no cost or administrative burden for the Organizations.

Professional delegations

44. AIIC shall designate professional delegations to ensure liaison with the Organizations on questions of mutual interest, including matters arising out of sections VII and VIII above, and the Organizations shall facilitate such activity.

Official circulars and employment data

45. The CEB Secretariat shall make available to AIIC all official United Nations circulars concerning post adjustment classifications and relevant exchange rates, DSA rates and changes in base salaries of permanent staff as and when they are published. It shall also collect and inform AIIC annually of the statistics regarding employment of short-term conference interpreters by the Organizations.

Signed on 3 March 2014 by: Franz Baumann, Assistant Secretary-General for General Assembly and Conference Management, United Nations Representative of the Organizations of the United Nations System

Signed on 3 March 2014 by: Linda Fitchett, President, *Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence*

Signed on 3 March 2014 by: Remo Lalli, Secretary, High Level Committee on Management Secretariat of the Chief Executives Board for Coordination

Annex A

Remuneration Policy and Schedule of Rates

I. Definition of rates

Headquarters rate

1. Short-term conference interpreters having their professional domicile in Austria, Canada, France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America, when working in any of those countries shall be paid the corresponding 'headquarters rate'.

World rate

2. Irrespective of the professional domicile of the short-term conference interpreter, all work which is not covered by paragraph 1 above shall be paid at the World rate.

II. Methodology for the calculation of daily rates

Headquarters rates

3. At the beginning of each calendar year, a common daily base rate (hereinafter referred to as the 'base rate') shall be derived from the United Nations salary scale for professional category staff promulgated by the International Civil Service Commission (ICSC). This salary scale provides a common annualized base salary pay scheme for professional category staff of the United Nations Common System worldwide.

4. The base rate is P-4, step VI, net dependency salary compressed into 221 working days.[12] The base rate is common for all duty stations, as the United Nations salary scale is common to all staff worldwide.

5. A social security element of nine per cent of the base rate is to be added.

6. At the beginning of each year, the post adjustment multiplier to be applied to the common base rate in order to derive each duty station's daily rate shall be the average of the previous year for each duty station.

7. The post adjustment applicable at each duty station shall be added to the base rate (see paragraph 4). The combination of base rate plus applicable post adjustment plus the social security element, shall determine the total daily rate (hereinafter referred to as the 'daily rate') payable to short-term conference interpreters entitled to receive the headquarters rate.

8. As the rates are derived from the common United Nations salary scale for professional category staff, which is denominated in United States dollars, the schedule of rates shall be determined in United States dollars for each established headquarters duty station and then converted using the average of the previous 12 months' United Nations operational rates of exchange (UNOREs).

World rate

9. In the case of the World rate, at the beginning of each year, the annual composite of the post adjustment multipliers of the eight headquarters duty stations and the post adjustment multipliers of four UN Regional Commissions (Chile, Ethiopia, Lebanon and Thailand) as well as that of the United Nations Office at Nairobi (Kenya) are to be added to the base rate referred to in paragraphs 3 and 4 above. The combination of the base rate, social security element, and the composite of these 13 post adjustment multipliers determines the daily rate for all locations outside the eight headquarters duty stations as well as the daily rate for all interpreters whenever they work outside their professional domiciles.

10. The World rate shall be determined only in United States dollars.

IV. Non-regression clause

11. Non-regression shall apply to the mid-year revisions and annual re-calculations set out in paragraphs 20 to 22 below.

Establishment of duty station rates

12. Pursuant to the adoption of the present Agreement, the headquarters schedule of rates is expanded with two additional headquarters duty stations, Madrid and Montreal, with the corresponding rates established for Spain and Canada.

13. The establishment of any further duty stations classified by ICSC as 'H' duty stations shall respond to operational requirements of a permanent and significant nature and would be carried out once a joint agreement between the Organizations and AIIC has been reached, following the parameters set forth in the present Agreement.

VI. Currency of payments

Headquarters rates

14. In letters of appointment, headquarters rates may, at the discretion of the Organization concerned, be expressed either in local currency or in United States dollars converted at the monthly UN operational rates of exchange, which yield that amount of local currency. The rate of used for payment purposes shall be the applicable monthly United Nations operational rate of exchange in force at the time.

