

**NGO TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATOR PRACTICES EXPLORED THROUGH AN  
IDEOLOGICAL LENS**

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## Abstract

This thesis project looks at translation and translator practices in the world of Canadian development-NGOs. Given this context, both translation and development studies are drawn upon within this project. Focusing on the ideological aspects of these practices, theories of functionalism and critical discourse analysis (CDA), as they relate specifically to translation studies, are employed. After presenting this framework, two types of analyses follow, which allow us to interrogate the ideology of such NGO translation and translator practices. First, the specific translations found in the promotional videos drawn from one organization, Plan Canada, are presented and analyzed. Later, translators and their practices are investigated through empirical research and more general investigations of several different NGOs' website content. Finally, how ideology is manifested in these practices is related to greater ideological tendencies within our global society.

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# Table of Contents

<u>ABSTRACT</u> .....	ii
<u>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</u> .....	iii
<u>TABLE OF CONTENTS</u> .....	iv
<u>INTRODUCTION</u> .....	1
<u>Chapter Overviews</u> .....	4
<u>Methodology</u> .....	5
<u>Defining and Differentiating NGOs</u> .....	7
<u>Contextualizing the Research</u> .....	9
<u>CHAPTER 1. RESEARCH OVERVIEW: TRANSLATION IN CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT NGOS</u> .....	12
1.1. <u>Activist Translation</u> .....	12
1.2. <u>Development Studies as it Relates to Translation Studies</u> .....	17
1.3. <u>NGO Translators as Undervalued Mediators: Evidence in Development-NGO Research</u> .....	26
1.4. <u>Contextualizing the Latin American Aid-Receiving Setting</u> .....	30
1.5. <u>Contextualizing the Canadian Donor Setting</u> .....	38
1.6. <u>Translation Choices and Effects</u> .....	39
<u>Concluding Remarks</u> .....	42
<u>CHAPTER 2. TRANSLATION, TRANSLATORS AND IDEOLOGY: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</u> .....	43
2.1. <u>Contemplating Theory</u> .....	43
2.2. <u>Functionalist Thought in Translation</u> .....	44
2.3. <u>Critical Discourse Analysis and Ideology</u> .....	55
2.4. <u>Additional Theoretical Considerations</u> .....	68
2.5. <u>Audio-Visual Translation Theory</u> .....	70
<u>Concluding Remarks</u> .....	72
<u>CHAPTER 3. NGO TRANSLATION IN PRACTICE: THE CASE OF PLAN CANADA</u> .....	75

3.1.	<u>Plan Canada Overview</u> .....	75
3.2.	<u>Vectors of Communication</u> .....	77
3.3.	<u>Text-Genres and Promotional-Operative Texts</u> .....	79
3.4.	<u>Further Functionalist Considerations</u> .....	81
3.5.	<u>Locating the AVT Examples</u> .....	83
3.6.	<u>Audio-Visual Examples: An Overview</u> .....	84
3.7.	<u>Example 1: Education in Ecuador</u> .....	85
3.8.	<u>Example 2: Nutrition in Guatemala</u> .....	91
3.9.	<u>Video and AVT Analysis</u> .....	94
3.10.	<u>Representing Need in Development-NGOs</u> .....	94
3.11.	<u>Representation in the Plan Canada Context</u> .....	96
3.12.	<u>The Notion of Activism and Ideology</u> .....	99
3.13.	<u>Power Relations and Ideology</u> .....	102
3.14.	<u>Plan Canada Discourse and Ideology</u> .....	104
	<u>Concluding Remarks</u> .....	108
CHAPTER 4.	<u>NGO TRANSLATORS AT WORK: AN EMPIRICAL AND INVESTIGATIVE APPROACH</u> .....	110
4.1.	<u>Criteria for NGO Selection</u> .....	110
4.2.	<u>Approaching Potential Participants</u> .....	112
4.3.	<u>Survey Results</u> .....	113
4.3.1.	<u>Who Coordinates and Who Translates?</u> .....	115
4.3.2.	<u>Paid vs. Volunteer Translators</u> .....	116
4.3.3.	<u>French-English Translators</u> .....	117
4.3.4.	<u>Text-Types Translated</u> .....	117
4.3.5.	<u>Motivational Factors</u> .....	118
4.4.	<u>Survey Analysis</u> .....	119

4.4.1.	<u>Varying levels of Expertise</u> .....	119
4.4.2.	<u>The Notion of Professionalism</u> .....	120
4.4.3.	<u>The Languages of Translation</u> .....	125
4.4.4.	<u>Text-Type Relevance</u> .....	126
4.4.5.	<u>Translator Activism and Motivation</u> .....	127
4.5.	<u>Other Findings</u> .....	128
4.5.1.	<u>A Discussion of Response Rates</u> .....	128
4.5.2.	<u>'No-Respondent' Email Responses Analysis</u> .....	129
4.5.3.	<u>Website Research and Analysis</u> .....	130
4.6.	<u>Ideological Analysis</u> .....	132
4.6.1.	<u>Individual Activism</u> .....	133
4.6.2.	<u>Communicational Inequality</u> .....	134
4.6.3.	<u>Systemic Undervaluing</u> .....	136
	<u>Concluding Remarks</u> .....	137
	<u>CONCLUSION</u> .....	139
	<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u> .....	145
	<u>APPENDICES</u> .....	155
	<u>Appendix A: List of Canadian NGOs Approached and Investigated</u> .....	155
	<u>Appendix B: Translation Coordinator Survey Results</u> .....	156
	<u>Appendix C: Translator Survey Results</u> .....	160

*"If you have come here to help me, you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together"- Lilla Watson (Aboriginal activists group, Queensland, 1970's)<sup>1</sup>*

## **INTRODUCTION**

It is often said that individuals and things “do not exist in a vacuum”. This semi-fixed expression can be used in many contexts, and implies the need to consider a variety of environmental and personal factors implicated in a given object or subject of study. This is also a concept readily available in translation studies, as we have seen in the often-cited recent paradigm shifts such as the “cultural turn” of the 1990s (Bassnett and Lefevre) and the “sociological turn” of the 2000s (Wolf). However, Mary Snell-Hornby (2006) does debate whether these can be considered new paradigms, explaining that the social implications of translation have been contemplated for quite some time. Nevertheless, these shifts place greater emphasis than ever before on the need for contextualization in order to better understand translation processes and products.

The concept of “*translator studies*” introduced by Andrew Chesterman (2009) is another recent development in the field, which looks at the cultural, cognitive and sociological aspects of translators in what he terms the ‘agent model’ (19-20). As Chesterman explains, agency is manifested in different ways given the branch or aspect in question. Therefore, looking at translation and translators, and the various factors that influence them, is important in the

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<sup>1</sup> Watson shares credit for this quote with the Aboriginal activists group as she believes it was born out of a group discussion, and therefore, not solely her own thoughts and words.

contextualization process. This enables us to avoid the ‘vacuum’ mentioned at the beginning of this introduction, which can limit one’s understanding of these practices.

Nevertheless, one must be careful when contextualizing as this in itself is not a neutral endeavour. As Baker (2006) argues, “it is far more productive to examine contextualization as a dynamic process of negotiation and one that is constrained by the uneven distribution of power which characterizes all exchanges in society, including those that are mediated by translators and interpreters” (“Contextualization in Mediated Events” 322). As a result, I do not venture to say that this project will paint a complete picture of the subject of study, but that it is an attempt to make sense of the world given my own context and view of contextualization.

The picture I am setting out to paint is one of translation and translator practices within the world of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). First, an overview of translation as it relates to development-NGOs is provided in order to help make sense of a subject not often studied within the translation studies discipline. Next, ideology as it relates to this field of enquiry will be examined, constituting the theoretical framework of this research project. Once this framework has been established, particular translation and translator practices are explored. First, a series of translations of audio-visual materials from the NGO Plan Canada are examined and analysed. Secondly, translator practices are examined and analysed by conducting empirical research on the translation coordinators and translators of various development-NGOs, and by investigating the websites of these same NGOs.

The ideology of translation and translator practices is central to all analyses provided within this research project. I hope to shed light on what the above-mentioned practices reveal about the status and ideology of NGO translation and translators, and what this reveals about the



ideology of NGOs at large. Such revelations will be beneficial to both the field of translation studies and the study of non-governmental organizations, or what is often referred to as development studies.

Several questions come up when considering this area of research, some of which are: How is translation performed within NGOs? What gets translated and what is the purpose of such translations? Who translates for Canadian NGOs and what motivates people to get involved with such translation projects? The answers to these questions will help in understanding the relationship between translation and NGOs, and within such organizations, the relationship between donor countries and aid-receiving communities.

Important to note here is that I have chosen to limit my understanding of translation to that of visual and linguistic practices. Nevertheless, linguistic practices will be the main focus, or what Roman Jakobson considers “translation proper”, that is, “an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language” (qtd. in Venuti *Translation Studies Reader*, 127). As a result, translators are understood to be the performers of such interlingual practices. Although I recognize the value of notions of translation such as Tymoczko’s (2007) “\*translation as a cross-cultural cluster concept”, I believe that for the purpose of this project it will be beneficial to view translation in one of its more traditional Western senses. This is due to the fact that this is a new realm of study; given that development NGOs have never before been linked to translation studies in the academic field of TS (to my knowledge). As a result, we must first understand to a certain extent the phenomenon within a Western setting, given that this is the culture and scholarly tradition from which this research project emerges. In addition, it is understood that since this is a new realm of study, there is a need to collect related data, as a preliminary stage in

understanding the phenomenon. Only once both of these steps have been achieved will I then be in a better position to work from a broader understanding of translation when researching development-NGOs in later research.

## **Chapter Overviews**

Chapter 1 of this study provides background and an overview of translation within Canadian development NGOs. This foundation is essential if we are to get closer to an understanding of a subject not often studied within translation studies (TS). Points of interest include the concept of ‘activist translation’, the linking of translation and development studies, the status of translation within NGO research, and the identification of certain NGO translation characteristics and issues.

Chapter 2 constitutes the theoretical framework of this research project, and focuses on ideology as it relates to the field of translation studies. Theories of particular relevance to this research project include functionalist translation theory and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Chapter 3 focuses on one NGO in particular, which is Plan Canada. To begin, we provide an overview of the NGO for the sake of contextualization, followed by an examination of two promotional videos from Plan Canada, which contain translated materials. I consider both visual and textual semantic features of the videos in order to analyze the representation strategies and ideology of the development organization.

The last chapter, Chapter 4, comprises an empirical study and research on the translation practices of development-NGOs. The empirical portion of the chapter examines translation coordinators and translators working for a number of Canadian development NGOs. Both

categories of individuals have been surveyed and asked about their practices and experiences working on translation projects within NGOs. The additional website research<sup>2</sup> identifies further aspects of these organizations and their translation practices.

Finally, on the basis of these areas of examination, I comment on the role played by translation and translators within NGOs in Canada, and the ideological elements present within NGO translation.

## **Methodology**

I will now identify some of the methodological tools used in two separate chapters of this study. The first tool, which is used in Chapter 3, is the case study, and the second is the survey, used in chapter 4. This combination of research methods was chosen in order to combine translation and translator analysis, in order to reveal a relatively well-rounded picture of NGO translation practices. This is done by combining specific and contextualized examples of translation, with a systemic understanding of the phenomena in question, as provided by translation coordinators and translators. The two case studies I have chosen to present provide insight into particular instances of NGO translation. They also provide some systemic understanding of NGO translation based on the experiences and practices of translators within such organizations. Finally, both chapters lead us towards an understanding of the ideological elements present within this realm.

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<sup>2</sup> The NGO websites were initially consulted in order to retrieve email addresses to be used to initiate communication regarding the surveys. However, after searching the websites, it was noted that some of the website content (for example, job advertisements) dealing with translation contained relevant information that would add to an understanding of translation and translator practices within such NGOs.

The two short case studies of translated materials taken from Plan Canada are both promotional videos that describe the field work of the organization in two communities in which they have presence. These videos have been created in order to encourage potential donors to sponsor the programs of this NGO. The translation strategies used in either case differ; however in both videos Spanish is spoken and English subtitles are provided. Functionalist theory and CDA will be the main theories drawn upon for the analysis of these cases of translation within this development-NGO. In exploring these instances of audio-visual translation, the edited volume by Yves Gambier and Henrik Gottlieb (2001) titled *(Multi) Media Translation: Concepts, Practices, and Research* will be considered, among other works.

For the empirical and qualitative portion of this study, which constitutes Chapter 4, the main methodological instrument used is the survey. Two questionnaires have been designed and distributed via email to two groups of individuals involved in NGO translation. Firstly, translation coordinators working for various NGOs were approached to complete a survey. Secondly, translators also working for various NGOs were asked to fill out a different survey. There were two respondents to the translation coordinator questionnaire, which has provided some systemic insight into NGO translation and translator practices. There were five completed translator questionnaires, which has allowed me to observe the experiences of NGO translators and the conditions in which they work<sup>3</sup>. Finally, as previously mentioned, additional research has been conducted on the websites of these NGOs, in order to get a better sense of these practices.

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<sup>3</sup> Since some NGOs pay translators, while others employ volunteer translators, a sample of both categories has been approached to complete the questionnaire.

These questionnaires have been developed according to the guidelines set out by Earl Babbie and Lucia Benaquisto (2002) in *Fundamentals of Social Research*. They were also created with the hopes of furthering an understanding of translator practices, while examining ideology, first as it relates to the system of their practices, and second, as it relates to the experiences and conditions of the translators. The two questionnaires and the survey responses can be found in the Appendices.

### **Defining and Differentiating NGOs**

In order to understand and analyze NGO translation and translators, a sufficient grasp of the term NGO is necessary. Providing a definition of the term ‘NGO’ is difficult, given that it is not a universal term and there exist many categories of NGOs. Other common terms that refer to the same concept include ‘civil society organization’, ‘voluntary organization’ or simply ‘charity’. NGOs address a wide array of issues, including environmental protection, and animal and human welfare, to name a few. Within the category of human welfare, NGOs can vary greatly, for example, development, emergency relief, and human rights may all constitute areas of concern. However, these areas of concern are not always clear cut, and many NGOs blur the lines between their realms of focus. For example, a (human) rights-based approach to development has been on the rise since the 1990s (Lewis and Kanji 81).

David Lewis (2006) is able to broadly define the term NGO, as he identifies five key characteristics: they are formal (institutionalized), private (separate from the government), non-profit distributing, self-governing, and involve voluntary participation in some capacity (47). This characterization of the term ‘NGO’ has been adopted, and more specifically, ‘development-NGOs’ are the main focus of this research project. These are entities devoted to resolving the

issues inhibiting development, such as poverty and inequality (Lewis and Kanji 48).

Furthermore, development-NGOs whose main roles are to provide services, as opposed to advocacy<sup>4</sup>, are the main focus of this project.

Notable in many development NGOs is the dichotomous relationship between “developed” and “developing” nations. It is often a donor country that provides development assistance to an aid-receiving country, which is often a previously colonized territory affected by a wide array of social, economic and political issues. I will narrow in on NGOs operating out of Canada, which acts as the “developed” country providing assistance to various “developing” nations, or what is also termed the Global South. I will also focus on Spanish-speaking Latin American aid-receiving countries.

The rise of NGOs in the 1980s and 90s can be attributed to many global-societal factors, not all of which are compatible. There are two main ways to view the rise of NGOs, the first being the “top-down” category of explanations, and the second being the “bottom-up” category. The latter, which “depict NGO formation as a societal response to socio-economic factors, the new information revolution and/or the decline of the state” (Reimann 45), was the most widely-accepted reasoning for NGO growth, until recently. Today, there is increased value being given to the “top-down” point of view. This understanding takes into account “the ways in which states, international organizations and other structures have actively stimulated and promoted NGOs from above” (Reimann 46). I return to notions of the “developing-developed” dichotomy

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<sup>4</sup> Service provision by NGOs can vary in scope, but often includes providing services that the governments of the aid-receiving countries have failed to provide (e.g. services related to education and health care). Services may also be provided indirectly, for example, by training people in aid-receiving countries to provide such services (Lewis and Kanji, 93).

and what drives NGOs throughout the chapters of this thesis. For now, it is sufficient to end this discussion of NGOs in saying that their growth in Canada and other donor countries has erupted, demanding the increased use of translation in this realm.

## **Contextualizing the Research**

This research is very much a result of my experiences, practices, and ‘ways of viewing’, and so I would like to provide some context on myself, as the main researcher of this project. I began my university education studying International Development (ID). Throughout my studies I questioned the validity of the proposed development strategies and theories put forward by scholars in the field, and whether ‘development’ really was something to be desired. At the MA level I have studied translation and have worked concurrently as a translator on a voluntary basis for a development NGO here in Canada. In line with the concepts I learned in ID, I have pondered notions of power and domination as they relate to translation and translators, specifically. As an NGO translator, I have also questioned my individual practice. This is an important element prompting this research, in order to see if others have had similar experiences and to understand NGO translation on a more systemic level.

My experiences in the fields of ID and TS, and my practice as an NGO translator inform my ideological position and questions. As a result, it is important that for the purpose of this study, I call in to question this position. For example, why did I study ID and why do I choose to incorporate it into my studies of translation? And now that I study translation, is my concern driven by justice for the subaltern, or justice for myself as the misunderstood translator? I hope that this research can be seen as having been produced ‘in solidarity’ with both NGO translators and those most affected by NGO translation, that is, those living in “developing” countries who

feel the negative effect of dominating forces in a global society. However, I do understand my limitations as someone not pertaining to this global-societal group. “We have to recognize that we are inevitably part of a tradition of knowledge, one which we may criticize, certainly, but which we cannot entirely escape” (Cameron et al. 133). The fact that this MA thesis has come to fruition proves that I am someone who has benefitted from the dominating-dominated dichotomy present in our global society, and so I struggle with how this may affect my hopes for solidarity.

I would like to acknowledge at this point that there is no doubt that having two groups of individuals being of interest to this study (NGO translators and “developing” communities) poses a problem of loyalty and coherence, as it means this research feels the pull of two ties, at times simultaneously. I will try to negotiate these two pulls as best as possible, and one of the ways I will do this is by acknowledging and reviewing what the scholarly disciplines of translation studies and development studies say about certain items of importance to this research. Nevertheless, it will be a difficult task to properly balance the desire to take activist-like stances in solidarity with translators *and* those in the Global South.

It is also important to note that this research does not claim to produce answers for development purposes<sup>5</sup>. This falls in line with the fact that here I have aspired to be what William Easterly (2006) would call a ‘Searcher’ in *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*. This is someone who believes that “only insiders have enough knowledge to find solutions, and that most solutions must be homegrown” (6). As a result this is simply an attempt to understand ideology and how it affects

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<sup>5</sup> In the Conclusion, I provide ‘recommendations’ that should not be misinterpreted as solutions to the problems faced by the Global South, or those faced by translators.



both translators and aid-receiving communities within development-NGOs. However, I do believe that given that this study has been carried out from a chiefly translation studies perspective, the ideas it contains are most productive for the field of translation.

To end this introduction, I would like to present, and perpetually consider, an advantageous note for self-reflective studies of translation. This idea is introduced by Theo Hermans in his article, “Paradoxes and Aporias in Translation and Translation Studies” found in Alessandra Riccardi’s edited volume (2002). Hermans explains that modern hermeneutics, narrativity and second-order observation are all useful concepts for achieving “a certain self-critical distance” (20-21). He goes on to say:

Each of these (concepts) attempts – and there are others – to locate the analyst in relation to what is being analysed takes us well beyond translation and the traditional domain of translation studies. The aporia that opens up once we realize that the study of translation translates translation, and does so in compromised and compromising ways, obliges us to reconsider not just what we know, but how we know. (21-22)

I believe that theories surrounding ideology (one of the ‘other concepts’ I believe Hermans is alluding to) may also provide useful attempts at self-awareness, something I strive to maintain throughout this project. For this reason, I have selected to view the subject of study at hand through an ideological lens.

## **Chapter 1. RESEARCH OVERVIEW: TRANSLATION IN CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT NGOs**

This chapter will provide insight into the research area of translation and translators in Canadian development-NGOs. Here I look at how this research may be categorized, and some of the concepts that are of interest to this research. I also examine the state of such NGO translation and the particularities of translation within various NGOs operating out of Canada who provide assistance to aid-receiving countries in Latin America. This chapter will provide part of the groundwork necessary for the development of later chapters.

### **1.1. Activist Translation**

Activist translation or ‘translational activism’ (Tymoczko, *Translation, Resistance, Activism*) is an increasingly researched subfield of study within the discipline of translation studies. This subfield of study is also a categorization in which this research may be placed. Activism in general refers to the use of certain practices (for example, boycotts, demonstrations or even violent resistance) to bring about some sort of political or social change. ‘Translational activism’ is thus the use of translation to carry out a certain activist ideal. There are many definitions of activism, and subsequently, of translational activism. As a result, there are several ways of interpreting whether or not development-NGO translation should be considered part of this subfield of activist translation. Some ways in which this research falls inside and outside the disciplinary boundaries of this subfield are mentioned here.

To begin, Mona Baker (2006) defines this kind of translation by its use of a particular narrative that goes against dominant institutions in society (“Translation and Activism” 462). If I am to abide by Baker’s definition, some of the ways in which development-NGO translation may

fall outside of this subfield may be noted. This is apparent in the fact that such translation currently exists within a system where clearly dominant institutions have been eager to embrace NGO growth. As explains Reimann, (2006) “the most enthusiastic promoters of NGOs have been Western donor states and IGO (International Governmental Organization) officials committed to universal values promoted by the West” (65). As funders of NGOs, it would make sense then that Western values permeate the services provided by donor countries, and thus the communication mediated by translators working within these Western NGOs.

To be more specific, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) was the primary government funder of development NGOs until recently, and critics believe that this has negatively influenced the workings of such organizations<sup>6</sup>. “Due to their dependence on CIDA funds, development NGOs have become entangled in the foreign policy of the Canadian government, which is neither benevolent nor disinterested in its dealings with the Global South” (Barry-Shaw and Jay 12). Consequently, if development-NGO translation is to be examined using the definition provided by Baker, it becomes apparent that it cannot be considered translational activism, as it is taking place in a system that goes with, and not against, dominant institutions in society. The inclusion of ‘the use of a particular narrative’ in Baker’s definition does however make me question whether translators may have the power to choose translation strategies in line with a particular narrative that doesn’t follow the ideological inclinations of the larger institution. Nevertheless, the framework in which such translation is taking place still cannot be ignored.

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<sup>6</sup> In June of 2013, CIDA was merged with the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development of Canada (DFATD) (<http://www.international.gc.ca/international/index.aspx?lang=eng>). As a result, CIDA as an entity no longer exists.

Important information may also come to light when considering the historical evolution of activism. This evolution may point towards the discursive power of the term in today's world, as it has come into use among dominant forces in society. It can be argued that presently the term has inherently positive connotations, which becomes clear when compared to the terms that can be considered its predecessors. Terms such as 'political conspiracy' and 'rebellion' are identified by Martha P.Y Cheung (2010) as such terms. As she explains, these terms were used with negative connotations in the Chinese historical context, whereas 'activism' has been employed in a positive light (240). The significance of this discrepancy, when the definition of activist translation provided by Baker is considered, is that the term activism may in fact be contradictory in nature. This means that although it is meant to signify an event or attitude that is against the grain within society, it may in fact be embraced by mainstream society. Of course, this statement has its limitations, since certain acts of activism are irrefutably seen in a negative way by the dominant majority (for example, the way certain destructive protests, such as factions of the G8 protests in Toronto, are perceived). Luis Pérez González (2010) identifies quite aptly the "malleability of the very notion of activism" (260), which allows us to contemplate how the term has been appropriated by those who find use for its positive connotations.

Furthermore, Cheung acknowledges (with the help of anthropologist David F. Aberle's 'Model of Classification of Social Movements') that something may begin as a form of activism and end up being something entirely different (241). The example given by this scholar is of a movement turning into the Establishment, but this idea also points to the possibility of activism turning into a means of financial gain or power, if it becomes a widely accepted movement. This concept may pertain to NGOs, which are not necessarily movements, but whose mission statement or intention may change over time. This can be seen as an organization grows, changes

hands, and faces the realities of development practice in the field. This can also have real consequences for the translators involved, who may see these changes affect the conditions in which they work and the ideological alignment they are able to share with the NGOs they work with<sup>7</sup>.