15. Payments shall normally be made in local currency unless otherwise mutually agreed between the Organization and the short-term conference interpreter.

World rate

16. The World rate is paid in United States dollars. However, by prior agreement with the Organization concerned, payment may be made in the currency of the country of the short-term conference interpreter's domicile or, by agreement with the Organization, in a third currency, provided that this does not represent an additional cost to the Organization and is operationally possible. In such instances, the rate of exchange to be applied shall be the monthly United Nations operational rate of exchange in force on the date that payment is made.

VII. Daily rates [13] payable from 1 July 2012

17. The schedule of daily rates effective 1 July 2012 shall be:

Headquarters rates

	Group I	Group II
Austria	USD 610.00 EUR 454.00	USD 407.00 EUR 303.00
Canada	USD 618.00 CAD 622.00	USD 412.00 CAD 415.00
France	USD 631.00 EUR 470.00	USD 421.00 EUR 313.00

Italy	USD 613.00 EUR 457.00	USD 409.00 EUR 305.00
Spain	USD 585.00 EUR 436.00	USD 390.00 EUR 291.00
Switzerland	USD 788.00 CHF 704.00	USD 525.00 CHF 469.00
United Kingdom	USD 680.00 GBP 429.00	USD 453.00 GBP 286.00
United States	USD 633.00	USD 422.00

World rate

18. The daily World rate, denominated and payable only in United States dollars, effective 1 July 2012 shall be:

Interpreter I: $ 616.00

Interpreter II: $ 411.00

VIII. Adjustment of rates

Administration of the revision and adjustment of rates

19. The CEB Secretariat shall be responsible for the calculation of adjustments in the schedule of rates in accordance with the methodology prescribed under the Agreement as well as for their prompt notification to the Organizations and to AIIC. The Organizations and AIIC shall be kept regularly informed of the post adjustment multipliers and relevant movements in the United Nations operational rates of exchange in the areas listed.

Mid-year revision in respect of movements of the post adjustment index at each duty station

20. On 1 July each year, the average post adjustment multipliers for the previous 12 months for each established headquarters duty station shall be calculated and applied to the scale-derived common and fixed daily base rate established for each year, as described in paragraphs 3 to 6 of this Annex.

21. If an increase results from the mid-year recalculation, it shall be adopted and then converted again into local currencies by application of the 12-month average United Nations operational rates of exchange, where applicable. In such instances, the revised rates shall be effective as of 1 July.

Adjustment procedure for the World rate

22. A similar recalculation shall be undertaken on 1 July each year in respect of the World rate (using the methodology established to derive the average composite post adjustment multiplier applicable to the World rate), as described in paragraph 9 of the present Annex.

Degree of ultimate rounding

23. The daily rates are calculated as follows: annual base salary of P4 step 6 (dependency rate) divided by 221 PLUS a post adjustment amount calculated using the average post adjustment multiplier of the previous 12 months (rolling average of the mid-month values) PLUS a social security element equal to 9 per cent of the base salary. The resulting rates in US dollars are converted into local currency using the average UNORE of the previous 12 months (rolling average of the mid-month values). Rounding to the nearest whole unit of currency is to be applied once only, at the end of the calculation.

24. The rounding of the rates is only done at the end (on the aggregated values) to the nearest whole number (no intermediate rounding of any sort).

25. The conversion of the non-rounded USD-denominated daily rates into local currencies is done by application of the UN operational rates of exchange (UNOREs) to the non-rounded aggregated USD rates (mid-month values of the 12-month rolling average UNOREs). The UNORE-converted local currency values are then rounded to the nearest whole number (again at the end of the conversion value instance).

IX. Beginners

24. Beginners, as defined in Annex B, shall be paid 66.67 per cent, or two thirds, of the daily rate otherwise applicable to the location concerned.

X. Restricted teams

25. Members of restricted teams shall be paid 160 per cent of the daily rate otherwise applicable. In a two-way booth at a bilingual meeting of more than an hour and a half [14] serviced by two interpreters instead of three, the restricted team rate shall apply. In a bilingual meeting, interpreters in a two-way booth working for less than an hour and a half [15] shall be paid the standard rate.

Annex B

Classification of interpreters (Group I and Group II) [16]

Definition

1. It is agreed that the following interpreters shall be classified as Group I:

(a) Former staff members, provided that they had qualified for fully fledged status in the Organizations (i.e., P-3 and above);

(b) Interpreters with substantial experience, but who have not worked, or rarely worked, in the United Nations system;

(c) Interpreters who have been formally reclassified to Group I;

(d) Interpreters who have consistently worked for United Nations Common System Organizations with Group I status although never formally reclassified;

(e) Interpreters living and working in areas where the application of this Annex is impractical (see paragraph 5 below).

2. Once an interpreter has been granted Group I status by the Organizations, it shall be retained even if s/he is subsequently called upon to use a different language combination.

3. If an Organization has legitimate doubts as to the professional experience of interpreters referred to above, it may request a ruling from the Classification Board (see paragraph 13 below).

4. Group II interpreters are those who have not qualified for reclassification in Group I, to which the rates in Annex A apply.

Exceptions

5. While it is considered desirable in principle that all interpreters other than those listed in paragraph 2 above should be classified as Group II, it is agreed that:

(a) Interpreters living and working in areas such as South America where the application of this Annex is impractical should normally be classified as Group I and this classification shall remain valid even if they subsequently work in an area normally subject to the provisions of the Annex;

(b) Interpreters working in the Chinese booth who had traditionally been seconded by their Government should continue, for work in this booth, to be classified on the basis of information received from the country concerned.

Beginner salary rates

6. Group II interpreters shall be paid 66.67 per cent, that is to say two thirds, of the relevant salary rates for Group I interpreters, as indicated in Annex A to this Agreement.

Conditions of employment

7.

(a) Group II interpreters shall not be assigned to work as pivots or as members of restricted teams, nor shall a booth be staffed entirely by such interpreters;

(b) Employment of Group II interpreters by the Organizations shall not exceed 10 per cent of their collective total team strength in any year. The CEB secretariat shall annually supply statistics on the employment of such interpreters.[17]

Reclassification to Group I status

Eligibility

8. Group II interpreters shall normally apply for reclassification after having completed 200 days of work for United Nations system Organizations, or if they can reasonably expect to have completed 200 days by the next meeting of the Classification Board referred to below. The application shall be made to the Chief Interpreter (or person responsible for the interpretation service) of the Organization which is the interpreter's principal employer, who shall transmit the application to the Board. If an Organization considers a Group II interpreter's work to be of sufficiently high standard, it may suggest that s/he apply for reclassification after fewer than 200 days. Account may also be taken of experience in other international organizations or conferences applying similar recruitment standards. In no case, however, may a Group II interpreter be considered eligible for reclassification before s/he has worked for 100 days with United Nations Common System Organizations.

9. All Group II interpreters are required to apply for reclassification before completing 300 days of work with United Nations Common System Organizations.

Reclassification procedure

10. Reclassifications shall normally be made by decision of a Classification Board composed of the Chief Interpreter or person responsible for the interpretation services of the Organizations party to the Agreement (including the United Nations Office at Geneva and the United Nations Office at Vienna) or their representatives. AIIC shall be represented by an observer.

11. The Classification Board shall normally meet three times a year, and shall be convened and coordinated by the Chief of Interpretation Services, United Nations Office at Geneva. Board members not wishing to be present may send their comments in writing to the Coordinator or be represented by another Organization.

12. Lists of eligible candidates who have applied for reclassification shall be circulated to all participants and AIIC one month prior to each meeting.

13. The functions of the Classification Board shall be:

(a) To give a ruling on any issues raised under paragraph 3 above, after making enquiries, as necessary;

(b) To decide, on the basis of their experience with each candidate, whether that candidate's work has reached the standard of proficiency required for her/his reclassification to Group I status, the standard of proficiency for reclassification being the equivalent of the level Organizations would require for the recruitment of a staff interpreter.