Maria Tymoczko (2007, 2010) provides a different way of understanding (translational) activism through the use of two concepts: *resistance* and *engagement*. Tymoczko (2007) sees fault in viewing activism as *resistance*, as it does not allow for proactive agency. However, she defends the utility of *engagement* within activism. ‘Engagement’ refers to a commitment to specific principles that are based on a form of solidarity with others (209-212). Development-NGO translation can thus be considered activist translation if the translator’s commitment is to serving those who are living in a state of “underdevelopment” or poverty, within our global society. I will later examine notions of ‘development’, but first this discussion of the concept of activist translation will be concluded. Trying to track *engagement* within development-NGO translation is a difficult task, given that it takes place within a larger organization that may have certain expectations of its translators. As a result, it is impossible to really know if translators involved in this process would have been truly engaged with the cause in question, as their allegiance and motivation is difficult to pinpoint.

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<sup>7</sup> Mona Baker (2006) would consider this “ideological alignment” to be part of the concept of narrative communities or activist communities, related to narrative theory. As she explains, “individuals and groups position themselves in relation to types of stories that circulate in their environment” (“Contextualization in Mediated Events” 227). She goes on to say that “temporality is particularly relevant in studies of activist communities” (Ibid.), meaning that the stories you align with can change. We have chosen in our study to focus more on ideology as a theoretical basis, however, narrative theory, as conceptualized by Baker, would also be a productive theoretical framework from which to study development-NGO translation.

Tymoczko (2010) goes on to explain in this same work that in viewing translational activism as a form of *engagement* (instead of as a form of *resistance*), “power is not simply seen as “top down” but as inherent in many types of transactions and all levels of society” (11). Viewing power in this way allows us to accept the dominant-dominated dichotomy present in the relationship between donor countries and aid-receiving communities within development NGOs, by acknowledging that power is ever-present. Therefore, the realm of activism is no exception, meaning forms of power are inescapably present within its boundaries, and inherent in various relationships fostered by NGOs. Examples include, the relationship between governments and NGOs, between “developed” and “developing” communities, within each community separately, and, most importantly here, between translators and the over-arching organization and various communities.

Figuring out if development-NGO translation can be considered translational activism constitutes the charting of new territory as studies of activist translation have rarely (if ever) addressed the concept of development-NGO translation. Up until now, it has been common for translational activism to focus on instances of activism that are, above all, overtly political-centered (Dimitru; Cheung; Baker 2009; Pérez González ). Research has also been conducted on ‘translational NGOs’ (“Translation and Activism” Baker; Talens), which are NGOs whose main activity is producing translations (e.g., organizations such as ECOS, Babels, Translators without Borders and Tlaxcala). It is apparent that there is a gap in the research on translational activism relating to development-NGO translation, which this study hopes to fill. The following chapters of this study will aim to continue to unearth the role of activism within NGO translation and translator practices, and whether ‘translational activism’ is an inaccurate categorization of such practices. For now, it is helpful to understand the meaning of ‘translational activism’ and the

ways in which it has been interpreted by various scholars. Furthermore, it should be noted that regardless of whether or not development-NGO translation can be considered activist translation, the literature dedicated to such translation has been immensely helpful in beginning to understand the position and practices of NGO translation and translators. In the end, it may be that I should not be discussing how this research falls in and out of a certain subfield of study, but instead discussing different possible terms for categorizing this type of research. As explain Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in *What is Philosophy?*, “to criticize is only to establish that a concept vanishes when thrust into a new milieu” (27). Concepts can however be re-activated, and this study will simply add another layer to this re-activation.

If applying a new concept is to be considered, the one of ‘committed approaches’ proposed by Siobhan Brownlie (2010) in her article “Committed Approaches and Activism” offers an interesting alternative to ‘activism’, although this was not necessarily her goal in writing this article. Although she continues to use ‘activism’ within her article, the idea of ‘committed approaches’ allows us to think more openly about why we are committed to certain ideals or ways of being. It also allows us to interrogate our positionality and agency, which are related to ideology. Finally, the use of this new term signifies that one cannot hide behind the positivity inherent within some of the current uses of the term ‘activism’. Do all things meant to better our world have to be classified as activism in our day and age? Obviously, this idea of what a “better world” really looks like must also be interrogated.

## **1.2. Development Studies as it Relates to Translation Studies**

To continue with a discussion of categories and concepts, I will now examine development studies (DS), by comparing and contrasting some important aspects of this field of

study with that of translation. Within this research I do not aim to combine the theories of both disciplines as a framework, but I do believe it is of interest to have a very basic understanding of some DS concepts and how the field can be related to TS, since certain considerations of this research (namely, NGOs and the “developing” world) are best understood through a development studies lens.

Translation studies, as defined in the Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies (2001), edited by Mona Baker, “is now understood to refer to the academic discipline concerned with the study of translation at large, including literary and non-literary translation, various forms of oral interpreting, as well as dubbing and subtitling” (61). In contrast, defining development studies is a much more elusive endeavour. Jeffrey Haynes (2008) defines the “substance” of development studies as focusing on “poverty reduction and improving ‘human development’” (vi). David A. Clark (2006), on the other hand, outlines the sub-disciplines of DS in his formulation of a definition. He is careful not to generalize, given that each sub-discipline carries its own definition of development. These sub-disciplines correspond with the following subjects: economics, sociology/anthropology, politics and philosophy (xxvi)<sup>8</sup>. As you can see, defining DS is not always clear-cut, and this is attributable to the fact that “‘development’ is a slippery concept which has no agreed single meaning” (Lewis and Kanji 48).

Nevertheless, the concept of ‘development’ can be viewed positively and negatively; though the latter way of viewing this term is increasingly common within the field of Development Studies. This poses real problems for the discipline, given that ‘development’ is

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<sup>8</sup> It may be that translation studies is heading in a similar direction as we see various intersections between translation and other fields of study solidify themselves as recognizable sub-disciplines within TS.



front and center in its delineation<sup>9</sup>. One of the reasons for the negativity surrounding this term is apparent in its adjectival form, ‘developed’, which “implies a value judgment, a standard against which things can be compared” (Lewis and Kanji 49). Today, many people who study this phenomenon believe that this is a problematic concept, given that it implies a right (the West) and wrong (the rest) way of being. It also disregards varying cultural complexities, and political and economic value systems. All things Western are seen as the epitome of development, something to be desired.

I have not set out here to debate potential concepts to replace ‘development’, and so I have no choice but to continue to use this term and its various forms, as to date there are no agreed-upon alternatives. I will continue to use “developed”, “developing” or “underdeveloped” in quotation marks, to demonstrate that I believe their use is problematic. However, I believe we should move away from the concept altogether, and take as gospel the words of Wolfgang Sachs, a scholar who discusses the notion of development at-length. He proclaims that “it is time to dismantle this mental structure”, as this concept has permeated “not only official declarations but *even the language of the grassroots movements*” (qtd. in Schuurman, p. 9-10). Regardless of whether this dismantling takes place or not, I am resolute in my belief that certain aspects of ‘what development is’ are desirable. For example, extreme poverty and hunger *should* decrease, and education and equality *are* important (see Millennium Development Goals: <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/mdgoverview/>).

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<sup>9</sup> Scholars such as Frans Schuurman (2000) believe that DS is currently in a paradigmatic crisis, leading some to replace development studies with ‘global studies’ (13).

To return to the main discussion, there are many commonalities among translation studies and development studies which enable us to compare and contrast their particularities with ease. Both are disciplines that are rooted in an effort to combine theory and practice, yet both sometimes suffer from a disconnect between theory and practice. In addition, there are many overlaps in the considerations of both disciplines (both can also be considered interdisciplinary in nature), some of which are anthropology, sociology and politics. However, until recently, DS was almost solely concerned with economic growth, and so this is an important point to keep in mind when studying a topic such as this one, which at times crosses the border of translation studies into that of development.

To tackle the polarity of theory and practice as it relates to both fields of study, we must understand that in both cases one could not exist without the other. As Larson (1991), who comes from a translation background, aptly points out, there exists a tension, yet interdependence between theory and practice. We all know that without practice, theory does not exist, but as explains Jean Boase-Beier, practice is also based on some sort of theory developed either through academia or life experiences (as explained in Fawcett, Guadarrama and Parker 26). Yet distrust among theorists and translators seems to exist, placing them on either side of a fence, one side inhabited by the thinkers, the other, by the feelers (Robinson qtd. in Fawcett, Guadarrama and Parker 5). We can see this, for example, in the reservations held by some scholars with regards to the values of practitioners. The relationship between theory and practice in development studies exhibits similar signs of disconnect, however, there isn't the same level of distrust among the thinkers and the feelers. This is attributable to the fact that DS has reached a stage in its development where (at least) theorists understand the value of practice. "Research on development has generally moved away from holistic theorisation towards more empirically

informed and inductive approaches, what Leys refers to as development studies rather than development theory” (Mohan 247). This is an interesting statement to consider from a translation studies perspective, as I think it could help to internalize the fact that within “translation studies” both theory and practice are implicit. I am not trying to imply here that TS has ignored practice altogether; I am simply looking for ways to confirm that discussions of translation in practice should be customary within the field of study. Here I have solely examined how translation and development studies view their respective practices; however, I have not tackled how the practices view the theories. This project will be left to another place and time, as these considerations could become quite lengthy.

I will now turn to the interdisciplinary nature of both fields of study. Translation studies as an inter-discipline is a notion embraced by many scholars (for example, Anthony Pym and Mary Snell-Hornby). Viewing the study of translation as such allows us to take part in the de-territorialisation of the discipline, erasing borders that at times may be arbitrary. As explains Jeremy Munday (2008), “An inter-discipline...challenges the current conventional way of thinking by promoting and responding to new links between different types of knowledge and technologies” (14). Munday points to one advantage of being able to draw on various established ways of thinking and researching, however, there are many. With this in mind, I have chosen to draw upon concepts throughout this work that come from various disciplines, such as linguistics, philosophy, sociology, cultural studies, and most importantly, development studies.

DS is also considered to be an inter-discipline by many; however, it does not have the same scholarly space dedicated to analyzing this aspect of the field. For example, several universities categorize DS as an inter-discipline, making it mandatory for students to take

courses from a variety of other established disciplines, such as sociology, economics and political science (see, for example, <http://www.uoguelph.ca/registrar/calendars/undergraduate/current/c10/c10ba-id.shtml>). Even so, when trying to conduct research on development studies as an inter-discipline, one becomes aware that this is not a notion often contemplated within this field. It is hard to know exactly why this is the case, however, I would venture to say that DS was built upon inter-disciplinarity, whereas TS began as a linguistically-centered discipline that saw inter-disciplinarity enter into a discussion of ‘the field’ upon the several ‘turns’ it underwent. Lieven D’hulst helps us understand these dynamics within TS: “Translation is a partial object of study for several disciplines, or a global object of study for one discipline that is a sort of “interdiscipline” in itself” (qtd. in Pym, Shlesinger and Simeoni 224). D’hulst points to the fact that other disciplines will draw upon the work of translation, yet as we will see, this is not a common practice within development studies.

Let us now look at one important concept shared by these disciplines, for the purpose of this study, which is the concept of ‘empowerment’. Within the field of translation we often come across calls for empowerment, either through the practice – for the translators themselves, or through the research – for the subjects of study (something shared with other scholarly disciplines involved in social research). The book *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators*, written by Maria Tymoczko (2007), is an extensive example of the former type of appeals. As she explains, enlarging our notions of translation can open up doors to the empowerment of translators, and that this kind of agency can be mobilized in various ways (191).

In terms of calls for the researcher's empowerment of its subjects of study, we see such a request in "Power/knowledge: The Politics of Social Science", written by Deborah Cameron et al. In this article, empowering research is seen as something desirable, a type of research that is *on, for* and *with* the subjects of study (142). It is acknowledged by the authors that the term 'empowerment' has its limitations; however, it may be that these limitations are not sufficiently considered. For example, it is acknowledged that knowing who needs or wants to be empowered may be a real point of concern (141), but I am drawn more to a concern about the actual term 'empowerment'. Although I am satisfied with the understanding of 'power' within the article (in a mix of Foucaultian and non-Foucaultian terms), I wonder about the consequences of the term empowerment, which in its essence assumes that power can be transferred easily from one group to another. In addition, it assumes that the researcher can interpret the experiences of the person being researched in an accurate, unbiased way. "People's own definitions and experiences have to be considered" (Ibid.); but how will this alter the distribution of power? Furthermore, I cannot claim to achieve such an alteration within this research project, as in interpreting others' experiences, I will unavoidably do so through my own lens and interpretation of contextualization. Contextualization is understood here as a dynamic process of negotiation, constrained by one's own power and knowledge (Baker "Contextualization in Mediated Events" 322). I would much rather conclude that this research has been carried out 'in solidarity' with both NGO translators and those most affected by this phenomenon, that is, those living in "developing" aid-receiving communities.

I have turned to philosophy in order to help clarify what is meant by 'solidarity'. As explains Richard Rorty (2002), reflective humans try to give sense to their lives, and place them within a larger context, either by employing solidarity or objectivity. Solidarity is the telling of

one's story of their contribution to a community, which could be the one they live in, or another, distant in time or place (422). The author associates this form of reflection to a pragmatic view of philosophy, one that is ethnocentric in that it privileges the solidarity-provoking group(s). A solidarity-seeker also feels like she must justify herself to her earlier self, and others (433-434). What I find desirable about this understanding of solidarity is that it makes me interrogate my own intentions. Rorty's understanding of solidarity acknowledges that 'acting in solidarity' is more than just an altruistic way of being, as no act is void of self-gain or fulfillment.

However, what this conception of solidarity does not give us is a *way* of treating others, especially the group being privileged (or the subject of research). In this sense, Cameron et al.'s discussion of empowerment provides very useful insight pertaining to how one should treat a subject of research, and the issues of power within research. As a result, I will keep in mind the notions introduced in Cameron et al.'s article throughout this study, but will choose to abide by the principles of solidarity, more broadly.

To further enrich an understanding of 'empowerment', I will now look at how it is viewed in development studies. This concept is very much linked to ideas of 'participatory development' which value local knowledge over imposed Western knowledge. As Vandana Desai (2008) explains:

Empowerment was (initially) regarded as a weapon *for* the weak – best wielded through participatory, grass-roots, community-based NGOs. However, empowerment is a flexible concept. And by the mid-1990s mainstream development agencies had begun to adopt the term. While not abandoning their belief in liberal economic policies, the language of participation, partnership, and empowerment increasingly

entered mainstream development discourse (World Bank 1995, Elson and Keklik 2002). While the word might be the same, meaning varied, mainstream institutions and their practitioners for the most part envisioned empowerment as a means for enhancing efficiency and productivity within the status quo rather than as a mechanism for social transformation (Parpart, Rai and Staudt 2002)”. (*Companion to Development Studies* 355-356)

This lengthy quote is meritorious in that various aspects provide insight into ‘empowerment’ and the evolution of the uses of this term. First, Desai mentions the initial intended meaning of empowerment within “community-based NGOs”, which are entities that do not encompass the donor country-aid-receiving community dichotomy or a “top-down” form of development we see in the Canadian NGOs I have chosen to examine. This immediately forces us to ponder the feasibility of empowerment within these “outsider” organizations, as a result. Secondly, “the language of participation, partnership and empowerment” in development discourse hits close to home within translation studies. In using the term empowerment, Western institutions and organizations are able to conceal information about their ideology or motivation. Although I will delve into the concept of ideology in the next chapter, it is worth pointing out that this is a useful way of hiding one’s covert ideology in presenting an overt version of one’s views.

I believe that the term ‘empowerment’ sometimes provides a similar shield within TS research, as once you have declared your research to be empowering in nature; perhaps it protects you from certain criticisms. The term ‘solidarity’ would have similar

capabilities, and so it's important that the proof remain in the so-called pudding, and that I remain open to new forms of knowledge, and conclusions I may have not initially envisioned.

To sum up this discussion of translation studies and development studies, I hope to have offered some pertinent information about development studies, which will enrich this exploration of NGO translation and translator practices. By comparing and contrasting, and at times, putting DS and TS into dialogue with one another, I sought to blur the disciplinary boundaries that "protect" each field, and demonstrate how a more fluid understanding of how this research fits into the world is beneficial. I hope to also use what I have learned through discussion of the terms 'development' and 'empowerment', and the theory-practice and interdisciplinary debates within this research, and employ these terms and navigate these concepts in a productive way.

### **1.3. NGO Translators as Undervalued Mediators: Evidence in Development-NGO Research**

After having examined the broader arena in which this study is situated, the specific topic of study of this research project, which is development-NGO translation and translators, will now be examined. The purpose of this section is to gain an understanding of the more specific setting in which such translation and translators are situated. As alluded to earlier, translators are often undervalued mediators in the sphere of non-governmental organizations working in development. Here a few examples of this undervaluing both in the research and in practice will be provided, followed by a discussion of how the valuing of translation and translators could be beneficial to the realm of development-NGOs.



For decades translators and translation scholars have been fighting for appreciation and recognition. This argument has been famously framed as the ‘translator’s invisibility’ by Lawrence Venuti (1995), and later discussed by scholars such as Michael Cronin (2003) in *Translation and Globalization*. Cronin stands up for the invisible translator as an important mediator within a globalizing world. Although he speaks mainly about literary translators, he points to some notions that are of interest to this research. For example, he calls “for a more self-aware and activist dimension to the role of the translator in the age of globalization” (5). To clarify, this mention of activism is referring to effecting change on translators as a marginalized group of individuals, and not those living in poverty.

Within research on NGOs and development communication, it is of interest that translation is often overlooked in development studies. In a book edited by David Lewis and David Mosse titled *Development Brokers and Translators: The Ethnography of Aid and Agencies*, the word ‘translator’ is used as a metaphor, which I would argue ultimately results in the undermining of the actual profession. This book focuses on the interaction between different actors involved in development projects, “who belong to different structures, with varying resources and dissimilar goals” (1). Lewis and Mosse refer to the role of an ethnographer as being one of a broker and “translator”, someone who brings all actors together<sup>10</sup>. The book goes on to explain that ‘translation’ here “refers to the mutual enrollment and interlocking of interests that produce project realities” (13). The use of metaphors is of course something common in the field of translation studies, however it is shocking to the translation scholar that Lewis and Mosse can discuss “translation” throughout the entirety of this book without ever recognizing

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<sup>10</sup> This image of ‘the translator’ is a long-standing image which first appeared within anthropology.

translation as a social practice. It is also common that we see similarities between ethnographic and translation practices, however, these researchers choose to neglect that translation as a profession holds a concrete position in development work, not just a metaphorical one. This lack of recognition for the translator is the same phenomenon identified by Venuti in 1995, and something that has real consequences for NGO translation and translators in the realm of development work.

A similar trend can be observed in the book *Protecting Human Rights in Africa: Roles and Strategies of Non-governmental Organizations* written by Claude E. Welch (1995). Here we see an emphasis on the need for documentation and the circulation of NGO findings (which are often available in different languages on many NGO websites) without any mention of the role of the translator. Welch even uses a series of witty metaphors that introduces the term “word-processor”, yet still no sign of the translator. He quotes as follows: “By careful, detailed, persistent, and appropriately circulated studies, and by special urgent appeals when needed, human rights groups can play David to governmental Goliaths. Or, to change the metaphor, they can prove the word processor mightier than the Kalashnikov” (Welch 212). Once again, we see disregard for the translator’s role in language production and reception within non-governmental organizations.

Finally, the edited volume looking at development communication by Jan Servaes (2008), titled *Communication for Development and Social Change* is an in-depth study of the role played by communication amongst “development providers and clientele” in producing change (15). The separation of providers and clientele makes us question the extent to which Servaes views this communicative relationship as dialogic, however, “participatory

development” is nonetheless privileged or seen positively within her research. Other terminological choices that are of interest to us here include: “sender” and “receiver” (20), “exchange of meanings” (21) and “communication at ‘a more applied level’” (22). These concepts are introduced without any mention of translation, and in fact, translation or translators are not mentioned once throughout this edited volume. This would seem strange given that such practices would be present within all of the processes outlined above. Translation is of importance given that the type of communication discussed here is between providers (donor countries) and clientele (aid-receiving communities). These two parties are necessarily in different geographical settings, and often use different languages of communication. This is not to say that translation and translators must be central to one’s understanding of development communication, but as Servaes mentions, one of the most critical problems hindering the tasks of communication specialists “is their lack of a holistic, integrated, multi-disciplinary and inter-sectoral approach in analysing communication problems as well as in designing and planning communication strategies in support of the broader development objectives or goals” (26). This is our first clue that studying and understanding translation and the work of translators would be beneficial to the work of communication specialists within development NGOs. However, Servaes’ statement is vague, and several disciplines could perhaps fill this disciplinary void. I will now explore how greater recognition of translation as a study and translators could benefit NGO and development communication research, and any related practices.

In order to build an argument for bringing translation and translators to the forefront of development communication, we may return to the work of Cronin (2003), someone who paints a rather illustrious picture of the translator as a “nomad-by-obligation” (125):

Translators are by the very nature of their practice at a distance from their society, culture and language. This makes them objects of suspicion. It also means, however, that they generate knowledge in that the separation and distance that is an intrinsic part of the emergence of critical knowledge is embedded in the act of translation. (Cronin 125)

What Cronin helps us see here is that translators are in a unique position which allows them to have exceptional mediating skills. These mediating skills include an understanding of another society, culture and language through “comparative self-understanding” (Cronin 134). I believe this concept is useful to the work of NGOs and development, given that if we are able to take a step back and really understand our context (economic, political, ideological) by comparing it with other contexts, we may be in a better position to help others and understand our motivation in the process. Ideologies, as well as cultural and societal intricacies, are often manifested in language, which is the business of translation. To finish, Cronin reaffirms what I have just discussed in saying that if we view translators as nomads (among other concepts he introduces within Chapter 4 of *Translation and Globalization*), that “such a view leads to a re-centring of translation studies as a discipline in the contemporary world that is both an area of study with specific vocational concerns and a discipline whose potential importance for other areas of human enquiry is striking if often overlooked” (127).

#### **1.4. Contextualizing the Latin American Aid-Receiving Setting**

As previously mentioned, in addition to looking solely at development NGOs, I will also focus on NGOs operating (in-part) out of Latin America. Here I will look at some of the particularities characteristic of Latin America in an aid-receiving setting. Acknowledging the

cultural, political and historical specificities of this region will help us in contextualizing this particular spatial-temporal realm in which translators are translating today, and the ways in which NGO translation may affect such aid-receiving communities.

Latin America, as a geographical construct, has both chosen and endured a unique path towards “development”. Of course, painting Latin America with the same brush is not the primary goal here, but instead to highlight some of the shared experiences of the region. In Chapter 3, more detailed information on the specific countries addressed in the case studies of translated promotional videos, namely Guatemala and Ecuador, will be provided. Again, this is done in the name of contextualization, keeping in mind that certain information is always brought to the forefront, and other information left behind in a process of contextualization. Tymoczko (2007) helps us to understand the importance of generalization at times:

Generalization is necessary and desirable in intellectual work. Indeed it is essential in establishing a field, pioneering a new method or approach, or indicating the significance of data. It must not be overextended however. (202)

To provide some historical background, most of Latin America won the war against formal colonialism in the early nineteenth century, making Latin America the first part of what would become the “Third World<sup>11</sup>” to gain independence from colonial rule. Translation did play a role in this process, as can be seen in the article written by Georges L. Bastin, Álvaro Echeverri and Ángela Campo (2010) titled “Translation and the Emancipation of Hispanic America”. Their example of translational activism demonstrates how translation played a large

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<sup>11</sup> A term used to refer to poor countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America post-independence, marking a distinction from the First World, which was mainly considered the United States and the Soviet Union at the time (Desai and Potter 4).

role in revolutionary movements that cut colonial ties linking Hispanic America (here, Brazil is excluded) to the Spanish Crown. In fact, it was only through translation that *Nueva España* was introduced to “a version of ideas that had already served to transform other societies” (49). This refers to, for example, the translation of the influential French text titled (in English) ‘Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen’. This text was written in 1789, was translated by Antonio Nariño in 1794, and then published against the wishes of the Crown. By this time, the text (along with many others) had been banned from circulation in Latin America.

This is a clear example of translation ‘going against dominant forces’ (Baker), which resulted in change, given that many concepts present in the French Revolution made their way in to the political and social agenda of independent Hispanic America. This example proves that activism is not a new ‘way of being’, and that people have been resisting domination for centuries. Whether or not it is beneficial to refer to this as activism however, is a topic I have already discussed at length, but that will continue to re-surface throughout this project.