14. The Board, by consensus and with a quorum of five members present or represented by another Organization, may decide:

(a) That the candidate's work has reached the required standard and that s/he is reclassified accordingly; or

(b) That the candidate's work as a whole has not yet reached the required level but that s/he is invited to apply again before s/he has completed 300 days of work for Organizations of the United Nations system; or

(c) That her/his work is such that s/he should not be employed further in Organizations of the United Nations system.

15. The Board shall prepare a report conforming to a standard presentation giving the reasons for its decision, a copy of which shall be sent to the candidate.

16. The Coordinator shall communicate the decisions of the Board, whether or not the candidates have been reclassified, to the chiefs of the competent units of the Organizations with a copy to the AIIC Secretariat.

17. Approved reclassifications shall have effect from the date of the decision taken on the subject by the Classification Board.

Recourse

18. If a Group II interpreter does not accept negative findings of the Board, s/he shall be entitled to sit for a formal reclassification examination.

19. An inter-Organizations' board of examiners shall be established composed of permanent interpreters delegated by the participating Organizations, under the chairmanship of a representative of the administrations. AIIC shall be represented by an observer.

20. An application for admission to a reclassification examination shall be submitted by the short-term conference interpreter to the Chief Interpreter or person responsible for the interpretation service of the Organization which is her/his principal employer. The Chief Interpreter or person responsible for the interpretation service, in agreement with the human resources service of the said Organization, shall initiate the reclassification examination procedure in accordance with the rules agreed upon between the Organizations. Alternatively, the short-term conference interpreter may address her/his application for reclassification directly to the Training and Examinations Section, United Nations Office at Geneva. The board of examiners shall be convened as soon as possible.

21. The rules of the reclassification examination shall be as follows:

(a) The various tests constituting the examination shall be regarded as forming an indissoluble whole;

(b) The examination shall consist of interpretation, from two passive languages, of passages from two statements — a general statement and a more specialized statement — made in each of those languages. Each of the four tests shall last about 10 minutes;

(c) All tests shall be based on statements delivered at a normal speed and of reasonable difficulty. The candidate shall be given an opportunity to listen to the recordings for a few minutes before beginning to interpret. S/he shall be informed, before the start of each test, of the subject of the statement to be interpreted and the purpose of the meeting for which it was made;

(d) The candidate shall have a choice between the following options for the general texts:

(i) Laboratory recording of her/his interpretation from tape recordings; or

(ii) Interpretation from tape recordings before the board of examiners; or

(iii) Recording, without the candidate's knowledge, of the interpretation s/he has actually given in a meeting, and simultaneous recording of the original;

(e) For the specialized texts, the subject of each of the statements to be interpreted and the name of the body in which it was made shall be communicated to the candidate in advance so that s/he may prepare for the test;

(f) In view of the technical difficulties of the method described in subparagraph (d) (iii), the candidate shall be duly informed that it may entail delaying the date on which the board of examiners is convened.

22. The report that the inter-Organizations' board prepares after the examination shall give the reasons for its decision and shall conform to a standard presentation.

23. The Training and Examinations Section of the United Nations Office at Geneva shall transmit to the candidate and to the Classification Board a copy of the report of the board of examiners.

24. The Training and Examinations Section of the United Nations Office at Geneva shall communicate the results of the examination, whether the candidate has been reclassified or not, to the chief of the competent units of the Organizations of the United Nations Common System, with a copy to the AIIC Secretariat.

25. The reclassification of short-term conference interpreters shall have effect from the date of the decision taken on the subject by the inter-Organizations' board of examiners.

Annex C

Number of Assignments per Contract Duration

Number of contractual days	Number of assignments
1 day	2 assignments
2 days	4 assignments
3 days	5 assignments
4 days	7 assignments
5 days	8 assignments
6 days	8 assignments
7 days	8 assignments
8 days	10 assignments
9 days	12 assignments
10 days	13 assignments
11 days	15 assignments
12 days	16 assignments
13 days	16 assignments
14 days	16 assignments

Annex D

System of Compensation for Extra Workload [18]

1. Paragraph 32 of the Agreement specifies the normal workload of interpreters, and all Organisations have agreed that it is their responsibility to implement its provisions. It however also recognises that genuine emergencies may arise when this is impossible and envisages compensation, preferably in the form of time off, for interpreters when they have worked more than « normal ».

2. There is no such thing as a planned emergency. Therefore, whether in the form of time off to compensate for extended meetings (when a relief team should have been provided) or in cash to compensate for an excessive weekly workload when no other interpreters were available, compensation should be less attractive than adequate advance planning.

3. Compensation should however not be punitive, nor should it be based on a 'once and for all' flat rate (such as the restricted team rate) but should depend on the amount of extra work required of the individual interpreter and the degree of planning error on the part of the Organisation.

4. Excess workload may take two forms: either the interpreter has been required to work at meetings lasting longer than the normal 'two and a half to three hours from the time when the interpreter is required to be on duty', or he has been required to work more than '8 meetings on average per week' stipulated in the Agreement.

5. Extended meetings: an 'extended' or 'long' meeting can be defined as a meeting or series of meetings which have lasted more than three hours (plus a grace period of 5 to 10 minutes) since the time when the interpreter was required to be on duty.

Compensation for extended meetings

6. Any two extended meetings worked during the interpreter's contract period shall count as three meetings for the purpose of calculating the weekly workload.

7. In such an emergency, a meeting lasting for more than four hours would count as two meetings, while all-night end-of-negotiation meetings would have to be calculated pro-rata.

8. The addition of one more interpreter per booth to make up for a long meeting is contrary to the Agreement and cannot be considered as 'compensation'.

9. Extra meetings: extra meetings are meetings which are in excess of the average weekly workload, pro-rata to the number of days of contract, after taking into account of any compensation-in-time for extended meetings, and which cannot be compensated for by time-off during the period of employment. Compensation-in-time cannot be carried over from one contract period to another.

Compensation for extra meetings

10. Compensation shall take the form of one or more additional rest days being added to the contracts enabling the interpreter having suffered from a genuine emergency to adequate paid time off for recuperation.

11. Paid time off for recuperation shall be at the rate of one full day's pay for each interpreter concerned per extra meeting.

Annex E

Provisions Governing Broadcasting of Interpretation

1. All meeting participants shall be made aware of the specific circumstances faced by interpreters in the event of broadcasting and shall be informed of the importance of:

making written speeches available to interpreters well in advance;

delivering statements at a reasonable speed.

2. If the Organization deems that an audio/video record of a meeting is not of sufficient quality or accuracy, the Organization may either:

refrain from releasing such record; or

arrange, in exceptional circumstances, for re-recording of the relevant parts of such record, provided that it is technically feasible.

3. If an interpreter is required for the re-recording of any part of the proceedings, such re-recording shall be undertaken on the basis of mutually agreed conditions.

4. Interpreters shall be informed, at the time the offer of work is made, that their work may be broadcast, it being understood that, in principle, Group II interpreters should not be assigned to broadcast meetings.

5. If numerous written presentations are to be given, an additional interpreter shall be assigned in each booth for broadcast meetings, pursuant to paragraph 31(e)(ii) of this Agreement.

6. To the extent possible, Organizations should ensure that recordings of the interpretation clearly relate to the immediate context of the meeting.

7. Organizations wishing to make such recordings available on their websites for an unlimited period of time shall ensure that appropriate verification and correction measures are in place, such as those described in paragraph 2 above.

8. Recordings shall be used only to further the mission of the Organization(s) concerned.

9. To the extent possible, written verbatim records shall not be discontinued in favour of recordings of interpretation. [19]

Annex F

Organizations party to the Agreement

United Nations
(including its Departments, Offices[20] and Regional Commissions[21], as well as Funds and Programmes[22], and other entities administered by the United Nations Secretariat[23])

International Labour Organization (ILO)
(including its Regional Offices)

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

World Health Organization (WHO)
(including its Regional Offices and Programmes) [24]

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)

Universal Postal Union (UPU)

International Telecommunication Union (ITU)

World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

International Maritime Organization (IMO)

International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)

World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)

United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO)

World Food Programme (WFP)

Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS)

Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban

Treaty Organization (CTBTO Preparatory Commission)

Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence (AIIC)

Annex G

Organizational entities to which the Agreement applies

Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)

United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS)

United Nations University (UNU)

International Trade Centre (ITC)

International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)

United Nations Compensation Commission (UNCC)

Pan-American Health organization (PAHO)

International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC)

The Onchocerciasis Control Programme (OCP)

United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

World Trade Organization (WTO)

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[1] For the purposes of this Agreement, 'short-term conference interpreters' also refers to 'temporary' and 'freelance' interpreters, terms used by some organizations in accordance with their Staff Regulations and Rules.

[2] Mandated activities of organizations party to this Agreement are defined in, or derive from:

The UN Charter, statutes and treaties or other international instruments as applicable, which establish the respective organization with its object, purpose and functions;

Decisions of their policy-making organs/governing bodies set up by these international agreements; and,

Decisions by their respective Executive Heads on implementation activities of the organizations.

[3] IFAD reserves its position with regards to the status granted to its short-term conference interpreters under the Convention on Privileges and Immunities of Specialized Agencies and possible reimbursement of tax if it were to be levied. IFAD shall not be responsible for national income tax levied.

[4] In connection with the reference to the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, the term 'officials' instead of 'temporary staff members' is used here for the purpose of simplicity. It is understood that the term 'officials' includes 'temporary, or short-term, staff members'.

[5] In such cases the Organizations shall endeavour to find a way to ensure that the insurance coverage does not cease.

[6] In case of doubt as to the applicability of this article, parties shall confer and come to an agreement.

[7] FAO and IFAD reserve their position as regards the question of possible reimbursement of tax if it were to be levied.

[8] In the context of team strength, an interpreter assignment is the posting of one interpreter to one meeting.

[9] UNESCO reservation: for meetings lasting more than 2 hours.

[10] Interpreters classified in Group II are defined by AIIC as 'beginners' (see Annex B).

[11] 'Webcasting' also refers to 'web-streaming', 'video-streaming' and 'placing of video-records on an organization's website'.

[12] The 221 working days-based 'daily base rate' represents a compression of the United Nations annual salary scale based upon 365 days, and is inclusive of the standard 30 days of annual leave days, 10 days of United Nations official holidays and weekends (comprising 104 days) of the yearly calendar, on a pro rata basis.

[13] For the United Nations, short-term interpreters engaged to work for any continuous period of 31 days or more shall be employed from the first day on the basis of a monthly appointment in accordance with the administrative policies and Staff Regulations and Rules of the United Nations, similar to all other staff engaged on monthly contracts, and irrespective of the actual number of calendar days in the month concerned or whether the first working day falls on the first calendar day of the month. Likewise, when a period of employment at daily rates is extended in such a way that the extension, together with the original duration of the contract, exceeds 31 days, the provisions governing monthly appointments shall apply from the thirty-first day.

[14] UNESCO reservation: for meetings of more than 2 hours.

[15] UNESCO reservation: for meetings of less than 2 hours.

[16] Interpreters classified in Group II are defined by AIIC as 'beginners'.

[17] IFAD reserves its position with regards to the limitation imposed on the recruitment of Group II interpreters to no more than 10 per cent of the collective team strength of its short-term conference interpreters in any year.

[18] Pursuant to the Appendix of Document ACC/1991/PER/CM/14.

[19] The WTO, which accepted to apply the Agreement (Annex G), declares with regard to the terms of Annex E 'Provisions Governing Broadcasting of Interpretation', that paragraph 9 of that Annex shall not apply to the WTO.

[20] UNOG, UNOV, UNON.

[21] ECA, ECE, ESCAP, ESCWA, ECLAC.

[22] UNHCR, UNICEF, UNCTAD, UNDP, UNEP, UN-HABITAT, UNODC, UNFPA, UNRWA.

[23] OHCHR, UNOPS, UNU, ITC, ICTY, ICTR, UNCC (see also Annex G).

[24] AFRO, AMRO/PAHO, EMRO, SEARO, WPRO, IARC, OCP (see also Annex G).