Regardless of homegrown conceptions of independence, Western notions of development began to gain ground, as can be seen with the creation of the ‘Third World’ by the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. During this time, development practices in Latin America were very much shaped by Cold War politics. For example, “US administrations were adamant (particularly following the 1959 Cuban Revolution) that they would not tolerate any further socialist governments in the hemisphere” (Desai and Potter 4). This kind of anti-communist agenda was steadfast. For example, the formation of the reprehensible School of the Americas was a direct result of this agenda, which played a large role in the dictatorships and bloodshed that prevailed in Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador and Colombia in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many people were

“murdered, tortured, and disappeared by shadowy paramilitary death squads and state security forces trained by the United States” (Gill 2) within that educational facility. Although simplified, this example serves as an impactful demonstration of how the presenting of overt plans of development can actually serve as a guise for covert agendas of political and economic advancement of the powerful.

As a response to this strong foreign influence within Latin America, dependency theory was born. As explained in the *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture* (2008), this theory was developed to account for Latin American economic history, concluding that “underdevelopment was created by the expansion of European capitalism” which was based on “inequitable terms of trade” (792). This is an extremely important concept to development theory as it initiated a conversation about ‘Third World’ economic policies, and the need for “underdeveloped” countries to take back their political and economic control, and focus on ‘grassroots’ or home-grown conceptions of development. The implications of dependency theory were far-reaching, as “its implicit political agenda has frequently been superseded by other models and approaches, such as post-imperialism, post-colonialism, imperial industrialization, and to some extent, post-modernism” (793).

Many Latin American scholars have been involved in the articulation of this theory. One such scholar is Arturo Escobar, a Colombian anthropologist whose book *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* has been influential within development studies. Escobar (1995) provides a criticism of development, explaining that the discourses and practices surrounding this concept produced the notion of a “Third World” (4). Furthermore, he explains that the concept of ‘poverty’ is central to this discourse, and that “the

treatment of poverty allowed society to conquer new domains” (23). In other words, “Third World” poverty, and the knowledge created around this concept, served as a justification for a modern-capitalist project, which benefitted the dominant within global society.

One of the critiques of dependency theory includes the notion that it is simply an “old Marxian wine in new Latin American bottles” (Kinsbruner and Langer 793). Needless to say, during the Cold War Marxist thought was painted in a negative light, and so this critique helped foreign interest (mainly American) carry on with its developmental guise. Many NGOs were created with American conceptions of development in mind<sup>12</sup>, and later as a response to the devastating legacy of these development strategies gone-wrong. NGOs emerging alongside these development strategies were funded by such institutions as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the U.S Inter-American Foundation (IAF), and other donors found in Canada and Europe (Eversole xx). More recently, funders have remained more or less the same; however the projects in which NGOs are involved may be considered more than just political in nature. As explains Carrie Meyer (1999), as of recently there is great diversity among Latin American NGOs:

Some are powerful advocates for the right, the left, the poor or the environment; others are efficiently providing public services... Some NGOs are close to grassroots groups, and others are close to powerful elites. Some NGOs are accused of opportunism, illegitimacy and commercialism; others are attributed greater indigenous authenticity. (qtd. in Eversole xi)

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<sup>12</sup> Some NGOs and voluntary groups appeared much earlier in Latin America and were particularly influenced by the Catholic Church and Liberation Theology. This was different from the principally Christian missionary presence elsewhere (Lewis and Kanji 34-35).



As we can see, presenting generalizations about the nature of NGOs in Latin America is an impossible task, especially given the variety of experiences among the countries that make up Latin America.

If we are to compare this region of the Third World with other regions however, we can say that Latin America has achieved relatively high levels of “development”, in the Western sense of the term. Having kicked colonialism much later (additional social and environmental factors must of course also be considered), other regions have endured higher levels of poverty, and poorer health and education indicators (see World Bank (data). <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>).

It is interesting to note however that there are 24 NGOs registered with the Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC) working in Latin America, whereas 27 and 29 are registered for NGOs working in Asia and Africa, respectively, which are regions facing much greater poverty and social injustice. To provide some perspective, we can consult the list of Least Developed Countries (LDC) of the UN ([http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/cdp/ldc/ldc\\_list.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/cdp/ldc/ldc_list.pdf)), when trying to figure out where Latin America is situated in terms of “underdevelopment”. This list takes many multifaceted factors into consideration, and of the 50 countries that appear here, not one is located within Latin America<sup>13</sup>. To give another example of Latin American development, 74 is the average life expectancy within the region, compared to 67 in South-Asia and 56 in Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2014). This data is not meant to downplay the issues faced by

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<sup>13</sup> Haiti does appear on this list, which is a country situated in the Caribbean. We are not however including Haiti in our delineation of “Latin America” (as mentioned in the Introduction). Haiti is the only country in the “New World” to be found on this list.

many Latin American countries (terrible gang violence does plague many within the region and the gap between rich and poor is astronomical, to give examples), but instead to evaluate and question the presence of NGOs in the region. Why is there still such a strong NGO presence in Latin America, even though levels of “development” in the region are higher than in the other regions aforementioned?

Within the geographical region of Latin America itself, there is also disproportionate NGO presence. For example, there are many (large and small) NGOs focused on Peru and Ecuador, as “middle-income countries in South America...have been prioritized as aid recipients” (Apale and Stam 10). I cannot begin to address the causes of NGOs favouring certain regions, countries or communities here, however “tracing the emergence of NGO geographies – at a range of scales – helps us understand the historical emergence of parts of the project of development as intervention” (Bebbington 740). NGO presence is often influenced by previous institutions and political economy, and so I must take this into consideration when analysing the NGOs present in Latin America and its various countries and specific communities. Current government and NGO strategies also influence NGO geographies, which will become clearer in Chapter 3.

Now that I have addressed the historical context of the regional focus of this project, I can return to translation, and look at the particular problems that arise in the translation of NGO documents dealing with Latin America, and the development information and texts produced in this context. Many of these issues stem from the fact that NGOs dealing with this “developing” part of America must translate relevant information from Spanish or Portuguese into English, whereas other aid-receiving countries, mostly in Asia and Africa, must often have their

information translated from minority languages into English. This is not to say that minority languages do not exist in Latin America, but simply that this is the larger trend taking place. The significance of such vectors of translation may be that Canadian NGOs will employ Canadian translators to translate Spanish into English, for example, as Spanish is one of the most widely-spoken languages in the world<sup>14</sup>. This means that Spanish-speaking Canadians are more likely to be readily available within this Western country. In contrast, Canadians who speak minority languages spoken in Asia, Africa and Latin America are, most likely, less readily available. This may result in having to seek native-speakers of these languages in their countries of origin. In other words, Canadians may tend to translate Guatemalan experiences whereas Kenyans may tend to translate Kenyan experiences, to take two examples.

This makes us think of the notion of ‘compositional translation’ discussed by Cronin (2003). This use of language hybridity is explained through the following example: “African writers are using European language, but thinking in their native language, so that a form of translation is at the heart of the creative enterprise” (136). Of course, Cronin is talking here about African writers and not “translators” *per se*; however, I wonder whether this can have consequences for “translation proper”. Perhaps a Kenyan translator would be able to better represent the experiences of his or her own people than could a Canadian who may know very little about this particular country, and its particular culture and values, as a society. A person translating their own peoples’ experiences may hold their language-through-translation at the heart of their creative enterprise, which could result in greater justice for the subaltern. Of

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<sup>14</sup>The Encyclopedia Britannica identifies Spanish as the second most widely-spoken language in the world (<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/329791/language/292862/Most-widely-spoken-languages>).

course, this is not meant to be taken as an essentializing statement, but instead to make us think about how one's position may affect one's ability to translate.

This also means that those performing translations on behalf of aid-receiving communities in Latin America or their donor countries are in a difficult position within the NGO setting. This position is also one of added power. This added power is derived from the translators' position in the dominant society, translating the experiences and ultimate perceptions of an "underdeveloped" community. What also adds difficulty to the NGO translator's task here is that there are many, often competing and incompatible, ideological factors at play: those of the NGO (both donor side and aid-receiving side), their sources of funding, to project communities and, of course, the translators ideological inclinations as well. The only way one can attempt to manoeuvre and accommodate these ideologies is by being acutely aware of their existence in the process of translation. The importance of such awareness is made clear by many scholars who analyze the need for awareness of power relations within translation (Tejaswini Niranjana, for example) and the scholars who focus more specifically on ideological components, as can be seen in the following chapter.

### **1.5. Contextualizing the Canadian Donor Setting**

The Canadian presence and influence within such development-NGOs will now be examined. Often organizations which contain this kind of donor-aid-receiving dichotomy are called 'outsider' NGOs as they operate in part from the outside<sup>15</sup> (Eversole). These NGOs, which are not grassroots in nature, have faced added criticism for several reasons. They are often seen

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<sup>15</sup> A grassroots NGO with no "donor country", meaning all aspects of the NGO operate within the country receiving assistance is thus called an 'insider' NGO (Eversole).

as ‘top-down’ approaches to development, arising from a neoliberal agenda, even a form of “soft imperialism”, as states Mike Davis in his review of the book *Paved with Good Intentions*, written by Nikolas Barry-Shaw and Dru Oja Jay<sup>16</sup>. Such NGOs are also seen at times as ineffective, as they do not provide homegrown answers to development problems, and therefore lack the necessary knowledge and self-contextualization to be successful and sustainable.

Nonetheless, Canadian NGOs are extremely prevalent, even a part of Canadian culture. To quote a Parliamentary report from 1998: “NGOs are as Canadian as Hockey”<sup>17</sup>. Barry-Shaw and Jay (2012) also state in their work that “our (Canadian) national identity has been strongly tied to our international reputation as a caring, disinterested “middle power” (7). This may be what allows Canada to house many so-called “top down” NGOs, without much opposition. Apale and Stam (2011) also point to this same trend, but on the level of the individual, in saying that “Canadians have a cherished self-image as international humanitarians and peacekeepers” (5). This affinity makes NGO translation an appealing endeavour for Canadian translators, or perhaps even for those who may not consider themselves to be translators at all. This is a notion I will revisit in Chapter 4, but let us also remember this enticing self-image when discussing ideology.

## **1.6. Translation Choices and Effects**

There are many examples of how power relations may be amplified in the process of development-NGO translation. Here I will give just a few hypothetical examples of translation

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<sup>16</sup> This book review was found on the website of the book *Paved with Good Intentions* in the ‘About the Book’ section (<http://www.pavedwithgoodintentions.ca/>).

<sup>17</sup> This quote was also found on the website of the book *Paved with Good Intentions* as part of the preface for the ‘About the Book’ section of the website (<http://www.pavedwithgoodintentions.ca/>).

issues and their possible effects when working with texts written in Spanish and translated into English. This will allow us to think deeper about the intricacies of development-NGO translation and the effects such translation may have on actors in both the donor and aid-receiving settings.

One example I would like to highlight is the possible translation of a categorization such as “*los ecuatorianos*” as “the Ecuadorians” in a text destined for a donor-country reader. An inexperienced translator may not realize that the addition of the article “the” in English may actually imply “otherness” or an emphasis on “power over” another. Think of an example such as, ‘The Ecuadorians are experiencing high levels of poverty’. This three letter word can actually have the perlocutionary effect of separating the ‘developed’ reader from the ‘underdeveloped’ subject of a text. This is done by emphasizing their “otherness”, therefore furthering traditional Western discourse that has worked hard to create this division in order to maintain dominance.

Another word often found when talking about development work in Spanish is *local*. In one written agreement between the World Food Programme (WFP) and Plan Canada, an NGO I will examine in-depth in Chapter 3, the term *los comités comunitarios locales* appears, which translated literally could mean ‘local community committees’. This rendering would be linguistically inadequate, however, as it is too wordy to sound natural in the English language. More importantly, leaving the word ‘local’ in the sentence may also result in added meaning in the target language. Here, I argue that ‘local’ used in this use can have the perlocutionary effect of exoticizing the “underdeveloped” subject. We hear ‘the locals’ used to classify people in far away “Third World” countries and communities, however, it is seldom used to describe individuals in the Western world. This is once again a hypothetical move that could potentially maintain the separation between the West and the rest.

On the other side of the spectrum, one needs to be on guard for the overtranslation of development-NGO texts. Those who are conscious of “developed”-“developing” relationships when translating may be inclined to “better” the source text by expanding on points that are unclear or heightening the register and formality of the text, as examples. Gertrudis Payás (2004) mentions, although only in passing, that this type of translation can be considered something she refers to as “apologetic translation” (546). Here she is contemplating literary translation and the practice of forcing “classic” literature into a literary canon, removing whatever doesn’t fit, in order to appease the target reader (546). The same concept can apply to organizational texts being forced to fit into Western thought and ideals in terms of what constitutes a proper text. The linguistic differences that the Western reader/translator notes may in fact be reasonable practices in the source culture, or they may speak to unrealistic deadlines or lack of guidance in the formulating of the source text. Overtranslation is thus something that can be found in various genres, but it is of great concern in development-NGO translation as it implies a presupposed inferiority of the “underdeveloped” (something that needs to be fixed), and superiority of the dominant culture in a setting that claims to challenge this status quo.

Finally, it could be that translators make translation choices from a different kind of ideological place. For example, as Maria Tymoczko (2007) explains, “Translators combating (colonial) domination generally choose empowered representations of the colonized group; in this regard they are often less concerned with close transfer or transposition of cultural, structural, and discursive elements in the source texts than with constructivist representations of larger patterns of the source culture that further postcolonial resistance” (196). The difference here is that Tymoczko is referring to texts that come from a place of ‘postcolonial resistance’, whereas it is yet to be determined whether or not the type of translation addressed in this project

may be classified as coming from a place of resistance (which is linked to activism). It may not be within the scope of this thesis project to answer such a large question, however, it's important to keep this in mind as we analyze translation and the role of translators within the NGO setting.

## **Concluding Remarks**

In this chapter I have started to unearth the place of development-NGO translation within the field of translation studies. Given that this is a new subject of study, which at times crosses disciplinary boundaries, some concepts found in development studies have been introduced in order to enrich an understanding of this subject. Certain concepts and tensions that are of interest to this thesis are shared by both DS and TS, and making these connections helps to understand that many of the issues discussed here are not only found in the realm of translation, but are greater systemic and worldly issues. However, I have chosen to narrow the focus of this project, and look at very specific instances of development-NGO translation, namely, within Canadian development NGOs operating in part out of Latin America. Through discussion of the particularities of such translation, some issues and complexities that are perhaps only found in this specific realm were able to be identified. Although the considerations of this chapter have been varied in scope, they are all connected to the subject at hand, and will be important in the conceptualization of the chapters to come.



## **Chapter 2. TRANSLATION, TRANSLATORS AND IDEOLOGY: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This chapter explores the theoretical framework informing this research project, which is primarily concerned with translation, translators and ideology. The framework employed combines theoretical considerations belonging to functionalist translation theory and critical discourse analysis (CDA), and throughout this chapter, I will provide a synopsis of these theories, and some particular concepts of interest to this study. Some of the critiques of both theoretical considerations will also be outlined, as well as a few other concepts which are helpful when studying translation, translators and ideology within development-NGOs.

### **2.1. Contemplating Theory**

It was said by Andrew Chesterman in 1997 that “there seems to be a lack of agreement about what (if anything) a theory of translation should look like”, which he attributes to the “heterogeneity of translation memes” (Chesterman, *Memes of Translation* 43). First introduced by Richard Dawkins, a meme is a unit of cultural transmission or *imitation*; a replicator that works to describe the evolution of cultural phenomena, and as Chesterman points out, each translation meme (or set of translation theories) has been dominant in different historical periods (48). Translation memes help us conceptualize why combining theories is at times useful, as some subjects of study benefit from the theoretical considerations at the core of different stages in the evolution of translation studies theory. For us here, these stages include the communicative and target stages outlined by Chesterman, as the former looks at functional and pragmatic aspects of translation, and the latter, at power relations among translators and all others involved

in the translation process (Ibid.). By combining theories found in both of these stages, I hope to provide a sound theoretical framework that is productive in the analysis of development-NGO Translation in the Canada-Latin America setting. Although Chesterman wrote of translation memes nearly twenty years ago, I believe that heterogeneity within translation theory is productive, and something that remains current.

As has already been stated, I will be using functionalism and ideology-focused critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyze this subject of study. Both provide an understanding of translation, translators and the world in which these practices take shape, however, combining these theories is essential as where one lacks (for the purposes of this research project) the other provides adequately. For example, functionalism provides a strong basis from which to understand translation practices and their purpose, whereas CDA allows us to focus on the ideology of translation and see how such practices fit into the world of NGOs and development.

## **2.2. Functionalist Thought in Translation**

Functionalism first emerged as a category of theoretical understanding in the 1970s, and was grounded in beliefs that were both linguistic and pragmatic in nature. As explains Tymoczko (2007):

The orientation of functionalist theories and practices of translation emerged directly from the intersections of language, cultural production, ideology, and the manipulation of public perceptions – in short from the interest in and production of propaganda during the 1930s and 1940s. (32)

Translation scholars became preoccupied with how the function of a (translated) text worked to influence its readers. In particular, the ‘German School’ of functionalist translation scholars has been influential, and includes scholars such as Hans J. Vermeer and Katharina Reiss<sup>18</sup>. The work of these scholars is outlined in this section, along with that of Christiane Nord<sup>19</sup>.

*Skopos* theory and the work of Vermeer are drawn upon heavily within this research. *Skopos* theory was first introduced in 1978, and is a theory which focuses first and foremost on the purpose (or *skopos*, in Greek) of a translated text. It could be said that the ‘context’ in which a translation is produced is important to Vermeer, and he distinguishes between three aspects of purpose within translation: the translator’s purpose (we can think of this as their motivation), the communicative purpose (of the target text) and the purpose of the translation strategy (Nord 27-28). Related to purpose, some terms also used frequently in the work of Vermeer include: aim, function and intention, and many times the differences between these terms remains ambiguous. As Nord says, there is “conceptual confusion” among these terms, and so she sets out to define each individually. Her understanding of ‘intention’ is of added interest to us here, and is “defined from the viewpoint of the sender” (Nord 28). ‘Sender’ here refers to the translator, and reference to their ‘viewpoint’ could be considered an initial stage to addressing ideology.

In terms of the relationship between source and target texts, Vermeer indicates that a source text (ST) and target text (TT) do not necessarily have the same function. They can diverge in “formulation”, “distribution” and “goal” (“Skopos in Translational Action” 175). Vermeer

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<sup>18</sup> Very little has been written about functionalism in English, and furthermore, very little of functionalist writing has been translated into English. Andrew Chesterman did begin to fill this void by translating some of Vermeer’s work, namely “Skopos and Commission in Translational Action” in 1989 (found in *Readings in Translation Theory*).

<sup>19</sup> In addition to her own notions related to functionalism, Nord has also provided precise explanations of the work of Vermeer and Reiss in her book *Translating as a Purposeful Activity: Functionalist Approaches Explained*.

does recognize that some source texts are “composed specifically with transcultural communication in mind”, but explains that in most instances “the original author lacks the necessary knowledge of the target culture and its texts” (Ibid.). Regardless of what was in mind at the time of source text production, Vermeer believes that intertextual and intratextual coherence should be achieved as best as possible, although such coherency should be considered subordinate to *skopos*, or purpose.

Also important to note about functionalism, is that it elevates the status of the target text. As explains Nord (1997), “The source text is no longer the first and foremost criterion for the translator’s decision; it is just one of the various sources on information used by the translator (25). For Vermeer, the ST is simply considered an “offer of information” (Nord 25), meaning that you may take from it what you want or need. By viewing the ST in this way, Vermeer problematizes the notion of “source text”, as texts can vary in the way they’re interpreted, and therefore can be attributed different meanings.

Vermeer’s *Skopos* theory is also based on the concept of “translational action” (“Skopos in Translational Action” 173). This is a concept which emerged from action theory, and is also used by other functionalist scholars, such as Justa Holz-Mänttari<sup>20</sup>. For Vermeer, translational action refers to all actions performed during a translational process, that is, up to and including translating. Nord (1997) explains this as “the range of what translators actually do” (17). According to Vermeer, all actions have a purpose, and that is why he views his theory as “a theory of purposeful action”. Furthermore, actions are forms of behaviour. As he explains, “for

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<sup>20</sup> Holz-Mänttari’s application of action theory to translation is however much more liberal, as she broadens her notions of what constitutes “translation”, to include more than just that which is textual (Nord 12).

an act of behaviour to be called an action, the person performing it must (potentially) be able to explain *why* he acts as he does although he could have acted otherwise” (“Skopos in Translational Action” 176). In other words, Vermeer recognizes the agency of translators and all actors involved in processes of translation.

One consequence of the above theoretical consideration is that a greater emphasis is placed on the individuals, that is, the translators. Vermeer sees the translator as the expert in the translation process, as can be seen here: “As regards the translator himself: experts are called upon in a given situation because they are needed and because they are regarded as experts. It is usually assumed, reasonably enough, that such people “know what it’s all about”; they are thus consulted and their views listened to” (“Skopos in Translational Action” 174). This stage in translation theory (or translation memes) saw an elevation of the translator’s role and increased valuing of their work. I would now like to highlight some of the translator tasks identified by Vermeer, which demonstrate that translators do more than “just translate”. Their role is to:

- analyze the acceptability and viability of the translation brief in legal, economic or ideological terms;
- check whether the translation is really needed;
- specify the activities required for carrying out the brief;
- perform a translational action, which may result in a target text....or, in special cases, in advising the client not to have the source text translated because a translation would not serve the intended purpose.

(Summary in Nord 21)

The first point here is of particular interest as it is one of the only times ideology is mentioned within Vermeer's work, or summaries thereof. Point three (specifying activities) is also thought provoking, as it is an important step often overlooked in the translation process and one that could help others involved in a translational action to understand what translating actually entails. It may also help non-translators understand that translators are in fact experts, and ultimately help them become more highly valued. This would be a significant achievement as any progress in the valuing of translators has been primarily within scholarly work on translation, and has not always "translated" into valuing in practice.

In addition to the role of the translator, that of the "commissioner" is also central to the understanding of translation processes within *Skopos* theory. As states Vermeer "let us define a commission as the instruction, given by oneself or by someone else, to carry out a given action – here: to translate" ("Skopos in Translational Action" 183). It should be mentioned that although not stated here, the commissioner may be more than one individual, and can be considered an over-arching company or institution. Whoever this commissioner may be, they provide instruction either implicitly or explicitly. However, Vermeer recognizes that statements of purpose are not often given; therefore making the translators job more difficult. As a result, he takes an almost activist-like stance here in arguing for "a change in attitude" and that "as far as possible, detailed information concerning the *skopos* should always be given ("Skopos in Translational Action" 183).

Also within a functionalist approach, Katharina Reiss (1989) provides a classificatory system for categorizing translated texts, or what is called, 'text-types' (105). Her theory was brought together with that of Vermeer in 1984 in a book titled *Groundwork for a General Theory of Translation*. There has been much criticism of what some view as the forced marriage of two

theoretical considerations, given that Vermeer's theory is based on action theory, and Reiss's, originally on equivalency theory (Nord 27). Nevertheless, Reiss's text typology assists in the understanding of texts, and at times compliments certain dimensions of *Skopos* theory. Text typology constitutes a separation of texts based on language and basic verbal communicative situations (Nord 108). The categories she identifies include "informative", "expressive" and "operative" texts, and this helps us visualize variance in text-type, as each 'type' represents a point on a triangular diagram. This also helps us visually understand that text-types may be viewed on a continuum, as specific genres are not always entirely informative, for example. It may be that a given text has attributes from more than one of these classifications, but one is always dominant (Nord 108).

Reiss also distinguishes between text genres, which are separated and placed within the broader categories of text-types (i.e. informative, expressive, operative). Each is "classified according to linguistic characteristics or conventions (like those of reference books, lectures, satire or advertisement)" (Nord 37). The usefulness in separating text-genres according to typology is illustrated by Nord (1997): "text-type classifications sharpen the translator's awareness of linguistic markers of communicative function and functional translation units" (38). As we can see, Reiss's considerations of text-types are relevant to *Skopos* theory, as it allows us to better grasp what is meant by "function" within Vermeer's work. Furthermore, by being able to identify text-genres and text-types, it becomes easier to piece together how a given function of translation motivates certain translation strategies.

Functionalist translation thought has allowed translation theory to move from a strictly linguistic place, to combining linguistic and cultural considerations. Munday (2008) points out

these cultural capabilities when summarizing functionalist approaches in saying that the translator has the ability to foster cultural communication (80), and cultural communication is highly influenced by the target text user, and thus the target situation and “cultural background” (Schäffner 306). However, this does not mean that the translator must only cater to the needs of the target culture. As Nord (1997) explains, “(this) does not mean...that a good translation should *ipso facto* conform or adapt to target-culture behaviour or expectations, although the concept is often understood in this way” (29). Vermeer himself recognizes this frequent misunderstanding and clarifies:

What the *Skopos* states is that one must translate, consciously and consistently, in accordance with some principle respecting the target text. The theory does not state what this principle is: this must be decided separately in each specific case.

(qtd. in Nord 30)

This principle can also be negotiated by the translator and the commissioner (Nord 30), given that the commissioner may have an idea of what they want, but the translator (being the expert) may have their own ideas about the best way to go about performing the translational action.

Interestingly enough, in his understanding of culture, Vermeer has termed cultural features, ‘culturemes’. As explains Nord (1997), “a cultureme is a social phenomenon of a culture X that is regarded as relevant by the members of this culture and, when compared with corresponding social phenomenon in a culture Y, is found to be specific to culture X” (34). A parallel may be drawn between these culteremes and Chesterman’s translation memes, as both notions track and explain the existence of certain culture-related phenomena within translation. It would also be conceivable that, like memes, Vermeer’s understanding of cultural features would



be prone to evolving and changing, and thus hard to keep track of. As mentioned in Nord's quote, keeping track of culturemes is done through comparison. "Translating means comparing cultures" and it is our own culture which serves as a "touchstone for the perception of otherness" (Nord 34). This echoes Cronin's notion of the translator as a nomad-by-obligation and his understanding of the translator's ability for comparative self-understanding, which was discussed in Chapter 1.

Christiane Nord carries on the conversation about functionalist understanding of culture through her own work on loyalty, which constitutes the negotiation of all actors' needs. Here is how Nord (1997) defines loyalty:

Let me call 'loyalty' the responsibility translators have toward their partners in translational interaction. Loyalty commits the translator bilaterally to the source and target sides... Loyalty is an interpersonal category referring to a social relationship between *people*. (125)

This contribution to functionalism is of interest to this project as it emphasizes the human aspect of translational action, and hints at the ethical obligation of a translator. For Nord, this is not an obligation to one side of the translational equation, but to both (i.e. source-text author and target-text receivers). In addition, this concept of loyalty also recognizes obligation towards the commissioner. Of course, balancing the three parties vying for loyalty is extremely difficult, and this is part of the reason translators often act as mediators. Mediation is introduced as a sort of balancing act, as "mediation cannot mean imposing one's culture specific concept on members of another cultural community" (Nord 125). Instead, attempts at understanding and negotiation are necessary.

Nord's theoretical considerations are still considered functionalism, as she does not abandon the core ideas of this theory, but instead advocates for a "function-plus-loyalty" approach (Nord 126). "It is precisely the combination of the two principles that matters, even though there may be cases where they seem to contradict each other" (Nord 126). These contradictions are directly related to the 'three parties' mentioned above. For example, the function, which is established by the commissioner (what Nord calls the 'initiator'), may not be compatible with acting loyally towards the original author, or the target-text receivers. Her work on functionalism allows us to further ponder issues of cultural difference and ethics within translation practices.

Now that the functionalist concepts that are relevant to this project have been outlined, it is important to acknowledge some of the relevant critiques of this theory. The purpose of doing this is to understand the theories' limitations, and help explain why I chose to combine functionalist theory with critical discourse analysis. Maria Tymoczko (2007) recognizes some of the issues with functionalist translation theory that are found to be salient points. One such point is that "there can be multiple and conflicting textual functions that complicate the movement from source text to target text" (Tymoczko, *Enlarging Translation* 35). As we know Vermeer and Reiss (1984) provide a classificatory system for texts-types and relate this to purpose; however, their work does not provide insight into how one would go about identifying such text-types. This idea of "multiple and conflicting textual functions" is important and perhaps more apparent in certain types of texts, for example, in political and ideological texts. This is also taken up by Tymoczko, who states, "Once the text type becomes complex – as most...philosophical, political, ideological and religious texts are – functionalist theories fail to address fundamental problematic issues faced by translators" (Tymoczko, *Enlarging Translation*

37). It is interesting that at the beginning of this section ideology was mentioned (in another quote by Tymoczko) as having been one of the factors which led to the emergence of this theory, yet it is not sufficiently accounted for within its theoretical confines. Perhaps this points to the fact that functionalism covers a huge conceptual territory (one that is both linguistic and pragmatic in nature) and so it was simply impossible to cover everything under the umbrella term of functionalism before entering a new stage in translation theory/memes. However, it is important to note that ideological implications are not incompatible with functionalism, as we see in its cultural and ethical considerations. Finally, with regards to ideology, Tymoczko highlights that, on top of translation ideology, translators ideology has been neglected within functionalist thought. As she explains, “there is relatively little exploration of the ways that translators have particular frameworks or perspectives that affect perception of function and specific translation practices, notable ideological commitments that get written into the definition and execution of any translation project” (Tymoczko, *Enlarging Translation* 38).

In order to adequately account for ideology, I turn to critical discourse analysis, which looks closely at ideology, therefore filling the conceptual void that has been detected within functionalism. Before delving into the theoretical considerations of CDA, I would like to briefly mention that in some instances ideology has been considered to fall within the realm of culture, however, this is not how I will conceptualize ideology. In other words, some people would perhaps refute this idea that ideology is not sufficiently accounted for within functionalist thought, since culture is discussed at length within this theory. This has been mentioned here as a way to assist in ironing out the details of what constitutes ideology, what constitutes culture, and what may be placed within both categories. I will first consider the work of a scholar who views

ideology as part of culture, and then the work of a scholar who views these two concepts separately.

Andrew Chesterman (2009) looks at “translator studies” in his article “The Name and Nature of Translator Studies”. In this article he uses a Holmes-like map that is designed with three branches in mind that are of relevance to studying all things related to the translator. He identifies the cultural, cognitive, and sociological branches as encompassing the realm of translator studies. Chesterman further breaks down his conceptual map, identifying the kinds of analysis that fall under each category. As he explains, “the cultural branch deals with values, ethics, ideologies, traditions, history, (and) examining the roles and influences of translators and interpreters through history, as agents of cultural evolution” (Chesterman, “Name and Nature” 19). As we can see, he is viewing culture as an evolutionary process, in line with the Darwin-inspired idea of ‘memes’ he had presented more than a decade earlier, and which is presented at the beginning of this chapter. Chesterman’s view is also a rather broad understanding of culture, which places ideology in hierarchal relation (as a subcategory) of this branch of enquiry.

I believe it is more accurate, however, to view culture and ideology as separate realms which at times overlap. John B. Thompson’s book *Ideology and Modern Culture* looks at the concepts of ideology and culture as they relate to mass communication. For Thompson, these terms have their own identities, and his examination also helps us determine where they overlap. As Thompson mentions, according to a neutral conception of ideology, “(it) can be regarded as ‘systems of thought’, ‘systems of belief’ or ‘symbolic systems’ which pertain to social action or political practice”(Thompson 5). On the other hand, he explains that “the concept of culture can appropriately be used to refer to the symbolic character of social life, to the patterns of meaning

embodied in the symbolic forms exchanged in social interaction” (Thompson 12). By comparing these two definitions, it becomes clearer where they deviate and where the overlap. According to Thompson, ideology is concerned with systems of belief and thought, actions, and political practices, whereas culture is concerned with observable aspects of life, patterns of meaning and modes of interaction. Where they overlap is in their social and symbolic considerations, though symbolic aspects seem to be of greater concern to culture. What is also apparent is that these concepts cannot be viewed hierarchically. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that Thompson recognizes that both concepts have had long and complicated histories, producing many variants and much ambiguity (Thompson 12). A discussion of ideology continues in the next section, as there is still much to be considered with regards to this concept.

### **2.3. Critical Discourse Analysis and Ideology**

Given how “fuzzy” the notion of ideology can be (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 1), this theoretical framework combines functionalism and critical discourse analysis (CDA) in order to adequately set the stage for ideological examination of the subject at hand. In studying the work of key CDA scholars, such as Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijk, it becomes apparent that when examining the work of these scholars, CDA as a theory cannot be discussed without contemplating a theory of ideology. Although this may disrupt a fluid conversation about CDA, it is important to have the two discussions run parallel as they are closely related. Furthermore, as Louis Althusser (2006) aptly proposes, ideology is everywhere (we are all ‘steeped’ in ideology), yet nowhere at the same time (it has no material existence) (Althusser, 106). Once sufficient information has been provided regarding CDA and ideology as it relates to this project, I will then briefly mention other theories that are of interest to this

subject of study, and finish by presenting some of the critiques of CDA found in the work of ‘discourse in action’.

Critical discourse analysis is a problem-oriented approach to studying how language and power interact. To be more specific, van Dijk (2003) explains that “critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (354). Although it may have begun as a branch of theory under the umbrella of discourse analysis (DA), it has evolved into a branch of its own, and its theoretical considerations vary greatly in approach and interest. As explains Ruth Wodak (2009), “CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory... studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies” (5). Just some of the theoretical backgrounds that have influenced CDA include anthropology, philosophy, cognitive science, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and pragmatics. Of course, here CDA will be applied to the study of translation and translators, which is possible given the multi-disciplinary nature of this school of theory or “research programme” (Wodak 4), and its language-centered preoccupations.

The addition of ‘critical’ to discourse analysis has meant “adopting critical goals...to make clear social determinations and effects of discourse which are characteristically opaque to participants” (Fairclough, “Goals in Discourse Analysis” 739). The appearance of *critical* discourse analysis is often misinterpreted as implying a ‘negative’ perspective of discourse, however, “any social phenomenon lends itself to critical investigation, to be challenged and not taken for granted” (Wodak 2). The movement away from strictly descriptive aims to critical ones

has allowed scholars to recognize and interrogate mechanisms of power and suppression. One of the consequences of such interrogation is that critical discourse analysts can play an “advocatory role” (Wodak 19) or conduct research “in solidarity with” (van Dijk “Critical Discourse Analysis” 353; “Critical Discourse Studies” 63) dominated groups. However, other scholars believe that, beyond advocacy and solidarity, scholars should also be looking for solutions: “(CDA) addresses social wrongs...and possible ways of righting or mitigating them” (Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis* 11). It is Van Dijk and Wodak’s understanding of the role of CDA scholars that is more in line with the research goals of this project.

Van Dijk also helps us see that “crucial for critical discourse analysts is the explicit awareness of their role in society” (van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Analysis” 352). He is thus also advocating for self-reflective research, as does Cameron et. al in “Power/knowledge: The Politics of Social Science” mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. Van Dijk frames this discussion a little differently however, given that he comes at this subject from a CDA perspective. He explains that scholarly discourse “(is) inherently part of and influenced by social structure, and produced in social interaction” (van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Analysis” 352). Therefore, CDA scholars and researchers must recognize their positions in relations of power.

One of the CDA concepts introduced by Fairclough in his earlier work is that of “naturalized ideologies”, which refers to the fact that “ideological representations can come to be seen as non-ideological ‘common-sense’” (Fairclough, “Goals in Discourse” 739). It is thus one of the goals of CDA to “denaturalize” ideological constructions and “make visible the interconnectedness of things” (Fairclough, “Goals in Discourse” 747). Since I am still holding off on an in-depth discussion of how I see ‘ideology’, what I would like to be taken away from

the notions introduced here is that, for Fairclough, CDA is an attempt to make things clearer for participants, so that people may see ideologies for what they really are. Participants refer to the 'subject' (member of an institution); 'client' (outsider to an institution) and 'public' (to whom messages are addressed) in a given setting (Fairclough, "Goals in Discourse" 749). It is important to note that Fairclough's understanding of 'client' differs from that found in functionalism as the functionalists' 'client' would actually be considered the 'public' in Fairclough's understanding of participants.

Institutions are central to this scholar's conception of critical discourse analysis. For Fairclough, a CDA framework should integrate 'micro' and 'macro' research, something attainable by using the institution as a 'pivot' between the "highest level of social structuring" and "the most concrete level, (that) of the particular social event or action" (Fairclough, "Goals in Discourse" 747-8). On a more linguistic level, Fairclough views the institution as a 'speech community' (Fairclough, "Goals in Discourse" 749), with its own speech events, which are within the repertoire of that certain community. The 'components' of this repertoire include settings, participants, goals, and topics, among other things (reference to Hymes, "Models of Interaction" in Fairclough, "Goals in Discourse" 749).

Fairclough also recognizes the role of competing ideologies within an institution. As he explains, "It is quite possible for a social subject to occupy institutional subject positions which are ideologically incompatible, or to occupy a subject position incompatible with his or her overt political or social beliefs and affiliations, without being aware of any contradiction" (Fairclough, "Goals in Discourse" 753). Here Fairclough hints at overt and covert aspects of ideology, which are central to the understanding of ideology adopted within this project. However, he does not



develop any ideas regarding the possibility for the subject to in fact be aware of such contradiction. This is where I believe Fairclough's theory of ideology becomes insufficient for the purposes of this project, which is one of the reasons the work of van Dijk is drawn upon heavily throughout. Van Dijk, another prominent CDA scholar, does recognize the possibility for awareness of one's ideology. As he explains, "people may (usually) become aware or be made aware of the beliefs they hold" (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 20). He does however make it clear that not all beliefs are a product of "conscious thought" (Ibid.). Consciousness is an important concept for this research project, which van Dijk (1998) helps to systematize:

Whereas oppositional ideologies by definition will tend to be more explicit and conscious among group members, dominant ideologies will precisely tend to be implicit and denied, or felt to be 'natural' by their members. Such group members may indeed be unaware of their ideologies...until they are challenged by members of the other group. (98)

Van Dijk uses the terms explicit and implicit to refer to ideological consciousness, however, 'overt' and 'covert' may perhaps be considered to work in a synonymous fashion. I have chosen to use the latter group of terms, as these terms imply a certain level of agency in their usage. Dominant ideologies may *be* implicit; however dominant ideologies can *act* overtly. Furthermore, this scholar places 'consciousness' on a sort of continuum, ranging from "totally explicit awareness and knowledge", to "largely implicit knowledge and 'mere' lived experience on the other hand" (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 99). However he points out that it is uncommon to witness such overt ideological self-awareness, as it is something reserved

for various kinds of leaders and elites. I would argue however that this is changing, given the rise of activism and overt desires to ‘take a stand’<sup>21</sup>. There is the possibility that this kind of “self-awareness” may be misguided given that “more-or-less explicit knowledge of ideological beliefs of group members who positively identify with a group usually implies positive acceptance of such beliefs” (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 100). This means that there is also a level of “naturalization” occurring among certain social groups involved in certain instances of overt ideology, as they are seen as unequivocally positive by that group.

Combining “the social and the personal in the accomplishment of social practices” (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 78) is obviously central to van Dijk’s approach to CDA. Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that the work of Fairclough has greatly influenced van Dijk’s views of both the theory of CDA and ideology. This is apparent in his revisiting of certain concepts first set forward by Fairclough. The similarities are easily detectable in the following quote by van Dijk: “for the notion of ‘common sense’, ideologies may be or seem so ‘natural’ that people don’t even realize that they have them” (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 98). Van Dijk’s understanding of critical (CDA) may now be examined, or what he prefers to call critical discourse studies (CDS). This is due to the fact that “this more general term suggests that such a critical approach not only involves critical *analysis*, but also critical *theory*, as well as critical *applications*” (van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Studies” 62). For van Dijk (2009), CDS is considered a “research policy”:

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<sup>21</sup> Van Dijk begins to explore this notion in discussing “consciousness raising” and “awareness training” found in “ideological groups”, such as within dominated groups or social movements. However, he does not elaborate on this concept, nor does he discuss the implications of considering these social formations to be “ideological groups”.

Such a research policy presupposes an *ethical* assessment, implying that discourse as social interaction may be *illegitimate* according to some fundamental *norms*, for instance those of international human and social rights. At the same time, critical analysis should be aware of the fact that such norms and rights change historically, and that some definitions of ‘international’ may well mean ‘Western’. (63)

This mention of international human and social rights is particularly relevant for the purpose of this project, and emphasizes the need to interrogate what we may otherwise uncritically accept as good or bad, or what Fairclough would consider to be ‘naturalized ideologies’. Furthermore, introducing the concepts of ‘ethics’ and ‘norms’ is important as our ethical inclinations and conception of norms are indispensable influences on how we translate, research, and act, more generally.

Although van Dijk has used various approaches when working under the broad category of CDS (or CDA), his most recent categorization devised to describe his version of CDS is the “sociocognitive approach” (van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Studies” 64). This is central to how CDA is comprehended within this project, as it allows for “the study of mental representations and the processes of language users when they produce and comprehend discourse and participate in verbal interaction, as well as in the knowledge, ideologies and other beliefs shared by social groups” (van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Studies” 64). Aligned with this research perspective, it is important to combine the study of individual translators with that of their society and institutions. As a result, I have chosen to appropriate the elements of this sociocognitive approach to CDA for the purposes of this research project. In other words, this

approach allows us to adopt an approach that looks at both micro and macro level concerns with regards to this research project.

It should now be abundantly clear that studies in critical discourse analysis are fundamentally linked to studies in ideology. How CDA scholars reflect upon this relationship is illuminating. For example, Fairclough and Wodak state that: “discourse does ideological work” (qtd. in van Dijk, “Critical Discourse Analysis” 353). Van Dijk also elaborates upon this relationship, most notably in an article titled “Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis”. This article works off the following premise:

Ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including verbal and non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies. Obviously, ideologies are also enacted in other forms of action and interaction, and their reproduction is often embedded in organizational and institutional contexts. (van Dijk, “Discourse Analysis as Ideology” 17)

Ideology is a central concept in most of van Dijk’s articles and books related to critical discourse analysis, however, early in his career he wrote a book focused primarily on ideology, titled *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. This book develops a theory of ideology that informs his theory of critical discourse analysis, and so it is important to provide an overview of this ideology-centered theory here.

Van Dijk (1998) identifies three elements implicit in his theory of ideology that connect and form a framework for CDA. These elements include (social) cognition, society and discourse. Since all three aspects of this theory of ideology inform each other, they are all of

interest to this research project. Van Dijk (1998) explains his reasoning for identifying these elements:

First, even among those who deny it, ideologies are at least implicitly taken as some kind of ‘system of ideas’, and hence belong to the symbolic field of thought and belief, that is, to what psychologists call ‘cognition’. Second, ideologies are undoubtedly social, and often (though not always) associated with group interests, conflicts or struggle... And third, many contemporary approaches to ideology associate (or even identify) the concept with language use or discourse, if only to account for the way ideologies are typically expressed and reproduced in society. (5)

Here van Dijk adequately accounts for what he considers to be his “conceptual triangle” (“Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis” 17). Throughout this chapter, it will become increasingly clear how all three of these elements are inter-related.

With regards to his first point, it has already been mentioned that van Dijk’s conception of cognition as it relates to a theory of ideology is particularly ground-breaking. Never before had a CDA scholar looked to the realm of cognitive science in order to make sense of ideology, at least not explicitly. For van Dijk, ‘beliefs’ are “the building blocks of the mind”, which help develop knowledge (considered to be “true beliefs”), opinions and emotions, which are shared, either within a group, community, culture, instance or institution (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 19-20). Such beliefs are stored within “memory” or the mind, but they can also be constructed, reactivated and organized into larger units (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 22). It is understood by van Dijk that there are two types of memory, which are episodic (personal) and semantic (social) (van Dijk, “Sociocognitive Approach” 64-

65). Both kinds of memory inform our beliefs and help us construct mental models. For van Dijk (2009), mental models are “the subjective representations of the events and situations observed, participated in or referred to by discourse” (65). Finally, it is important to note that this discussion of cognition is not on a purely scientific level, but takes place on a level of observation dedicated to social interaction, hence his delineation of (social) cognition.

With regards to his second point, it should be mentioned that when referring to society, van Dijk is concerned with various group formulations. What Fairclough calls the (social) institution is considered by van Dijk to be various group formations centered around certain (shared) social representations and practices. Shared social representations may include shared goals and interests. These also have a cognitive aspect, as they require that members of a group “*know* about other members”, “share *opinions* about their common experiences”, and “have affective *feelings* of belonging to the group” (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 141). With regards to social practices, van Dijk recognizes the role of collective action, forms of organization, and of course, discourse. It is important for us to also recognize here that for this scholar, “many of these practices would do as a domain of empirical research” (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 6).

This second point on the conceptual triangle is a more widely recognized aspect of ideology, which often helps emphasize the role played by ideology within power relations and inequality, given that “ideologies are socially ‘invented’ and reproduced in society” (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 135). Van Dijk is particularly interested in looking not only at groups, but also at group relations and institutionalization. Group relations of interest may be that between the masses and the elites (or ideologues), who may be seen as having more

“articulate’ ideological systems,” and better access to ‘public’ discourse (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 172). Van Dijk also mentions that ideologies can negatively serve to empower elites or “positively serve to empower dominated groups, to create solidarity, to organize struggle and to sustain opposition” (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 138). He goes on to explain, that whether negative or positive, “ideologies serve to protect interests and resources, whether these are unjust privileges, or minimal conditions of existence” (Ibid.). Of course, what is meant by “positive” and “negative” here must be interrogated, and where the line between these terms lies, discussed. The most crucial questions to ask here are *for what? And for whom?* As we can see, at the societal level, ideologies can vary in scope and interests, and there are several ways of analyzing such ideology.

Discourse, van Dijk’s third and final element of ideology, is a term treated differently among various disciplines and CDA scholars. Generally, talk and text, or language in use, are central to the understanding of discourse in its narrower sense, however discourse analyses may look at all elements of a *communicative event* (van Dijk, *Ideology* 194). I have chosen to understand discourse in its broader sense, drawing here on the work of David Machin and Andrea Mayr (2012) who provide examples of ‘multimodal critical discourse analysis’, which recognizes texts to be both linguistic and visual in nature. As they explain, “Texts will use linguistic and visual strategies that appear normal or neutral on the surface, but which may in fact be ideological and seek to shape the representation of events and persons for particular ends” (10). Van Dijk does choose to focus solely on the ‘verbal products’ (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 194) of communicative events, looking at discursive-linguistic strategies such as semantics, syntax, schematic structures and rhetorical structures, but nonetheless recognizes the broader sense of discourse, as previously mentioned. In the following

chapters, I draw upon the linguistic components of discourse outlined by van Dijk, however, as do Machin and Mayr<sup>22</sup>, I recognize that images and visual representations may also be considered discourse.

Let us give an example of a particular discursive concept of importance to this project. Linguistic semantics or word choices construct meaning and can therefore be an important element of analysis for CDA. This is best exemplified in the well-known semantic dilemma of whether to use the term ‘terrorist’ or ‘freedom fighter’ (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 205), which may result in a highly ideologically-driven word choice. If I am to pair this with an understanding of Machin and Mayr’s conception of visual semantics, we may look at particular visual elements which construct meaning, such as settings (where does the scene take place) and foregrounding, which creates importance (Machin and Mayr 56). As we can see, taking semantics as the unit of analysis can be done on a linguistic and visual level.

To continue, Van Dijk chooses to pair his conception of discourse with an understanding of context. He explains that accounting for the complex social conditions of talk and text is achieved through ‘context models’ (van Dijk, *Discourse and Context* 216). Some elements of what constitutes a context model were touched upon in Baker’s understanding of contextualization presented in the introduction (namely, the variation in interpretation of context), however, I will focus here on the notion of context as it relates to discourse. For van Dijk, context is investigated on personal and social levels. “(They) represent how participants in a communicative event see, interpret and mentally represent the properties of the social situation

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<sup>22</sup> It is important to note that Machin and Mayr draw heavily on the work of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen who wrote *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* and advanced the notion of “visual communication”.



that are now relevant for them” (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 212). These properties are informed by a range of micro and macro level factors, drawn from the past and the present. In turn, this affects the way ideology is manifested within discourse, and is the necessary link between cognition and discourse.

Presenting a theory of ideology “provides us with a conceptual framework that also allows us to engage in ideological analyses, and, hence, a critique of discursive practices” (van Dijk, “Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis” 22). Within CDA, there are certain types of discourse which are more susceptible to critique, and certain instances of language in use that tend to exhibit these more highly criticized discursive practices. For example, a politically-driven text may be more discursively loaded than an instruction manual, and therefore more susceptible to discursive critique. This is because the former text may contain more embedded opinions, positions, interests and other group properties (van Dijk, “Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis” 22). However, no text should be entirely exempt from ideological analysis, as covert elements of ideology may potentially be present in all texts.

As done with the above discussion of Functionalism, a particular criticism of CDA that is found to be relevant to this research project will now be discussed. The following has also been used as an important building block for the creation of mediated discourse analysis (MDA). “MDA problematizes the relationship between discourse and action, noting that it is not always possible to ‘read’ social actions from discourse or to expect certain forms of discourse to inevitably accompany certain actions (Jones qtd. in Norris and Jones 9). As a result, MDA looks at how actions are mediated by agents in their social world, focusing on discourse *in* action, rather than discourse *as* action. Although MDA presents a valid critique of CDA and its resulting

mandate, this does not render futile the work of critical discourse analysis. The processes and products of translation (at times) offer particularly telling instances of language in use. This is because source and target texts can be compared, which may increase the potential ability to see or ‘read’, and therefore analyze how society and (social) cognition have influenced translational action. The linguistic nature of this subject of study, that is, translation, also means that looking at discourse *in* action would be unprofitable, given that for this project, other forms of action are secondary to language in use. Of course, analyzing the role of discourse in any situation has its limitations, even within MDA, given that we can never fully understand ‘why people choose to do what they do’, and so it is always important to keep this limitation in mind. Furthermore, as has been mentioned previously, it is also important to keep in mind how our own context models influence our interpretations of ‘why people choose to do what they do’.

#### **2.4. Additional Theoretical Considerations**

In this section, some additional theoretical considerations that provide tools for understanding the subject at hand are mentioned, though they are not of central importance to the theoretical framework of this project. In particular, narrative theory will be examined here, and is a theory often employed in studies of activist translation. This theory has been used extensively in the work of Mona Baker on activist translation and many other scholars who were perhaps influenced by her work, or perhaps identified its utility on their own. Baker’s form of narrative theory comes from the theoretical work of Margaret Somers and Gloria Gibson, and is based heavily on the social components of this theory. As she explains: “Narrative theory is ultimately a theory of how communities are formed, how they grow and change but nevertheless maintain their ‘identity’” (Baker, “Resisting State Terror” 225). This is comparable to van Dijk’s understanding of ‘society’ within his three-part understanding of ideology, however, her idea of

communities (i.e. society) does not emphasize the role of dominant forces in community formation, as does van Dijk. Baker goes on to say that this is also a theory of “how (these communities) attract individuals, and how these ultimately disparate individuals come to share and identify with a set of broad narratives that can draw them together as a community and still accommodate endless variation at the individual level” (Baker, “Resisting State Terror” 225). This seems to address similar aspects of van Dijk’s conception of ‘(social) cognition’, however, her blending of micro and macro level analysis is missing the strong sense of agency that we find in van Dijk’s CDA, which is fostered by ideology. Although Baker mentions ‘interests’ and ‘values’ at times, she stays away from the ideological considerations that are of importance to this project. Her analysis of ideology is therefore not as useful for the purpose of this project as that of CDA, given that she does not discuss power and agency, which are central to this project. It has also been mentioned by Luis Pérez González that Baker has tended to concentrate on the outcome of activist identities, rather than the processes of their formation, and perhaps this is where the theory of ideology is really able to fill this research gap. This is due to the fact that studying identities is looking at a product whereas studying ideology may be seen more as the study of a process.

It is however worth pointing out that since Baker is coming from a translation studies background there are certain elements of her articulation of Somers and Gibbons’ theory, as it relates to translation, that are helpful. For example, she conducts narrative analysis by looking at the four categories of personal, public, disciplinary and meta narratives. The first two categories are rather straight forward, however, the second two merit some explanation. Disciplinary narratives are formed on the basis of ‘translation’ as an object of enquiry, such as narratives of neutrality, interculturality, faithfulness, transparency, professional standards etc. (Baker

“Theorizing” 226). Meta narratives “transcend spatial and temporal boundaries” and may include narratives surrounding evolution, progress or globalization, as examples. These kinds of macro “context models” are spelled out by Baker, given that her focus is centered on activism within translation. As a result, using narrative theory to address issues related to translation may be easier in that there is a clear model for how it is applicable within TS, and when dealing with a multilingual setting and mediating across borders (both linguistic and geographical). This is not the case for CDA which often deals with monolingual settings, and examples of its application within TS are much fewer and farther between, and certainly not as closely related in subject matter as Baker’s analysis. One must therefore work harder to draw the links between CDA and studies of translation and translators. Nevertheless, this can be viewed as positive as it allows us to draw conclusions about the ideology of translation and translators by contemplating perspectives stemming from both translation and development studies. Given this freedom, and the possibility of looking at agency within ideology, I believe that CDA is more useful than narrative theory for the purpose of this research project. However, it is worth contemplating this latter theory, as the notions of disciplinary and meta narratives prove useful for the project at hand.

## **2.5. Audio-Visual Translation Theory**

The second theoretical consideration, which is of importance to the analyses of Chapter 3, is theory surrounding Audio Visual Translation (AVT), or what is sometimes termed Multimedia Translation (MM)<sup>23</sup>. When dealing with this particular type of translation, which may take the form of subtitles or dubbing, an understanding of AVT norms are beneficial. Yves

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<sup>23</sup> Although, this is not an AVT study per se, the videos examined in Chapter 3 make use of AVT, and as a result, it is important to clarify the notions used to describe and analyze this portion of the research project.

Gambier and Henrik Gottlieb (2001) touch upon some of these norms by discussing relevant criteria for successful AVT, which they identify as the need for comprehensibility, accessibility and usability within AVT, which is not achieved in the same way as with conventional texts (xi). For example, ‘reading speed’ affects translation strategy when subtitling, as there is an agreed (television) ‘speed limit’ of twelve subtitles per second (Gottlieb 20), which is one requirement needed to meet the norms outlined above. Furthermore, ‘density of information’ (Gambier 178) is a concern for such texts. This refers to the fact that in AVT, the audience is subjected to many communicative elements simultaneously (i.e. pictures, sound, language), which is further complicated at times by complex knowledge and data (Gambier 178). As a result, omission or condensation is at times an acceptable ‘technical manipulation’ (Díaz) of the oral text, in order to produce a comprehensible, accessible and usable target-written text. However Jorge Díaz (2012) does distinguish between technical and ideological manipulation within AVT, explaining that they should be treated differently. For Díaz, technical manipulation is necessary and not a negative practice, though “it should not entail significant, deliberate change in meaning that would contradict the nature of the source programme” (284). He goes on to say that “diasemiotic differences can often be misconstrued and taken advantage of quite openly”, as deletions and condensations have an easy scapegoat within “technical” manipulation. Ideological manipulation, on the other hand, is the purposeful and unscrupulous alteration of a text for various reasons, ranging from social and political to economical (Díaz 285). These ideological manipulations are of central importance to this thesis project, and so any translation choices that are suspected of being driven by ideological manipulation in the video examples of Chapter 3, will be interrogated. In performing such interrogating, the ethics, agency and positionality (Díaz

286) of translators and any others involved in the process of audio-visual development-NGO translation must also be questioned.

## **Concluding Remarks**

The evolution of translation studies has led us to a point where we are now increasingly considering the ‘human’ aspects of translation, in combination with the linguistic ones. Functionalist translation theory is focused on the purpose of translation, elevating the status of the translator and emphasizing the role of the commissioner. In the following chapters, the status of the NGO translator is also elevated, by looking at the purpose of their practices and where their loyalties tend to lie. The case studies in chapter 3 will provide concrete examples of how certain text types are translated for a given *skopos*. The surveys of chapter 4 will help us unearth any underlying loyalties and motivational factors in translation practices. I will also shed light on how the commissioner, which is the NGO in this case, may influence such practices and what the relationship of translator-commissioner consists of. For example, Vermeer recognizes that statements of purpose are not often clear or even present, therefore making the translators job more difficult (“Skopos and Translational Action” 183).

CDA allows us to interrogate ideology at the levels of (social) cognition, society and discourse, and helps to make sense of discourse as a form of action. It also allows us to combine micro and macro level analysis. As a result, I am able to interweave certain ideological concerns and questions that serve the interest of this research project, such as: membership devices (who belongs to us?); typical acts (what do we do?); aims (why do we do it?); relations with other (opponent) groups; resources, including access to public discourse (van Dijk “Critical Discourse

Studies” 79). These will be especially important to keep in mind when contemplating the surveys and the results and analyses thereof, found in chapter 4.

When looking at translation from a CDA perspective, the scenario is somewhat more complex than in a monolingual setting. This is due to the fact that a translator and commissioner’s ideology and context models must be interpreted, in addition to those of the original author. Tymoczko (2003) helps to further understand how a translator’s ideology may affect the act of translation:

[T]he ideology of a translation resides not simply in the text translated, but in the voicing and stance of the translator, and in its relevance to the receiving audience. These latter features are affected by the place of enunciation of the translator: indeed they are part of what we mean by the 'place' of enunciation, for that 'place' is an ideological positioning as well as a geographical or temporal one. (qtd. in Munday “Translation and Ideology” 197)

The AVT examples of Chapter 3 will help us uncover any ideology residing in certain translated texts, but it is the surveys of Chapter 4 that will move us closer to identifying the translator’s “place of enunciation”. Of course aspects of ideology pertaining to the NGO will also influence translator and translation practices, making this use of critical discourse analysis especially challenging. More complicated, yes, however not impossible, given that CDA is by nature a multidisciplinary approach, accepting of many different subjects of study, but also able to be used in combination with many other theoretical considerations. As a result, what has evolved here is a hybrid theoretical framework, utilizing the strengths of both functionalist translation theory and critical discourse analysis. I will continue to apply these theories in the chapters that

follow as in combination they help to make sense of NGO translation and translator practices, particularly as they relate to ideology.



### **Chapter 3. NGO TRANSLATION IN PRACTICE: THE CASE OF PLAN CANADA**

This chapter investigates the translational activities of Plan Canada, a development-NGO based out of Canada. First, an overview of the organization is provided, and then its various text-genres and vectors of communication<sup>24</sup> are presented. I will then look specifically at the use of the promotional text genre and its related operative text-type function within this NGO. In order to analyze text-genres and text-types, functionalist translation theory, as presented by Reiss, is drawn upon. I will also look at the overall *skopos* of these texts, which is a notion presented by Vermeer. Once this groundwork has been laid, I will then examine two audio-visual translation (AVT) examples from Plan Canada. After sufficiently contextualizing the examples, they will be analyzed using a CDA lens and by looking specifically at the ideology implicated in these instances of translation. I will pay particular attention to the cognitive, social and discursive aspects of ideology, as elaborated upon by van Dijk. Finally, based on this analysis, some concluding remarks regarding development-NGO ideology are provided.

#### **3.1. Plan Canada Overview**

Plan Canada is one of the largest development-NGOs in Canada. Most metropolitan Canadians are familiar with this organization, given their advertising presence on subways, televisions, and fundraisers on the streets. Plan Canada is part of the larger Plan International network, though “Plan Canada is the largest funder of Plan International with Canadian

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<sup>24</sup>‘Vectors of Communication’ is a concept introduced by Maria Constanza Guzmán within a graduate course titled ‘Experiences of Translation in the Americas’ taught within the School of Translation at Glendon College, York University.

donations accounting for 19% of Plan International's total donations” (Charity Intelligence Canada). In the fall of 2013, donors residing in Canada contributed \$92 million dollars to Plan Canada (Charity Intelligence Canada), though it is unclear whether this money came mainly from individuals, government funds or private company donations.

Plan International, sometimes referred to simply as “Plan”, and one of the oldest charities of its kind, was established in 1937 as a response to the Spanish Civil War. British war journalist, John Langdon-Davies, founded (what was then called) ‘Foster Parents Plan for Children in Spain’ to help children escaping the war<sup>25</sup>. As explains today’s CEO Rosemary McCarney,

It was (Langdon-Davies) innovative idea to translate the seemingly insurmountable problem of mass misery in Spain to the experience of an individual child. For just one shilling a day, someone in Britain could support that child. Through letters, these “foster parents” could directly see that their gifts were making a difference, and would be encouraged to sustain their sponsorship. (Plan Canada, “Staying Relevant in a Changing World”)

From this quote, it becomes apparent that from very early on the main focus of Plan was children, and motivating people to effect change in the lives of others.

Today, child sponsorship is still an important mobilization strategy of the organization; however, they have expanded their efforts to include some of the common development strategies of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. These strategies focus on structural change

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<sup>25</sup> Other notable figures became involved with child sponsorship projects during this period. One such person is Nicholas Winton, a British stockbroker who helped Jewish children escape German-occupied Czechoslovakia leading up to the Second World War. (CBS 60 Minutes, “Saving the Children”)

brought about by better systems of education, health, water and sanitation, and economic security. For Plan, it has become clear that in order to improve the lives of children, they must also help the families and communities of these children. That is why, in addition to child sponsorship, Plan also facilitates community and project sponsorships, such as the ‘Because I am a Girl’ project, which focuses on empowering women, and which has been an extremely successful campaign in Canada.

Of course, Plan has also expanded their network of assistance and no longer works in Spain, a country that is now considered to be part of the “First World”. Today, this NGO has presence in Africa, Asia and the Americas; and within Latin America and the Caribbean, 12 countries receive assistance from Plan. Of particular interest to us here are the specific branches of Plan found in Guatemala and Ecuador, given that the translation examples I examine are related to work being done in these countries. Plan has had a presence in Ecuador since 1963 and currently has projects running in 1,000 Ecuadorian communities. They have been in Guatemala since 1978 and currently have projects running in 647 Guatemalan communities. The work being done in both of these countries still focuses mainly on the well-being of children and many of the projects in these countries are coordinated between Plan Canada, and either Plan Ecuador or Plan Guatemala, respectively.

### **3.2. Vectors of Communication**

In order for Plan Canada to coordinate development projects in various countries, communication is essential, both within Canada and abroad. This communication takes place across different languages and vectors of communication. For example, within

Canada, communication must be facilitated between French and English-speaking populations, and internationally, between Canada's languages and those spoken in the countries where development projects are carried out. I have chosen to focus on Spanish as the "developing" country language of concern, but many other languages also form part of such communication<sup>26</sup>. As a result of this cross-cultural/linguistic communication, translation is an important part of mediating the communication of Plan Canada.

I have termed these various forms of communication within this organization as their 'vectors of communication'. These vectors provide categorization for the various ways in which the National office and aid-receiving country offices of Plan Canada interact. To elaborate, within this organization, there are the following vectors of communication: donor -donor, donor-recipient, recipient-donor, and recipient-recipient. Donor-donor communication refers to all necessary interactions among the National office workers of the NGO operating out of Canada. Donor-recipient communication and vice versa refers to all interactions occurring between the National office of the NGO and its recipient-country counterparts. Finally, recipient-recipient communication refers to all interactions occurring among workers of the aid-receiving country offices of Plan Canada.

These vectors of communication may be further broken down by examining either side of the NGO separately. Within the National office and aid-receiving country offices, there are both internal and external forms of communication. In the National office, internal communication occurs among those working for Plan Canada, and externally, the

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<sup>26</sup> Within Latin America, Portuguese, French and several minority languages are also spoken, and thus require mediation.

NGO communicates with existing and potential donors/supporters at the individual, corporate and government levels. On the aid-receiving country side the same internal communication occurs among project organizers or the Plan branches of the specific countries involved. Externally, this side of the NGO must communicate with project participants, members of the communities, and governments. Since the main donors of these projects are from the Canadian side, direct donor communication with the aid-receiving country is not possible. Nevertheless, indirect donor communication is necessary, as information must be passed internally from the aid-receiving countries to Canada, and then externally to any donors.

### **3.3. Text-Genres and Promotional-Operative Texts**

Within each vector of communication, we may also find various text-genres, a concept elaborated upon by Reiss, and which helps us classify texts and better understand the “linguistic markers” (Nord 38) and function of a given classification. Internally, and on both sides of the NGO, there is a need for communication related to resource coordination, and progress reports and evaluations. This communication is also required across the NGO, between National office and recipient-country offices. Although there is a need for external communication in the developing communities involved, the need for such communication is greater within Canada. For example, funding applications, website content, communication with donors (letters, emails, etc.) and promotional materials are all necessary in the Canadian context.

Translation has a greater place in some genres than others. Of course, inter-NGO (Canada-Global South) communication is one such place, but also within Canada, we will

see that translation plays a large role in the NGO, as communication among French and English populations is considered important. In addition, any materials flowing internally from aid-receiving country offices to the National office, and then externally from the Canadian side of the NGO to individual/governmental donors must undergo translation in order to be accessible. These kinds of translated materials are what I will focus on within the videos of Plan Canada. More specifically, I look at the promotional genre, which is used to promote the work of Plan Canada to a Canadian target audience. This genre may also take various forms, for example, written articles, images and videos all may be used to promote the NGO.

As mentioned by Reiss, when translating, each text genre is related to a specific text-type. In this case, it is the operative text-type which guides this specific genre. An operative text-type is “adaptive” (Munday *Introducing Translation* 74) and target audience-oriented. This means that for promotional texts, potential donor populations at the individual, corporate and governmental levels are central to the translation strategies employed. In addition, the term ‘operative’ implies having a specific effect, which in promotional materials is to produce a desired reaction from this target audience, that is, for the target audience to support Plan Canada, and ultimately, to donate.

Although these texts are primarily operative, there are also elements of the informative and expressive text-types within these promotional videos. They are informative given that they also seek to educate and advocate for a certain cause; and they are expressive given that they tell the stories of the people involved as recipients of Plan’s projects. Functionalism, as elaborated upon by Reiss, does recognize the possibility of

multi-purpose text-types, even though this may at times create contradictions within texts. This is due to the fact that certain text-types call for certain translation strategies, all of which are not compatible. For example, telling a story, as does an expressive text, may call for a more free form of translation (focused on the rendering meaning) than a factual or educational text which stays closer to a word-for-word rendering.

Nevertheless, for these promotional videos, the operative text-type is the most integral part of achieving the greater *skopos*, which is Vermeer's concept of text function. The *skopos* of these promotional texts is to illicit a desired behaviour from the target audience. This behaviour entails taking some sort of action which positively affects Plan Canada. For the organization, this desired action is donating or supporting the cause of the organization more generally, however, donating is most likely the preferred action. In turn, donating is related to the over-arching goal of stimulating financial gain for Plan Canada, so that they may have success as an institution and be able to carry out development projects in the Global South.

### **3.4. Further Functionalist Considerations**

Further considerations of translation in practice highlighted by Vermeer are the concepts of 'formulation' and 'distribution' as part of the translation process. Taking this into consideration, it is clear that these Plan Canada videos were formulated, and to an extent distributed, with intercultural communication in mind. This may be of influence on the AVTs within the videos, as it means that they were carried out with the sole intention of TT circulation. This also signifies that the ST does not have an audience in itself, and is thus primarily used as a 'tool' for translation. As a result, the ST is of lesser importance than the TT, which may lead to

greater translation liberties in TT-production in order to ensure target audience expectations are met.

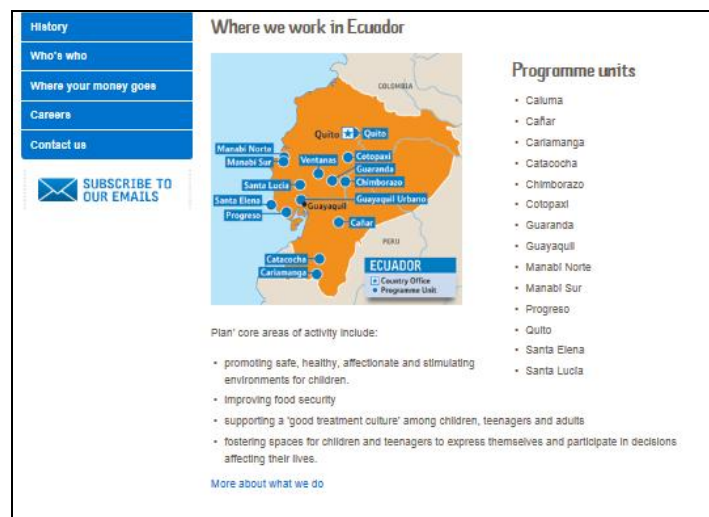
Within Skopos theory, the role of the commissioner is also quite complex. In these cases of translation, the commissioner is not an individual, but instead an institution, the NGO – Plan Canada. It is evident is that this commissioner has a strong presence, given that these texts have a promotional *skopos* in mind, meaning that this NGO seeks to promote some aspect of its own institution. It can therefore be noted that Plan is both commissioner and client in these translational actions. Given that it plays both roles, it is probable that the *skopos* of these translations has not been given explicitly, as the coordination of the desires and goals of different parties is not required. Furthermore, translation is not the primary concern or activity being carried out in this organization, and so it is probable that translation is somewhat of an afterthought for Plan Canada. It is in this sense that the translator's role is elevated; as they must make decisions about what they perceive to be the desired purpose of the commissioner and client in producing these texts, and whether they will abide by such a *skopos*.

This leads us to the concept of loyalty presented by Nord. If the translators involved are to adhere to the promotional purposes of these texts, the translator must act most loyally towards the target audience and commissioner/client. In order to adhere to promotional purposes, the acceptance and approval of these texts by the target audience is crucial. As a result, some source text features may be disregarded in order to produce such a loyal translation. Furthermore, the customs and practices of the target culture may be favoured over those of the source culture, in order to ensure target audience acceptance.

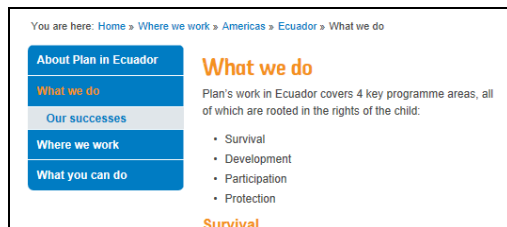


### 3.5. Locating the AVT Examples

As mentioned in the introduction, the two cases of translation that I have chosen to analyze are instances of AVT. Both videos were found on the Plan Canada website in the “About Plan” section under the heading “Where we work”. Here one finds a list of all of the countries in which Plan has a presence. Each country name contains a link to that country’s profile, where a list of all community projects can be found, and further information in another link titled “More about what we do”. Clicking this link leads to yet another link titled “Our successes” where the videos can be found.



Screenshot 3.1



Screenshot 3.2



Screenshot 3.3

Here I have provided screenshots of the process taken to reach either of the AVT examples I have chosen to examine. These particular screenshots are for the steps necessary to reach the Plan Ecuador video, however, accessing the Plan Guatemala video requires similar steps.

### **3.6. Audio-Visual Examples: An Overview**

An overview of the two videos from which the AVT examples are drawn, will now be provided. One of the videos is set in a small town in Ecuador and the other, in rural Guatemala. Both videos highlight the issues of a particular community in each country and showcase the development projects of the organization. These projects vary in scope, but are both centrally concerned with providing support and services to aid-receiving community members, especially children. Given that the videos are promotional in nature, they are meant to encourage donors to get involved. This is apparent in the inter-title presented at the beginning and end of the video taking place in Ecuador that reads “Be a part of it”.

These videos present a combination of images, inter-titles, commentary and dialogue. The images or visual aspects of the video clips are obviously present throughout the entire videos, and are used in conjunction with the other elements listed above. In each video there are instances where English is written or spoken as a way of framing and contextualizing the videos. Although not forms of translation in the strict textual sense, these inter-titles and commentaries are important to consider as they add to the promotional nature of the texts. The dialogue in both of the videos does not appear to be scripted, and it provides a documentary-like quality to both videos. In most cases, the

speakers seem to be responding to questions prompted by an unknown individual behind the camera.

The above-mentioned dialogue constitutes the AVT examples I have chosen to analyse as the speakers provide comments in Spanish, and subtitles are provided in English. Given that examples of AVT that utilize subtitles are to be examined, we will be taking the subtitling norms outlined in Chapter 2 into consideration when discussing any segments investigated. It is also important to note that in both videos the communities highlighted are of indigenous people, and so when people from the communities speak, there is often indigenous languages interjected throughout their speech. This makes it difficult at times to analyse these portions of AVT. However, when the program coordinators and facilitators speak, a more readily-understood international-sort of Spanish is used, and so I am able to fully understand these portions of the videos.

### **3.7. Example 1: Education in Ecuador**

The first video to be analyzed takes place in San Roque, which is a district within the city of Quito, Ecuador. The video is titled “Education Lift for Child Street Workers” and is approximately seven minutes in length. It features a development project helping to reduce child labour in the markets of San Roque. The video starts by presenting the issue of internal migration into this community, where rural indigenous families come into the city in search of work or better wages, only to find that they have limited or no access to such opportunities. This is mainly due to the language barrier they are faced with, as most of these people only speak Kichwa, and widespread discrimination. The story is one that is found all over the world, where people are forced to work on street corners where they

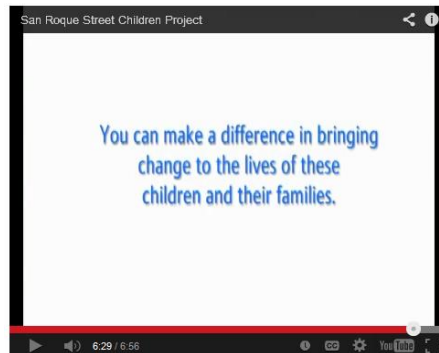
earn very little, or in low-income-generating markets where they make just enough to survive, often living on the streets as a result.

One of the facilitators in this video, María Belen Munoz, states (as per the English-translated subtitles) that in this area “there are approximately 2,200 working children, 33% of whom are concentrated in downtown Quito” (minute 2:10 to 2:12 of the video).

According to the video, there are several reasons that families decide to have their children work with them instead of having them go to school. These include a lack of access to education resulting from insufficient economic resources, long working hours with no access to daycare, and cultural differences which are not adequately accommodated in the school system and which lead to a distrust of the school system. As a response to this problem, Plan has opened a school meant to serve indigenous families, named in its English translation the Inter-Cultural Bilingual Experimental Center, and various other programs, some of which are on the weekends, for those who cannot attend school regularly during the week.

The video goes on to show various clips of interviews with children, expressing their gratitude for the programs, how the programs have helped them, and their plans for the future. These parts of the video have a more positive tone, as indigenous families and their children now have schooling in San Roque that allows them to embrace and nurture their culture and Kichwa language. However, one program director explains that there is still a lot of work to be done, as this program needs to be maintained and many indigenous children in this area, and others within Ecuador, are still without such resources. The notion of project sponsorship is emphasized as the key to continued success and expansion

of this type of bilingual and inter-cultural education system, and the target audience is once again encouraged to get involved. One of the final images that appear is an inter-title stating “You can make a difference in bringing change to the lives of these children and their families” (minute 6:29 of the video).



Screenshot 3.4

The first translation segment of the video I would like to draw attention to occurs from minute 1:34 to minute 1:36. A girl, named in the video as ‘Tania-student’ is presented in a documentary-style setting. She appears in the foreground and is close enough to the screen that it is difficult to identify the backdrop of this interview, though it would appear to be taking place in her school, given that the frames before and after Tania appears are identifiable images of an educational facility.



Screenshot 3.5

The oral source text, provided by Tania, is as follows:

*“El motivo del estudio es para seguirnos superando y no dejarnos marginar por nadie.”*

[Literal translation. The reason for studying is to continue to better ourselves and not allow ourselves to be marginalized by others.]

[Subtitle. The reason we want to study is to better ourselves and not be left behind.]

The speaker of the source text (ST) has made reference to a shared motivation to study (the use of the first person plural), but has also made reference to some other individual or group involved in attempts to marginalize the social group that Tania (the speaker) belongs to. Here there is an agent of marginalization, though we may only guess who that person/group may be. Regardless, it is interesting to note that in the target text (TT) this marginalizing entity disappears, and the subtitles read: “The reason we want to study is to better ourselves and not be left behind”. Furthermore, the active reference to “not allowing oneself” (“*y no dejarnos*”) to be marginalized has been omitted, converting this thought into a passive one.

In taking subtitling time constraints into consideration (a maximum of twelve characters per second) it may be that the literal translation (“and not allow ourselves to be marginalized by others”) would not have fit in this subtitling segment. Nevertheless, the subtitle could have read “and not be marginalized”, leaving out reference to others, instead of “and not be left behind”, as the subtitle reads. This subtitle would have obeyed the reading speed norm of the existing time allocation. Even without reference to others, the concept of marginalization implies reference to a marginalizing group and therefore agency.

The second AVT segment that I would like to highlight takes place from minute 3:46 to 3:54. Tania (the student) once again appears in a documentary-style setting, and she states:

*“Ayudan a niños especiales, a niños de bajos recursos económicos, que los padres muchas de las veces no les pueden dar el estudio.”*

[Literal translation. They help children with special needs, children of low income families, children whose parents many of the times cannot allow them to study.]

[Subtitle. They help children with special needs whose parents can't hardly ever let them study because they earn so little.]

In the written TT rendering of the oral ST, significant structural changes have taken place. Some of these changes are due to grammatical differences between Spanish and English, for example, “*dar el estudio*” literally means “to give study”, however, in English it is more idiomatic to state that you are “allowing” or “letting someone study”. Yet some structural changes are not a result of attempting to resolve idiomatic difference. For example, in the ST it is unclear why these children are living in poverty (“*niños de bajos recursos económicos*”), whereas in the TT, parental income has been identified as the cause of poverty (parents...earn so little”). In contrast with the last AVT example, this translation segment consists of an addition of agency.

There is also a change in register and tone between ST and TT. To begin, the former is of a more formal register than the latter. This is apparent in the difference between the ST: “*bajos recursos económicos*” and the TT: “earn so little”. The statement “*dar el estudio*” is also more formal than “let them study”. This the ST speaker was using a less formal speech they have opted to say “*dejarles estudiar*” in Spanish. The change in

tone may also be seen in the first example presented in this paragraph of a change in register. In addition to being less formal, the statement “earn so little” also has an emotional effect as it is a more personal reference that is not present in the Spanish ST.

The third and final point of interest within this video occurs from minute 5:29 of the video until minute 5:35. In this segment, a woman named Irma García who is identified as the Manager of Quito Plan International discusses the community sponsorship model used in this community and its benefits. Once again, there is a documentary-like quality to the setting, although this time the speaker is standing on the street, a little further back from the camera. Irma states:

*“No solo estamos promoviendo que niños en situación de riesgo de ser callejerizados vayan a la escuela.”*

[Literal translation. Not only are we promoting that children at risk of living on the street go to school]

[Subtitle. We’re not only encouraging street children to go to school.]



Screenshot 3.6

The subtitle that appears as Irma is talking relays a different message entirely to that of the speaker. The term “*callejerizados*” present in the ST is a term used in Sociology to describe the process of individuals becoming a part of a social group who live and spend their time on the



street, and partake in “street life”<sup>27</sup>. In the TT this term has been translated as “street children” and the reference to being “at risk” of the process previously mentioned is not present. In the Spanish version, the children are at risk of living on the street, yet in the translation they have already been placed on the street.

The notion of ‘street children’ is a recurring notion throughout this video. This is evidenced in the fact that the title of the video is “Education lift for Child Street Workers”. Once again, the reference is to children already living on the street and not those who are “at risk”. The title is of added importance as it would most likely be the first point of contact any target audience would have with the video. Furthermore, the title sets the stage and provides contextualization for the contents of the video.

### **3.8. Example 2: Nutrition in Guatemala**

The second subtitled video brings attention to a program in Chibax, Guatemala, and is titled “Fighting Malnutrition in Guatemala”. This video is shorter than the previous example, and is approximately three minutes in length. Once again, this is a project that combines the efforts of Plan’s over-arching international body, and those divisions found in Canada and at the aid-receiving level in Guatemala. The video begins by giving stark facts regarding malnourishment among indigenous children in Guatemala. A young unidentified girl speaks about her hunger and

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<sup>27</sup> Finding a definition of this term proved difficult. Héctor Ávila Cabrera, a Sociologist from the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Unidad Azcapotzalco, does provide a Spanish definition of “*callejización*” in one of his articles, however: *El proceso de “callejización” se profundiza en la medida en que la calle se asume como espacio vivencial y como principal espacio de socialización. El desprendimiento de su cultura se hace automática por las características asociadas a la ‘situación de calle’.*

dislike for the food she has to eat, and a father expresses his disappointment for not being able to provide adequate food for his family.

In this video the solution is presented as Plan's Food Security project, as evidenced in this English inter-title: "Plan set up family gardens using local seed banks and taught the farmers to make their compost" (minute 1:27). This is a particularly important subtitle segment as it helps solidify the place of Plan (and their donors) in processes of development. Following this segment, an unidentified man explains how the organization helped him set up a compost system, so that he would no longer have to buy fertilizer for his maize crops, therefore helping him to save economic resources. Near the end of the video, women are shown gathered around a table chopping vegetables and laughing, which helps emphasize that the compost solution has been successful.

There are parts of this video where I am unable to perform an in-depth analysis similar to that done for the Plan Ecuador video, given that the speaker of the source text uses a hybrid-sort of language, which combines the codes of both Spanish and one of the Mayan languages. This is to be expected in Guatemala, a country where approximately 2.3 million people speak K'iche' (*Ethnologue* website), which is one of the most widely spoken Mayan languages in this Central American country.

This poses significant problems for the translation of information related to Plan Canada projects in Guatemala (and other countries in Latin America with similar linguistic settings). This is due to the fact that Spanish-speaking translators in Canada are readily available to the National Office, whereas translators who speak K'iche' are less readily available in Canada. As a result, miscommunication is more likely to take place between the National office and aid-

receiving community offices as indirect translation practices must be employed yet may not always be available<sup>28</sup>. In addition, the use of such practices means that more individuals must be involved in successful translations, further complicating the process. Finally, K'iche' translators in the aid-receiving communities are more likely to play a role in such translation, meaning that the National Office loses a degree of control over these processes of translation.

The one AVT segment in this video that I would like to bring attention to occurs at minute 2:09. The speaker in this segment is a contented farmer, again presented in a documentary-like setting. The unidentified farmer is standing with his home-made fertilizer, which is the reason for his contentedness. In this scene, he is explaining that he is now able to better provide for his family thanks to his fertilizer production. The ST is not understood fully by someone who does not also understand the Mayan language interjected, and as a result, I am unable to provide the spoken text of this AVT segment in its entirety. The parts of the text that are accessible to a Spanish-speaker include the numerical values of fertilizer produced and the work “*abono*”. During this segment of the spoken text, the following subtitle appears:

[Subtitle. But now with my organic compost; I plant 25 squares and produce 105 sacks of maize.]



Screenshot 3.7

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<sup>28</sup> Indirect translation is a common notion within the field of translation, and is defined as “translation based on other translations” (Baker, *Routledge Encyclopedia* 676).

Within the TT, the adjective ‘organic’ has been added to the notion of ‘compost’. This use of ‘compost’ may also be contentious as ‘*abono*’ may also be translated as ‘fertilizer’. This Spanish term is more generic than its English counterparts, as compost refers to a home-made fertilizing agent, whereas fertilizer is more likely to be store-bought.

### **3.9. Video and AVT Analysis**

To begin this analysis, the ideas of development scholar Nandita Dogra regarding NGO representation strategies are presented. These strategies will then be applied to the Plan Canada videos presented above, which I will now refer to as Example 1 (video on Ecuador) and Example 2 (video on Guatemala). In this section, and those that follow, the visual and linguistic semantics of these videos will be highlighted, given that both word and image choices construct meaning (van Dijk, Machin and Mayr). Discourse-centered CDA will be the main analytical tool used here, given that, as mentioned in Chapter 2, “discourse does ideological work” (Fairclough and Wodak). Furthermore, it is through this use of discourse that Plan Canada ideology may be ‘validated’ and ‘institutionalised’ (Dogra). To end, ideology will be examined using van Dijk’s three-part understanding of cognition, society and discourse, by relating these aspects to the notion of activism, power relations and macro-level Plan Canada discourse, respectively.

### **3.10. Representing Need in Development-NGOs**

Dogra (2007) aptly proposes the notion of ‘representing need’ (162) in her article titled *Reading NGOs Visually’—Implications of Visual Images for NGO Management*. As she explains, successful fundraising and advocacy campaign videos (or what I have termed, promotional videos) often portray both negative and positive images of the aid-

receiving community in question. This dualistic representation is effective as it depicts “a situation that is urgent, open to remedy and real” (Radley and Kennedy qtd. in Dogra 166). Although the author examines the case of the Christian Aid Organization, a development-NGO with its National office in the United Kingdom, many of the arguments made are applicable to other NGOs.

According to Dogra, the use of negative images, characterized by poverty and desolation in the Global South, was first favoured by NGOs in the 1980’s. These negative images are characterized by “helpless, passive, ‘victim’ depictions” and the trivialization of complex issues (Dogra 162). Such negative images continue to be used today, only now in conjunction with the positive images of success stories, highlighted to help build trust for the organization in question. Many of these positive elements are personalized, “allowing for greater identification and impact” and have a touch of “documentary realism” which provides credibility (Dogra 165). Finally, these videos often entail stereotypical representation of “Third World” people in a rural setting, “albeit as active workers” (Dogra 169). The one exception would be “urban slum” depictions found in NGO representations (Ibid.).

The analysis provided by Dogra also includes ideological considerations, as seen in the following quote:

NGO’s, like other socio-cultural institutions of representations, produce, depict, validate and even institutionalise certain discourses and ideologies often reflected in and through the images they use (Dogra 168-9).

From this quote it is apparent that this article mainly discusses the visual components of NGO promotional materials. Nevertheless, the author recognizes the importance of textual elements within such materials and mentions that these textual components also merit analysis. Dogra explains that the linguistic texts that accompany these images are considered to be the “anchorage” of these videos, “locating and contextualizing the image” (Dogra 164).

### **3.11. Representation in the Plan Canada Context**

This dualistic strategy for representing need can also be found in the Plan Canada videos outlined above. Negative and positive forms of representation are used to demonstrate that the issues addressed in the videos are urgent, open to remedy and real; and the visual and linguistic aspects of the videos work together to depict and validate the discourse and ideology of the organization in question. I will now examine some of the particular semiotic features (both visual and linguistic) which reproduce this ideology.

Within the Plan Canada videos, negative representations of communities and individuals perpetuate a sense of urgency. In Example 1, the community of San Roque is represented as an urban slum, and in Example 2, an unidentified community in Guatemala is represented as a poverty-stricken rural village. These depictions are visual in nature, but are accompanied by textual anchorage that provide stark facts regarding child labour (Example 1) and malnourishment (Example 2). The issues have been simplified or trivialized (Dogra) in order to be intelligible to the target audience. For example, percentages and statistics are presented with little contextualization.

The representation of individuals in the videos has also been done strategically. Tania, the Ecuadorian student in Example 1, is visually represented as helpless, adding to a negative representation. In the parts of the video where Tania appears, she is positioned close to the camera, so that you can only see her face, making her seem vulnerable and de-contextualized from her surroundings. Negative visual representation strategies also used in Example 2, where the farmer and his family are presented as victims, appearing in front of rickety buildings and desolate landscapes, presumably before receiving the resources and knowledge to produce home-made compost.

These negative visual representations are consistent with the textual manifestations of the discourse reproduced in these videos. For example, Tania's speech is translated in a way that depicts the student as passive and uneducated. We may recall from the first translation segment of interest in Example 1, an active declaration (I will not *allow myself* to be marginalized) made by Tania was omitted in the translated text, and replaced with a passive rendering of the sentence. In the second segment of Example 1, Tania is also represented as uneducated, as her formal speech is translated informally.

Finally, the addition of the notion of 'street children' in the third segment of interest in Example 1 is an example of AVT that has exaggerated human suffering, a negative aspect of development and the world at large, in order to highlight urgency. This depiction victimizes children that are 'at risk' of living on the street by representing them as individuals who are already living on the street, and therefore affecting how target audiences respond to these issues. This shift in meaning constitutes the greatest textual adaptation found in any of the AVT examples provided.

In contrast, the positive representation strategies in these videos depict effective solutions implemented by Plan Canada, in order to demonstrate that these situations may be remedied. When discussing the success of these projects, the visual elements of the videos change from negative images of slums or devastation, to positive images of schools, their facilitators, and children playing in Example 1; and contented farmers, united families and flourishing gardens, in Example 2. The anchorage accompanying these texts is also positive, and highlights project successes using statistics once again, and by presenting positive dialogue resulting from presumably prompted questions.

The visual representations of facilitators and program managers presented in a positive light differ from the negative representations, such as that of Tania the student. These former individuals are placed farther away from the camera, so that you may see their surroundings, which are also positive (i.e. thriving school communities and gardens). The focus is less on the individual and their facial features, and more on the positive change taking place around them. These individuals also display confidence, which was not the case for Tania, and are standing up straight and using hand gestures, which serve as the embodiment of excitement.

The texts that accompany these images sometimes make reference to negative representations as is the case with the reference to ‘street children’ made by the facilitator (Irma). However, these images tend to be mostly accompanied by positive textual representations. For example, the translation of ‘*abono*’ as ‘organic compost’ in Example 2 is a representation through translation that highlights a concept perceived as positive in the



target culture. By drawing on a concept that is embraced in the target culture, the organization is able to build donor confidence in their development projects.

‘Organic compost’ is also a concept the target audience can recognize as ‘real’. This notion of representing situations that can be perceived as ‘real’ is also done through the use of documentary-like segments. For example, presenting the name of interviewees, such as Tania – the student, and Irma García – the manager, is a documentary-style technique that adds an element of personalization to the videos. This is a representation strategy that is used in both negative and positive representations. Presenting ‘reality’ is effective as it allows the target audience to relate to the information being presented and builds confidence in Plan Canada and the work that they do.

Together, these elements of representation identified by Dogra, and utilized by Plan Canada, have coherent ideological underpinnings. These promotional videos serve this particular ideological system, and so I will now look at the greater implications of these representations through discourse. How the visual and textual discursive practices work to validate, and at times institutionalise, the ideology of this organization are examined.

### **3.12. The Notion of Activism and Ideology**

Ideology, as understood by van Dijk, is a tripartite concept, beginning with the notion of cognition. Cognition refers to a ‘system of ideas’ or beliefs, occurring at the episodic (personal) and semantic (social) levels (van Dijk). Here I will focus on the semantic level of belief systems, given that I do not have access to the personal beliefs of the actors involved in Plan Canada and

the production of these videos (for example, translators, video producers, etc.)<sup>29</sup>. As a result, the focus will be on (social) cognition (van Dijk). As an institution, Plan Canada draws upon its system of ideas, through the use of discourse, in order to produce promotional videos that resonate with the target audience. The desired target audience-reception of these videos is also based on a shared system of ideas, which Plan Canada aims to share with potential donors.

Within these videos, some of the beliefs drawn upon are related to the notion of activism. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the term ‘activism’ can vary in its connotation. The ‘activism’ referred to here is that which is embraced by dominant forces in society and has inherently positive connotations. In this context, activism is the belief that poverty has terrible consequences and is unacceptable, that we must collectively work towards its eradication, and that pre-established development strategies (used by Plan Canada) are the correct means by which to accomplish this.

These activist ideals are present in many aspects of the videos presented above. Although it has not been mentioned explicitly that poverty is undesirable, it is implied in the videos and forms part of a ‘naturalized ideology’ (Fairclough) accepted globally, which is also viewed as ‘common sense’ (van Dijk). To begin, poverty and its consequences are represented in a negative light in both Example 1 and 2. This is apparent in the references made to ‘lack of education’ and ‘living on the street’ in Example 1, and malnourishment in Example 2. In order to emphasize poverty and its consequences, the AVT that makes reference to street children (an adaptation

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<sup>29</sup> In Chapter 4 we get a better sense of the personal-cognitive inclinations of such translators through our survey responses. However, those surveyed are not solely Plan Canada translators, but instead development-NGO translators working for various organization.

from ‘children at risk...’) in Example 1 exaggerates poverty in order to further the opinion (and related emotions) that poverty has terrible consequences.

Furthermore, the belief that we should take action against poverty is depicted in various inter-titles in the videos. For example, the inter-title “Be a part of it” in Example 1 is a command that draws on the action-oriented nature of activism. This notion also constitutes the belief that individuals are *capable* of effecting change, which is evident in the inter-title that reads “You can make a difference in bringing change to the lives of these children and their families”, found in Example 1. This statement empowers potential donors and makes them aware of their capabilities (and responsibilities) as potential activists for Plan Canada. Here is where we see an attempt at the creation of shared opinions among Plan Canada and its donor populations.

The final aspect of activism that Plan Canada has drawn upon is the idea that development strategies facilitate desirable change. This is a specific ‘mental model’ (van Dijk) or conception of activism which has been constructed to further the goals of the organization<sup>30</sup>. This is apparent in Example 1 where the video depicts positive representations of development strategies, such as the building of schools and creation of programs established by Plan for those living in poverty. More specifically, this aspect of activism is evidenced in Example 2 in the representation of ‘organic compost’ as a concept used to improve farming techniques and therefore facilitate development. The addition of ‘organic’ to the translation of ‘*abono*’ demonstrates a development strategy favoured in the donor-side context, given that ‘organic culture’ is a growing phenomenon in Canada and many other developed countries. “Organic

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<sup>30</sup> Here we refer to the goals of the National office and/or donor side of Plan Canada.

farming claims environmental superiority” (Trewavas 409), and has been accepted as a sustainable development strategy, to be adopted within Canada and abroad.

The notion of activism is part of a naturalized ideological belief system, which helps to develop shared forms of knowledge, opinions and emotions (van Dijk) among Plan Canada group members. It also serves the promotional purposes of the organization, in order to attract new group members. As a result, this specific understanding (or construction) of ‘activism’ forms part of the ideological make-up of Plan Canada, which is apparent in their visual and textual practices.

### **3.13. Power Relations and Ideology**

The second element of ideology identified by van Dijk is society. As mentioned in Chapter 2, van Dijk focuses specifically on group relations within the broader category of ‘society’. Focusing on group relations allows for greater understanding of inequality and *power* relations and their connection to ideology, which works to empower and protect the interests of those producing discourse (van Dijk). There are a variety of actors and groups involved in the workings of Plan Canada, resulting in inevitable imbalances of power. These imbalances can be found in the semantic features of both the visual and textual discursive practices of the videos.

To reiterate, Plan Canada is made up of two sides, which are the National office, found in Canada, and the aid-receiving communities, found in various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. However, this separation is more than just geographical in nature, as it also separates the institution along the lines of, what may be considered as, dominant forces in society and those that are dominated. The National office of Plan

Canada is situated within the dominant group, or ‘the elites’ (van Dijk) in global society, and the aid-receiving communities, within the dominated group in global society.

Within the promotional videos of Plan Canada, there are visual and textual representations working to empower and protect the interests of the discourse-producers, that is, the National office and dominant group within the organization. To begin, the visual elements of the videos often highlight the divide between rich and poor, by using recognizable images of poverty, such as children and their parents working on the streets. This representation of ‘the dominated’ in turn helps ‘the dominant’ to recognize their position as the opposite, or as of much better conditions than those of ‘the dominated’.

In terms of textual manifestations, the omission of certain words or complex notions helps to protect the interest of the elites. In Example 1, the omission of reference to ‘marginalization’ (made by Tania) works to protect the interests of the dominant group, given that this phenomenon is a result of power relations and inequality. It is fair speculation that the agent of marginalization Tania is referring to may be the dominant group in society, to which donor-side Plan Canada belongs. Omitting reference to marginalization from the TT avoids unwanted interrogations of power relations and inequality. In other words, a discussion of the larger socio-cultural, political and economic issues is evaded.

In addition, the AVT rendering “*niños de bajos recursos económicos*” roughly as “parents...earn so little” places a certain degree of responsibility on the parents for their low-income circumstances. The ST does not attempt to explain the causes of poverty, however, naming the parents responsible for these instances of poverty helps present a simplified context which, once again, does not involve the interrogation of power relations.

Low income situations are in part a product of inequality; however, this discussion is avoided if all agency is semantically placed on the parents in these situations.

Examples 1 and 2 also contain semantic additions that perpetuate inequality in order to maintain the current state of power relations within society. For example, the addition of ‘organic’ to ‘compost’ demonstrates a favouring of dominant-domestic development practices and values, over the use of more traditional farming practices and related values in aid-receiving countries. Furthermore, the addition of the concept of ‘street children’ solidifies difference, as this representation is recognizable as foreign to dominant parts of a global society. “Domesticating” solutions and “foreignizing” problems maintains power imbalances by separating the roles of group members within the institution, and society at large.

Of course, not all of the discourse found in these videos serves to protect dominant interests. Some manifestations of discourse stem from ideologies which aim to empower and create solidarity with those being dominated within society, which is another function of ideology (van Dijk). As a result, the beliefs and “positions” of these organizations are somewhat “ideologically incompatible” (Fairclough), in terms of the interests that they serve. Nevertheless, the elites in society often have greater access to public discourse than non-elites, and more “articulate ideological systems” (van Dijk), which signifies that they control the production of discourse surrounding these aid-receiving communities, regardless of whether these have positive or negative effects on the dominated groups.

### **3.14. Plan Canada Discourse and Ideology**

Throughout this analysis, discourse has inevitably been present. Micro-level visual and linguistic semantics have been the basis for analysis thus far, and so here I will focus more on the macro elements of discourse. In order to make sense of the ideological tendencies of Plan Canada, I will outline the pre-established macro discourses informing this ideology, and resulting in what I have termed ‘NGO discourse’. For this section of analysis the notion of context is also drawn upon, as it relates to discourse, and as understood by van Dijk.

As mentioned in the above discussion of power relations and society, ‘the dominant’ and ‘the dominated’ make-up Plan Canada. This may also be thought of in terms of the West and the “Third World”. It is also known from the previous discussion of society that it is the former group that controls discourse. Within a Western-controlled setting, each sphere is discursively represented differently, and separated in terms of Western superiority and Third World inferiority. These discourses carry on covertly within the Plan Canada videos, given that they form part of ‘dominant ideologies’, which often have covert presence or are naturalized (van Dijk). In contrast, the ‘oppositional ideologies’ found in the videos are overtly present. This latter part of the organizational discourse relies on ‘activist’ beliefs, and emotions related to altruism. It is this dualistic nature of ideology within this context that informs what I have termed ‘Plan Canada discourse’.

Although Western and Third World discourses are meant to carry on covertly within these videos, there are instances where they do peer through in the images and texts. For example, the visual settings and foregrounding (Machin and Mayr 56) within the videos work to make the facilitators and program managers (such as Irma García) appear superior, and aid-receiving community members (such as Tania), inferior. Although the

facilitators and program managers aren't necessarily part of the Western world, they have been discursively categorized as such, given that they are the 'elites' within this "Third World" context<sup>31</sup>.

Textually, Western superiority forms part of the discourse surrounding 'organic compost' in Example 2, for example. There is a clear favouring of Western farming practices over those traditionally used in Guatemala, which have existed for centuries. When considered alongside the excerpt mentioning that Plan had to "teach" farmers these "better" techniques, it becomes apparent that this instance of AVT also draws on Third World discourse where the Global South is seen as uneducated, in need of saving, and inferior economically and culturally-speaking.

In Example 1, the translation of "*bajos recursos económicos*" as "earn so little" also makes use of Western and Third world discourses. To begin, "earn so little" has a somewhat patronizing effect, given that it implies an acceptable income level, above that which is referred to here. Western capitalism views income-generation as of central importance within society, and so this may be considered as discourse stemming from a Western tradition. As explains Escobar (1995), "the (Western) economic conception of poverty found an ideal yardstick in the annual per capita income" (23) and this construction has been used to further development strategies.

Furthermore, the translation has lowered the register of Tania's speech, which in the ST is much more formal and spoken in an articulate manner. The informality of the AVT has therefore represented Tania as less educated. This discourse is once again common to that of the inferior uneducated/illiterate "Third World".

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<sup>31</sup> These facilitators may also be considered the centres of the periphery.



The more overt ideology presented in this discourse is related to the altruistic aims of Plan Canada, which are based on shared beliefs that poverty is a negative phenomenon, and helping others is a positive one, as examples. This is present in the visual and textual elements highlighted here. Depictions of the educational assistance provided to Tania, or the agricultural assistance provided to the farmer are brought to our attention in order to represent Plan Canada as a productive and fundamentally ‘good’ organization.

The contradictory nature of ideology within Plan Canada is manifested through, what I have termed, Plan Canada discourse. This discourse is overtly positive in its depictions of the work of Plan Canada, and the help being provided to aid-receiving communities. However, the covert aspects of ideology find their way into the “invisible” discourse. As Fairclough states, “invisibility is achieved when ideologies are brought to discourse not as explicit elements of the text, but as the background assumptions” (Fairclough qtd. in Antonia Carcelen-Estrada in Tymoczko, *Resistance, Activism* 84). It is this combination of overt and covert manifestations of ideology that characterizes Plan Canada discourse, and that is why I have termed it as such.

These altruistic tendencies may be thought of as pertaining to the activist ideology of Plan Canada, considered within the above discussion of cognition. The notion of activism forms part of the naturalized ideological system manifested through Plan Canada discourse, which is embraced by the organization and constitutes ‘explicit awareness and knowledge’ (van Dijk) within the NGO. The more covert discourse may be considered as part of an unconscious ideology found in society, something related to ‘implicit knowledge’ and “‘mere’ lived experience’ (van Dijk). Aspects of society found within

ideology are therefore more naturalized, even though certain aspects of cognition are social in nature, and therefore also naturalized. The above considerations shed light on the specific roles of these three aspects of ideology identified by van Dijk, but they also speak to the interwoven nature of cognition, society and discourse.

## **Concluding Remarks**

The promotional videos examined in this chapter have a clear *skopos*, which is to further the cause of Plan Canada. This is done by presenting information that resonates with a target audience, in order to have them support and donate to the organization. This cause, to which the *skopos* is directly related, makes use of representation strategies through discourse, and other discursive practices favouring the ideological beliefs held by Plan Canada. This ideology is sometimes contradictory in nature, given that it draws upon beliefs that are aimed at furthering its dominant National office position, and simultaneously helping to improve the situations of aid-receiving communities, or those being dominated in the Global South. As we can see, the target audience, and other functionalist considerations, have played a large role in the knowledge developed by Plan Canada, and the kinds of ideology propagated through discourse.

Together, the contradictory aspects of ideology found in these videos create the NGO discourse of Plan Canada. This NGO discourse at times exercises ‘ideological manipulation’ (Díaz)<sup>32</sup>, which has been manifested in the visual and textual semantics of these videos. This

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<sup>32</sup> It is important to note that it is possible that the translation choices deemed to be ideological manipulation may not actually be so. These translation choices may have instead been the result of inexperience in translating, and only appear to be ideologically-charged. We get a better sense of the level of professionalism within development-NGO translation in our surveys of translators and translation coordinators in Chapter 4, and this will help us get a better sense of what level of experience generally exists among such NGO translators. Nonetheless, it is important

form of manipulation serves beliefs surrounding notions of activism, the downplaying (yet maintaining) of power relations, and discourse of Western superiority and Third World inferiority. Often it is the positive and overt aspects of ideology which act as the ‘smoke screen’ (Díaz) used to further covert aspects of ideology. It may be that other development-NGOs also share this form of knowledge production; however, I cannot confirm or deny this without expanding this study to include other organizations.

Here I have paid particular interest to the instances of covert ideological manipulation, touching only upon the overt discourse in order to demonstrate that both are present, and that they form an oppositional whole. I have spent greater time looking at the covert discursive practices given that it is these hidden aspects of ideology that are harder to identify, or are ‘characteristically opaque’ (Fairclough), and in need of clarification. It is also these dominant ideologies that are considered to be negative, and therefore lend themselves to ‘critical’ discourse analyses.

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to note that whether intentional or not, the translation choices made within these videos have an ideological effect on target audiences and the beliefs and knowledge created with regards to aid-receiving communities.

## **Chapter 4. NGO TRANSLATORS AT WORK: AN EMPIRICAL AND INVESTIGATIVE APPROACH**

This chapter examines various facets of the work of development-NGO translators through empirical research and website investigations. Research was conducted on various larger development-NGOs with National offices in Canada. The focus of this research is not solely on Plan Canada, as in the last chapter, but various (partly) Canadian organizations. Also in contrast with the previous chapter, I will focus on individuals involved as translators on the donor-side (i.e. in the National offices) of the organizations, as communication with these individuals was more likely to be successful, given our shared geographical location. To begin this chapter, I explain the criteria used for selecting the NGOs approached to complete the surveys and outline the communication that took place with NGOs that chose to participate in the surveys (and also those who explained why they were not able, or did not wish to participate). The results of the empirical research on translators and translation coordinators are then examined. Finally, the websites of the NGOs approached to complete the surveys were researched, and from these website investigations, some ‘other findings’ emerged.

### **4.1. Criteria for NGO Selection**

In order to conduct surveys and research for this chapter, I first identified organizations of interest that met the criteria of ‘Canadian development-NGOs’ working at least partially in Latin America. To begin this process, I consulted the list compiled by the Canadian Council for International Co-Operation (CCIC) of development-NGO members operating in this Southern

region. CCIC in itself is focused on development and alleviating poverty, as is apparent from their mission statement:

The Canadian Council for International Co-operation is a coalition of Canadian voluntary sector organizations working globally to achieve sustainable human development. CCIC seeks to end global poverty, and to promote social justice and human dignity for all. (CCIC Website)

I started looking on the CCIC website for NGOs that fit the outlined criteria as the membership process for the organization is rigorous. Members must be federally or provincially incorporated as a non-profit corporation for a minimum of two years before applying for membership, and must pay a fee based on the organization's income – the fee is a minimum of \$300 annually ('Join CCIC' section of the CCIC website). Nevertheless, some of the larger Canadian organizations of interest to this project are not members of CCIC, and so the above-mentioned list only served as a starting point for this investigation. Other NGOs that fit the aforementioned criteria were identified through previous knowledge of their existence.

Since Canada is a bilingual country, I struggled with whether or not to include French-Canadian organizations in the list of NGOs to be surveyed<sup>33</sup>. I wanted to be representative of the entire landscape of Canadian NGOs, however, I feared that my limited understanding of French would affect my ability to communicate with such NGOs. I decided to write these organizations in English, giving them the opportunity to reply if they felt they were willing to do so in English. The survey is only in English, so this would have been a pre-requisite to successfully completing

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<sup>33</sup> It is important to note that there are French-Canadian development-NGOs who provide some website information in English, though they may primarily operate in French.

the survey, regardless of my communicative capacities. One way to expand this project would be to translate the surveys into French, as there are many French-Canadian NGOs operating in-part in Latin America.

I decided to research NGOs affiliated with religious causes as many development NGOs operating in Canada are rooted in such causes. Often the lines between secular and religious development-NGOs are blurry, and so I chose not to try and separate these two categories. Furthermore, all of the NGOs researched are primarily service-based, as oppose to advocacy-based. This is due to the fact that service-based NGOs will have increased need for translation, given that they must coordinate projects and resources between National offices and aid-receiving communities. Finally, I decided to research both NGOs that have paid employees and those that are volunteer-based. This was done in order to potentially be able to draw comparisons between paid and volunteer institutions.

#### **4.2. Approaching Potential Participants**

In order to approach these NGOs, I first looked on their websites for a general contact email address, or more specifically, a translation coordinator email address. In all cases, only the former were available, and so I sent out emails to the identified NGOs explaining the thesis project and what I hoped to accomplish through the surveys. I did not send out the survey right away, but asked that I be provided with the email address of persons involved in translation activities within the NGOs, specifically, the email addresses of translation coordinators or

translators involved. I also stated that if the organization did not feel comfortable providing these email addresses, I would ask that this general message be forwarded to these individuals<sup>34</sup>.

I found that asking to be put in contact with the “translation coordinator” was often unproductive as most NGOs do not have a position labelled as such, and so this caused confusion among general inquiry respondents. Instead, labelling such individuals as “persons involved in coordinating translation” was found to be much more productive as people receiving the emails could often identify the persons of interest given this information. Once the – what I term – ‘translation coordinators’, and translators were identified, I sent out separate emails to each group with the corresponding survey link. In a few instances, NGO translators were identified through professional and academic networks and contacts, and so I was able to email these potential participants directly.

### **4.3. Survey Results**

Google Survey was the survey instrument used, and answers were compiled in Microsoft Excel documents. I began emailing potential respondents on June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2014 and left the surveys open to respondents until August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2014. The following point form information provides important details with regards to survey responses:

- **22 NGOs** were sent the preliminary email
- **Two individual translators**, identified through professional and academic networks and contacts, were sent the preliminary email

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<sup>34</sup> This was the process approved by the Research Ethics Board at York University.

- Of the 22 NGOs approached, **four NGO ‘representatives’**<sup>35</sup> responded to the preliminary email with interest in completing either or both the translation coordinator and/or the translator surveys, or knew of someone in the organization who may have been interested<sup>36</sup>
- Both of the **two individual translators**, identified through professional and academic networks and contacts, responded to the preliminary email with interest in completing the translator survey
- An email with the link to the translation coordinator survey was sent to **three potential respondents**
- An email with a link to the translator survey was sent to **six potential respondents**
- By the survey closing date, **two translation coordinator** respondents had filled out the translation coordinator survey
- By the survey closing date, **five translator respondents** had filled out the translator survey
- A total of **seven respondents** participated in the translation coordinator and translator surveys

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<sup>35</sup> The NGO ‘representatives’ referred to here were either individuals in charge of administrative tasks, who responded to emails sent to the organizations’ ‘general inquiry’ email account, or individuals involved in the NGO’s translation activities, who responded to our (internally) forwarded email.

<sup>36</sup> In some instances, the person we were communicating with agreed to forward the survey to translation coordinators or translators, and in others, the email addresses of these individuals were provided.



It is apparent that very few NGOs decided to participate in the translator and translation coordinator surveys. Despite sending out a preliminary email, a reminder email and a final-reminder email to those from whom I had not yet heard, I was only successful at initiating dialogue with 18% of the NGOs approached (4 out of 22 NGOs). However, once dialogue was initiated with NGOs and the survey links were provided, the percentage of potential respondents to fill out the survey was higher (66% of translation coordinators who received the survey filled it out; 83% of translators who received the survey filled it out). Furthermore, with the translators I was able to contact directly, the response rate was 100%. As a result, direct communication with potential respondents proved to have much better rates of response than when I had to first contact the NGOs. Finally, all of the responses received were fully completed, and short answer questions were well constructed and insightful.

#### **4.3.1. Who Coordinates and Who Translates?**

As mentioned above, there were two respondents to the translation coordinator surveys. In both cases, translation was not the main responsibility of these coordinators, but made up a small portion of their tasks. Respondent A had the title of ‘Development Officer’, and Respondent B, ‘Program Manager’. The latter respondent also mentioned that their organization “works under a co-management structure”, meaning that all staff members share the responsibility of translation activities, among many other responsibilities, and that they form committees to discuss and report on these shared tasks.

As also previously mentioned, five translators responded to the translator survey. To begin, all five respondents were involved on a long-term basis with their organizations (spending over two years working with the same NGO), however, all translators were involved on a very

part-time basis (working under ten hours per week). In addition, all of the translators who responded to the survey said that they translate for more than one NGO, ranging from two NGOs all the way up to ten.

#### **4.3.2. Paid vs. Volunteer Translators**

Both translation coordinator respondents said that they pay the translators they contract for the translation assignments of their NGOs. This is perhaps one of the reasons they were willing to participate in the surveys, as they may have felt that they could positively contribute to a discussion surrounding development-NGO translation and translators. Respondent A clarified that paying translators is considered preferable to contracting them on a volunteer basis: “We found we received better quality of work and faster turn around times when we paid a professional translator”. Speaking from experience, Respondent A mentioned that volunteer translators sometimes took 2-3 weeks to complete assignments, which was not acceptable for the organization. Respondent B mentioned that volunteer translators were only used for communication that was not English-French or not for “official communications”. Respondent B also mentioned that at times staff members perform the role of translator and/or reviser. As he/she explains, “We also do a fair bit of light translation work in-house, using internal staff capacity”.

The translator respondents also provided information regarding whether they carry out their work on a paid or voluntary basis. Two translators said that they are employed as volunteers and three mentioned that they are paid. Here is where we see evidence that not all NGOs use only paid translators. One reason I was able to find volunteer translators to fill out this survey is that I contacted them directly (these were the translators identified through professional and

academic networks), instead of first contacting the NGO they translate for. It is difficult to say why I was not able to find volunteer translators through the emails to NGOs, however, it could be because this form of NGO translation generally does not have the same level of systematization and coordination as that using paid translators. As a result, NGOs using volunteer translators may have felt less comfortable in participating in these surveys, as they were unsure of such practices within their own organization.

### **4.3.3. French-English Translators**

As mentioned earlier, paid translation positions tend to be for English-French translators. This is further confirmed by the respondents of the translation coordinator surveys, who mentioned that ‘all’ of their translators were English-French translators. Respondent A helps us make further sense of this phenomenon in saying that: “we are required to provide French information on our website to demonstrate to the Canadian government that we are bilingual”. I did not ask translators about their language pairings, as I decided to focus more on the activist and motivational aspects of translator practices, however, asking translators about their language pairings would have also proved useful.

### **4.3.4. Text-Types Translated**

These surveys also offer important information about the prioritization of text-types. In Question 7 of the survey, I asked translation coordinators to rank the types of texts mentioned from most often translated to least often translated. The options given included: progress reports/other internal documents, promotional materials, website content, and communications with donors. Question 8 also gave respondents an opportunity to identify any other text-types

frequently translated within their NGO. The results were that ‘promotional materials’ and ‘website content’ were ranked highest for Respondent A and ‘communications with donors’ was ranked highest for Respondent B. Both respondents had progress reports/ other internal documents as the least often translated materials.

The importance of translation materials targeting donor support is also emphasized in writing by both respondents in Question 9. Respondent A mentions fundraising as a priority and respondent B states as follows: “Most of the material that is used to communicate with our donors is considered very important. This broadly encompasses all of the fundraising letters, the monthly e-bulletins..., etc”.

Translators were also asked about text-types commonly translated within their development-NGOs. However, the translators were not asked to rank them (as were the coordinators), but instead to identify the kinds of texts they most frequently translated. The results of this question (Question 2) are of interest as paid NGO translators were more likely to be involved in translating promotional materials and those documents used for communication with donors than volunteer translators. Neither respondent who translated for an NGO as a volunteer was involved in translating promotional materials, but instead mentioned project updates and summaries, and press releases as the types of documents they most frequently translated.

#### **4.3.5. Motivational Factors**

In Question 3, I asked the translators to identify their greatest motivational factors. Respondents were given four possible answers to choose from, and also added an option to

choose ‘other’ and write their own motivational factor. One of the respondents said that gaining professional experience was their greatest motivation, one said earning an income, and two said supporting the cause of the specific NGO in question. Finally, one respondent provided their own reasoning, and said that “they (the NGO) offer a refreshing perspective and a critical approach to things. Often more interesting than commercial clients”. As we can see, for three of the five respondents, the NGO in question was of particular importance to motivation. I also asked the volunteer translators specifically a question regarding their potential motivation: “If you hold a volunteer position, would you accept a paid position with this NGO?” The respondent who considered them self to be an activist, and whom was a volunteer NGO translator, said they would not accept a paid position at the NGO they work for. It is of relevance that this activist-volunteer translator would not accept remuneration as this is a more traditional activist stance, where the cause comes before financial gain. Finally, for Question 5 of the survey, I asked the respondents if they consider themselves to be activists. Of the five respondents who participated, two responded ‘yes’, and three responded ‘no’.

#### **4.4. Survey Analysis**

##### **4.4.1. Varying levels of Expertise**

By examining the survey results related to ‘who’s who’ within the translation practices of Canadian development-NGOs, it is evident that translation coordinators tend to lack experience with translation, whereas the translators involved are more experienced in their field of work. For both translation coordinators surveyed, dealing with translation is one of the smaller tasks of their greater set of tasks. As a result, coordination is taken on by individuals who are not experts in the matter, and who have other organizational areas that are of greater concern. This may

affect different aspects of translation practices within such NGOs, from the recruitment of translators to the quality of translations produced.

In taking all of the translator survey results into consideration, it is evident that development-NGO translators demonstrate a greater level of experience, and therefore a certain level of expertise. This is evidenced in the fact that all of the respondents have been involved with the NGOs they translate for on a long-term basis, having all translated in their respective organizations for over two years. Furthermore, all of the translators surveyed have translated for more than one NGO, signifying that they have been able to gain experience, not only given the number of years spent translating, but also given the various NGO settings with which they have come into contact.

#### **4.4.2. The Notion of Professionalism**

The notion of professionalism within translation is an immense and complex subject matter. It is becoming an increasingly researched subfield within translation studies, as translation has often been viewed as a ‘low-status profession’ (Dam and Zethson, “Translator Status” 194). The term ‘profession’ is defined by Idit Weiss-Gal and Penelope Welbourne through the following eight criteria:

- (1) public recognition of professional status,
- (2) professional monopoly over specific types of work,
- (3) professional autonomy of action,
- (4) possession of a distinctive knowledge base,
- (5) professional education regulated by members of the profession,
- (6) an effective professional organization,
- (7) codified ethical standards, and
- (8)

prestige and remuneration reflecting professional standing. (Weiss-Gal and Welbourne qtd. in Dam and Zathsen 197)

Therefore, professionalism as it relates to translator practices would be the exercising of these criteria.

Helle Dam and Karen Zethsen have been researching the profession of translation for many years, conducting empirical research in Denmark, more specifically. In one of their more recent articles, titled “Translator Status: Helpers and Opponents in the Ongoing Battle of an Emerging Profession”, they have found that there are both helpers and opponents to reaching high status for translators, and that certain recurring themes aid or inhibit improved translator status. These include recognition of translators’ expertise, level of professionalization and income (194)<sup>37</sup>.

To begin, those falling into the category of ‘opponents’ generally display a “lack of awareness...about what constitutes translation competence and its complexity as well as lack of recognition of the importance of translation” (Dam and Zethsen, ‘Translator Status’ 205). These scholars go on to mention that translation is also at times considered a secretarial task, something anyone who is bilingual can perform adequately (Ibid.). This disregard for the need for translator expertise constitutes a significant barrier to the professionalization of translator practices. In terms of the income-generation theme, it may be that in this context there are both positive and negative aspects associated with using paid translators and using volunteer translators. Here I will analyse the opinions provided

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<sup>37</sup> Dam et al. also discuss the role of translator training and authorization, however, these aspects are of less interest to this research project.

by survey respondents, but also other translation scholars who have written about this subject matter.

On the parts of translation coordinators, there is recognition of the importance of providing remuneration to translators. Respondent A explicitly related payment to increased translation quality. However, this is not considered mandatory in the production of translations, given that Respondent A previously employed volunteers and Respondent B will allow non-professional translators to perform unofficial translation tasks, or tasks deemed to be of lesser importance. This notion of ‘tasks of lesser importance’ is revisited in the discussion of text-types, however, the work of some translation scholars who have similar opinions to Respondent A, with regards to professionalism, will now be examined.

Translation scholar, Siobhan Brownlie (2010) contributes to a discussion of translator professionalism in bluntly stating that: “volunteer work immediately raises the issue of professionalism which seems intrinsically linked to remuneration” (Brownlie, [nieuw.lessius.eu](http://nieuw.lessius.eu)). Of course, it is nearly impossible to isolate the moment in which you move from non-professional to professional translator. Nevertheless, there are certain traits professional translators possess, which non-professional translators do not, necessarily. Kerstin Jonasson (1998) considers this in her empirical research comparing student and professional translators. In her analysis she concludes that “...at the beginning students do not display the same amount of strategic behaviour as the professional translators do, this being a consequence of their not sharing the translation norms that supposedly guide professional translators in their work.” (Jonasson, 1998: 190). In my opinion, these norms may be considered both linguistic and cultural in nature.



Although this study looks partially at students, and not “non-professional” translators, students would perhaps possess even more of these desirable traits than the latter classification, given their educational experience. As a result, the use of non-professional translators may be problematic, as it may not foster adequate (or meaningful) communication between all actors involved in development projects within development-NGOs. In this setting, both linguistic and cultural competency is needed, which professional translators are more likely to possess.

To return to themes addressed by Dam and Zethsen (2010), one way to ensure that NGO translation is taken on by professional translators is, quite obviously, to provide remuneration for work completed. Many people may point to the fact that NGOs do not have a surplus of money, and for that reason they cannot afford to pay professional translators. To counter this argument, I would draw attention to the fact that there are many paid positions within NGOs, and highlight that expecting translation to always be completed on a volunteer-basis leads to the undervaluing of the profession. To provide context, other duties that fall under the category of volunteer work in donor countries include administrative work and assistance in fundraising events, and so grouping translation with these activities downplays the level of expertise required to provide adequate translation. This is not meant to undermine the other tasks mentioned, but instead emphasize that carrying out professional translations requires knowledge of translational norms, often acquired through schooling and years of practice.

In contrast, having these kinds of volunteer opportunities for translators does have positive effects. For example, for those who are studying translation or just beginning their career, translating for an NGO may be a valuable volunteer experience. Often it is difficult to gain such real-world experience as a student or novice translator as you have not yet proved your

reliability within the translation industry. This reliability is important as clients must place a great deal of trust in their translators, given that they are often unable to verify the translated work themselves as they may not speak one (or both) of the languages involved in a given translation. As a result, novice translators often find it difficult to break into the translation industry, which may at times result in discouraged individuals who decide to take on different jobs, or even careers.

One way of institutionalizing and regulating this process of gaining translator experience is through the creation of internship programs. This is a system some NGOs already use, where internships are part of a translation student's course-work, and all translated texts are reviewed by professors to ensure quality. This may provide students with the opportunity to practice and improve their translation skills, while simultaneously providing NGOs with adequate translations at no added cost to organization.

This regulation of translation practices would also solve any issues related to recruiting translators. Although many of the NGOs researched did have a translator application process, these processes are often not rigorous in nature<sup>38</sup>. As a result, volunteer translation work may attract anyone who speaks two languages and believes that they can therefore translate, as this is often the image projected of translation. These applicants may not even be interested in translating, but instead are 'looking for a foot in the door', in hopes that they may later work for an NGO in some other capacity. This is common for those looking to work in development, as it is a competitive industry with heavy reliance on volunteerism. Without regulation there is a

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<sup>38</sup> This is an observation resulting from personal experience and our research conducted on the websites of the NGOs' in question.

missed opportunity for those interested in becoming translators (who are also interested in development work), and seeking the necessary experience.

#### **4.4.3. The Languages of Translation**

According to the results of the translation coordinator survey, translation between languages other than French and English does not occur within Canadian development NGOs. It is hard to imagine that NGOs, which are cross-cultural institutions by nature, would not require translation between languages other than French and English, however, it is plausible that other languages are not afforded as much attention in a Canadian-donor setting. This is significant as it means that access to information in the official languages of Canada is seen as a priority over other forms of communication. In other words, communication between donor-side actors takes precedence over that which fosters relationships between the Canadian side of the NGO and the aid-receiving side of the Global South. If the goal of NGOs truly is to create meaningful change and eradicate poverty, having greater communication between both sides of this development system would be beneficial, as it would allow those most affected by development practices to have a voice in development strategies.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, government funding is essential to NGO workings, and therefore it has an effect on projects, strategies, and evidently, communication. Respondent A explains that the emphasis on French-English translation is a guideline set by the Canadian government. This is a clear manifestation of top-down development, as the Western-Canadian government controls how development communication takes place. The NGO must abide if they wish to receive funding, which also demonstrates the importance of financial gain to NGO workings.

#### **4.4.4. Text-Type Relevance**

The results of the translation coordinator survey demonstrate that materials used for Western-donor consumption are ranked as of greater importance than accounts from the field or communication between donor and aid-receiving parties, which are less readily translated. As we can see, this is in line with the fact that French/English vectors of translation are prioritized. It is becoming increasingly evident that development-NGO translation practices are mostly preoccupied with communication involving Western donors.

In Chapter 3, I presented examples of other vectors of translation, namely, promotional Spanish-English translations, however, it would appear that such projects are either carried out by volunteers, or on an ad hoc basis (as Respondent B mentioned). Regardless of how these other vectors of translation operate, it is important to note that promotional/donor-consumption French-English translation takes precedence, according to the translation coordinators surveyed. This form of translation may also be tied to financial gain, coming either from the Canadian government or individuals donors, which appears to be the driving force of development-NGO translation.

It is apparent from the translator survey results that volunteer translators tend to be contracted for internal documents, whereas promotional materials are generally reserved for paid translators. As identified within the translation coordinator survey responses, promotional materials tend to be considered of greater importance than internal documents, and so this indicates that paid translators tend to be given projects with greater value attached. Therefore, volunteer translators tend to be involved in the kind of translational mediation that is deemed to be of lesser importance, that is, between donor countries and developing communities. The

positive aspect of this is that NGOs, to a certain extent, are aware of and value the skills required to produce adequate translations, and are willing to pay for such services in certain instances. The negative aspect of this is that we see a recurring theme of disregard for internal NGO documentation which helps foster important communication between development providers and development recipients.

#### **4.4.5. Translator Activism and Motivation**

As previously mentioned, within the translator survey I chose to focus on the activist nature of, and motivational factors influencing, development-NGO translators. I did not ask translation coordinators to respond to questions regarding these personal aspects of translation, given that it would not be likely that translation coordinators would have valuable information regarding these personal translator characteristics.

It is interesting to consider that of the two respondents who considered themselves to be activists, one was a volunteer NGO translator, and one was a paid NGO translator. This demonstrates that an individual does not necessarily need to be a volunteer, or take action without pay, to consider themselves to be an activist. Therefore, one may consider themselves to be an activist even if there is self-gain involved in the activity they are performing.

Another point of interest is how translators view activism and its relation to motivation in translating for development-NGOs. Both respondents who said they are most motivated by supporting 'the cause' also consider themselves to be activists. This is in line with a more traditional understanding of activism, where a specific cause is the driving motivational force, and not a specific organization or financial gain, even though one of these activists is in fact

paid. One of the activist respondents was also the most active paid NGO translator (translating for 11 NGOs) and the other, who was the volunteer activist respondent who said they would not accept pay, translated for two NGOs. As we can see, in addition to having various motivations, activist translators can also have varying roles and activity levels within NGOs in order to consider themselves as such.

## **4.5. Other Findings**

### **4.5.1. A Discussion of Response Rates**

There are several possible reasons for the somewhat low number of preliminary email and survey responses. To begin, it may be that NGOs do not want to expose their inner-workings, in fear of any criticism that may hinder their success. Nevertheless, given the few survey responses received, I believe that many of the NGOs approached have not given much thought to translation or translators and their role within the NGO. As a result, it may be that they do not want to discuss such practices, which are not formalized within their institution. Conversely, it may be that they have spent time thinking about such practices, but consider the role of translation/translators to be minor within the NGO workings. This would also provide justification for not having spent much time and effort putting translation common practices into place, and therefore deciding not to respond to the emails sent. This kind of neglect for the role of translation echoes the lack of consideration for translation discussed in the survey responses analysis, and the scholarly work on development and NGOs discussed in Chapter 1.

It is also plausible that potential respondents were inclined not to participate due to the perceived complexity of the assignment. Reading through the research ethics portion of the email

and filling out the survey may have proved too large a task for individuals working for NGOs, who generally are over-worked for the amount of remuneration they receive. Of course, those involved in translation within a development-NGO may also be a volunteer, and therefore busy trying to balance what they do for pay and what they do on a volunteer basis. Finally, there is the possibility that potential respondents chose not to respond to the preliminary emails, as they feared any repercussions their survey answers may have had on their jobs or the organization that they work for. I did ensure that anonymity would be provided to the greatest extent possible by law, however, without an established relationship of trust, these individuals may have felt insecure about participating.

#### **4.5.2. ‘No-Respondent’ Email Responses Analysis**

There were also four NGOs who responded to the preliminary email, but did not state interest in filling out the surveys, or indicated that there weren’t any potential respondents within their NGO to fill out either of the surveys. Nevertheless, within these ‘no-respondent’ NGO responses, there were comments of interest to this project. Many of these preliminary email respondents stated that they do not have a translator, and therefore no translation coordinator, on staff, or that they outsource their translation projects. One would think that even outsourcing translation projects would require coordination of such translation activities, however, it would appear that in most cases this is done on an ad hoc basis. One NGO also states that their translations are done “in the field” (quote from a preliminary email respondent), prior to their use in Canada, and so they are not familiar with these translators. Here, ‘the field’ presumably refers to the aid-receiving communities where this particular Canadian organization has presence. Finally, one email respondent stated that their NGO has no need for translation and therefore

they do not employ or have association with any translators. This would seem peculiar, given that, as previously mentioned, all of the organizations approached work at least in part in Latin America.

#### **4.5.3. Website Research and Analysis**

In addition to conducting NGO website investigations in order to identify the NGOs of interest (and retrieve their email addresses), I also conducted research on NGO websites in order to examine postings for translator positions, or any other information relevant to this project. Here, I first describe the different postings found, and later analyze their content. Particular attention is also paid to the differences between volunteer and paid postings for development-NGO translators.

The volunteer translator positions advertised on the NGO websites researched often had translation grouped with other tasks that may be considered menial in nature. These tasks includes planning events and performing other ‘office tasks’, or administrative work. In some instances, translation is presented as an uncomplicated or fun activity (“translate a document or two”, “design, research, translate (and more!)”. The website of the Hunger Project presents translation in this uncomplicated light by describing it as a “Micro-volunteering” opportunity; even though other volunteer work, such as ‘human resource management’ and ‘information technology’, is presented as opportunities to “offer pro bono services” (Volunteer section of the Hunger Project website). Other tasks listed in the micro-volunteering category include: writing Twitter updates, adding Facebook graphics, and helping to build a LinkedIn platform. Furthermore, the organization markets translation as a fun activity, as can be seen in their calls for translators:



“Show us those shnazzy language skills! English to Portuguese translation”.  
“S.O.S. Save our Sad Translation! English to Portuguese”<sup>39</sup>.

In contrast, some of the advertised translator-volunteer positions encountered provide different representations of translation. For example, CARE Canada considers translation to be a “volunteer expertise” commonly needed, and Right to Play Canada mentions on their website that volunteer translators must submit a translation sample to be considered for volunteer assignments, also emphasizing that experience is considered an asset. Finally, in fewer instances, I came across opportunities for paid translation positions on the NGO websites visited. All of the paid translator positions postings were for translators who work from French to English and vice versa.

These examples of NGO translator position postings display an undervaluing of the profession of translation. To begin, grouping translation with other administrative or online tasks, such as Facebook and Twitter updates, has the above mentioned consequence. Although these other activities mentioned contain online components and can be completed remotely, as can translation, this grouping can still be viewed as an undermining of the profession. This is due to the fact that translation has been left out of the ‘pro bono’ category, where the other professions that entail education and a certain degree of expertise are located. This is not to say that work related to social media is not on its way to professionalization, but simply that given the amount of time the profession of translation has had to be solidified as such, this kind of representation and grouping seems to be rather depreciatory of the profession of translation.

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<sup>39</sup> These are calls for volunteers for the Hunger Project posted on Sparked. com, <http://www.sparked.com/nonprofit/10b19642c>

The more positive postings found on the websites of CARE and Right to Play Canada display recognition for translation as a profession, regardless of the fact that these postings are for volunteer assignment. By categorizing translation as a “volunteer expertise”, CARE acknowledges the experience required to adequately translate. Furthermore, by asking potential translators to submit samples of their work, Right to Play Canada recognizes that translation is an activity that requires a particular set of skills.

Finally, the lesser amount of paid translator positions may suggest that there are more volunteer positions than paid; however, we cannot confirm this with certainty, given that the NGOs researched may have previously had these positions filled. Volunteers are more likely to be accepted on an ongoing basis than paid employees, given that they do not require payment. Furthermore, volunteer positions are more likely to have higher turnaround rates, given that individuals may need to move on from their volunteer work, in order to take paid positions<sup>40</sup>. Nevertheless, the fact that the only paid translator positions postings found were for French-English translators confirms the survey results, regarding languages of translation that are of importance. This finding reaffirms that communication between those who speak the official languages of Canada is considered to be of greater importance than cross-cultural communication between the donor-side and aid-receiving communities of NGOs.

#### **4.6. Ideological Analysis**

In taking the survey and ‘other findings’ analyses into consideration, I will now examine the ideological implications of NGO translator practices. Three ideological points of interest

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<sup>40</sup> Volunteer work is often a way to gain experience for individuals looking to find work that requires certain levels of experience.

discovered through an examination of NGO translator practices have been identified, which I have summarized as: individual activism, communicational inequality and systemic undervaluing. This discussion of ideology will once again focus on van Dijk's understanding of the concept. I will use the micro-level discourse produced in the survey results, and that found on the NGO websites researched, to discuss (social) cognition, society and macro-level discourse, as they relate to ideology.

#### **4.6.1. Individual Activism**

The discourse emerging from the survey results have facilitated a greater understanding of the personal-cognitive aspects of ideology or 'episodic memory' (van Dijk) of the NGO translators surveyed. Looking at how these translators view and feel about their work is revealing of their role as translators and how these beliefs and ideological positions may potentially affect the translations they produce.

NGO translators vary in their ideological positions and activist beliefs. To begin, some of the translators surveyed were motivated by self-gain<sup>41</sup>, and others, by 'the cause'. Self-gain as a category is difficult to grasp and measure, as people generally 'get something' out of everything they do, whether its remuneration, or a feeling of satisfaction or pride. This idea of motivation and self-gain within our cognitive processes as humans is of particular interest to this project. Can any deed truly be selfless? Where one's selfish and selfless impulses meet is a difficult point to identify or comprehend. Nevertheless, this self-gain forms part of individual beliefs, and

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<sup>41</sup> It should be noted that other respondents may have had similar sentiments, but felt that the other kinds of motivation presented in the multiple choice question were more in line with an established 'naturalized ideology' (Fairclough) regarding NGOs and activism, and as a result selected the more self-less options.

therefore affects how knowledge is developed (van Dijk) and also informs opinions and emotions.

Both translator respondents who identified their motivation as ‘the cause’ also considered themselves to be activists. As a result, it would appear that one context model (van Dijk) drawn upon by those who consider themselves to be activist translators is related to particular causes. This is in line with traditional notions of activism, which are not related to intentions of self-gain. It is also of ideological interest that one of the activist translators was also a paid employee. This is not necessarily in line with traditional forms of activism, and is therefore drawing upon a different context model, or variation in the interpretation of ‘activism’ (Baker). Furthermore, these activist translators motivated by ‘the cause’ share some aspects of an ideological belief system with the NGO they work for. This means that in theory they are not necessarily ‘fighting against dominant forces in society’ (Baker), as the Canadian-side of these NGOs belongs to this dominant group within global society.

#### **4.6.2. Communicational Inequality**

It is apparent from the survey and website analysis that there is greater consideration given to French-English translation than other language pairings within these NGOs. I have discussed how this is a result of top-down approaches to development, and so I focus here on what this says about the society in which this form of translation is present. The preferential treatment for dominant group, or Western, language pairings of translation echoes the relations of power and inequality highlighted in Chapter 3. Furthermore, this forms part of macro discourses surrounding “Third World” inferiority as the dialogue emerging out of the Global

South is seen as of lesser importance or superfluous to NGO workings and therefore afforded less attention.

Regardless of whether this constitutes conscious action, or whether this forms part of an embedded naturalized manifestation of ideology (Fairclough), the effect is real. Aid-receiving communities become the recipients of a form of development where the West does not value the communication or consult with those who feel its effects. Here is an example of a belief system being enacted in forms of action and interaction, which do not necessarily entail the use of discourse. This is instead a form of ideological imposition through interaction (or lack thereof), where Western knowledge and ideals of development are seen as superior, and therefore the only way to eradicate poverty and produce what is considered to be ‘meaningful change’.

This same trend also emerges from the identification of text-types of greater importance within the surveys. The increased importance given to communication with donors or for promotional purposes once again highlights the importance given to communication among the elites (van Dijk), and a disregard for communication with those in aid-receiving communities. This is present in the micro-level discourse produced by Respondent B, in saying “most of the material that is used to communicate with our donors is considered very important”. As we can see from the above discussion, development-NGOs are part of a dominant force within society, drawing on the same forms of action and interaction within power relations as other dominant groups in society. This occurs regardless of the fact that development-NGOs also draw on activist ideals, which are traditionally meant to ‘go against dominant forces in society’ (Baker) and which have generally been a part of a different, oppositional set of ideologies.

### 4.6.3. Systemic Undervaluing

There are many examples of discourse within the surveys and website research conducted that portray the work of translators as uncomplicated, and a task that anyone can do. For example, 'light translation' is viewed by Respondent B as something anyone who works for the NGO (and speaks two languages) can perform. This echoes the common belief presented by Dam and Zethsen (2010), which says that translation may be grouped as an administrative task. Furthermore, the website translator position postings that portray translation as a 'simple, fun task' validates this same ideology. The meaning constructed through this discourse downplays the knowledge and expertise required to carry out adequate translations.

This is an example of macro-level discourse surrounding 'the translator as an undervalued mediator'. This representation was also examined in Chapter 1, by analyzing the role of translation in the scholarly work of development studies. This is a recurring representation not only within NGOs, but also on a more global scale, constituting a set of naturalized ideologies (Fairclough). We may recall that Michael Cronin (2003) discusses of role of activism in changing this representation, in order to create new knowledge and change how translation is perceived. It is difficult to identify the ideological motivation for such undervaluing, however, it may be that this is related to the economic reality of NGOs, and a need to cut costs and stimulate financial gain wherever possible. This is plausible given that the languages of translation and text-types of importance are also selected based on potential financial gain, both at the government and individual levels.

## **Concluding Remarks**

Canadian development-NGOs must communicate, both within Canada and with aid-receiving communities, in order to function. As a result, translation plays a large role in such mediation, and the individuals who perform these translations will evidently have an effect on communication. In order to better understand the role of NGO translators, I first surveyed translation coordinators who provided insight into who translates, what gets translated, and the overall system of translation within NGOs. Secondly, I surveyed the translators themselves, which also facilitated an understanding of who translates and what gets translated, but also provided insight into the motivational factors driving translators. It is through this double lens (that of the translation coordinators and that of the translators) that a better sense of translator practices and their overall role has emerged. Languages of translation, the notion of professionalism and text-types proved to be of importance in this system of translation, as well as activist ideals.

Some of the other findings that helped us further understand this system of translation and translator practices are the somewhat low response rates to surveys and website research discoveries. The response rates lead me to believe that translation is often an afterthought within development-NGOs in Canada. Communication is often seen as important in scholarly work on NGOs, yet the lack of information relating to the practices of translation and translators in such instances of mediation is of concern. It is important to keep the somewhat low response rates in mind as this has made it difficult to draw concrete conclusions with regards to survey results, or to offer definite generalizations about the practices at large. The website research conducted reiterated this notion of the undervaluing of translation and translators within NGOs. As was

discovered, translation is often viewed as a fun and simple task, which helps to maintain this representation of translation and translators.

All of these above-mentioned points of interest are informed by ideology. Here I have examined the ideology of both individual translators and NGOs, more broadly. I chose to examine the cognitive aspects of translator ideology, however, the ideological analyses of society and discourse are related to the ideology of the NGOs. Nevertheless, translators may share some beliefs with the ‘social institutions’ (Fairclough) they translate for, given that they form part of the group formation of these particular organizations. As a result, they may “share *opinions* about their common experiences”, and “have affective *feelings* of belonging to the group” (van Dijk, *Ideology: Multidisciplinary Approach* 141)<sup>42</sup>. In drawing upon van Dijk’s understanding of ideology, certain micro-discursive elements, drawn out of the two surveys and website research, were linked to the notions of (social)cognition, society and (macro-level) discourse.

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<sup>42</sup> It is unlikely that they share the opinion that translation is a ‘simple, fun’ task, unless they are not what we would call “professional” translators and are performing translations because they are under the assumption that is it in fact a ‘simple, fun’ task.



## **CONCLUSION**

Throughout this thesis project, the fields and practices of translation and development studies have been intertwined in order to shed light on a topic not often studied in either discipline, that is, development-NGO translation and translator practices. The theoretical implications of these realms of practice were discussed, focusing specifically on the Canadian context. Although NGO translation and translator practices have been explored separately, when examining both areas together, recurring themes emerge. These themes include the importance placed on promotional materials by NGOs, the importance of certain languages of communication within organizations, and the favouring of activist ideals.

In both chapters 3 and 4, promotional materials (i.e., operative texts) were found to be of importance to the workings of development-NGOs. In Chapter 3, it became apparent, through the analyses of the textual and visual semantics of the Plan Canada promotional videos, that there was a translation strategy behind these videos. They entailed ideological manipulation in order to meet the texts' operative function, which calls for a text to be adaptive and target-text oriented. Through the empirical research of Chapter 4, it became clear that promotional texts are afforded the most attention in several different NGOs. The emphasis on promotional materials is ultimately related to the need for NGOs to attract donors.

The importance of vectors of translation and language pairings also emerged in both of the analytical chapters (chapters 3 and 4). As seen in Chapter 3, information is translated into the dominant donor-side language and discourse, which entails translating the dominated aid-receiving sides' experiences in a way that is recognizable to the target audience, and ultimately

benefits dominant-side National office interests. Furthermore, although I examined instances of translation where texts spoken in Spanish were translated into English, it became apparent, when looking at general Canadian NGO translator practices, that NGOs place greater emphasis on the translation of information from English to French (and vice versa). This is once again a result of NGO government-reliance and the desire and need to reach donor-side Canadian audiences. In further research it would be worth investigating this dichotomy of desire and needs within NGO workings. Nevertheless, the above two themes are indicative of a global society where power relations and economics play pivotal roles in communication.

Finally, the research revealed that activist ideals form part of a shared NGO belief system. Specifically regarding translators' self-perceptions, as 50% of the NGO translators who responded to the survey consider themselves to be activists<sup>43</sup>. Moreover, although not explicitly indicated in the samples of discourse examined in Chapter 3, it is clear that the translation choices of the promotional videos draw upon an ideology related to dominant conceptions of 'activism'. The image-idea of 'activism' ought to be problematized; we can see the need for such problematization in the relationship between 'activism' and 'representing need', for example. Dogra's analysis (as seen in Chapter 3) shows that this relationship is based on the premise that poverty is a negative, and that dominant forces in society, inherently positive, have the power to change the situation of those people living in the "developing" world. As we can see, the concept of activism is complex and can vary greatly, something that hopefully became clearer through the interrogation of the concept in Chapter 1.

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<sup>43</sup> Two of five translator respondents mentioned that they consider themselves to be activists, however, one respondent did not answer this question, meaning that two of four responses reported activist tendencies (50% of responses)

Western values and beliefs within NGO practices, including those of translation and translators, are inherent in the above-mentioned themes and throughout the examination of the larger project. This may seem inevitable, given that we are looking at translation and translators emerging out of a Western setting, however, the implications of Western values in this setting are somewhat contradictory to the overt ideology of development-NGOs. This is due to the fact that such NGOs are meant to work on behalf of those living in aid-receiving communities.

In terms of the discourse surrounding translators, it is evident that this context is no exception; that within development-NGOs translators are also undervalued mediators. This is apparent in the survey results and website investigations of the development-NGOs approached. For example, Respondent B's reference to 'light translation work in-house, using internal staff capacity' shows the undervaluing of the translator's work, as does the comment on the website of one NGO calling for translators to volunteer because it is 'a fun and easy task'.

With regards to the process of research, carrying out the work for both of the analytical sections of the thesis posed certain barriers. For instance, the analysis of the second video, "Fighting Malnutrition in Guatemala", presented a significant research obstacle given that in video segments where aid-receiving community members speak, a Mayan-Spanish hybrid variety of language is used, which I was not able to understand completely. This linguistic difference restricted the possibility of performing CDA in these instances. This points to the importance of having a discussion regarding the role played by minority languages in NGO settings, and the issues faced when translating from and into minority languages in a development-NGO context, such as that of Plan Canada. In this case, it would have also been beneficial to have been able to consult with a Mayan-Spanish speaker, in order to better

understand the discursive contents of this particular video. Another barrier, regarding the empirical component of this project, was the relatively low response rate to the surveys conducted of NGO translation coordinators and translators. Higher response rates may have been generated if such individuals had been identified and contacted through means other than via the larger institutions (e.g., independent translation networks). Nevertheless, the method used for contacting development NGO-translators produced good quality survey responses. Furthermore, I was able to initiate communication with translation coordinators and begin to build relationships with NGOs and their translators. Reflecting on these various research obstacles may help avoid them in future projects; in themselves, these challenges may also become part of the scope of analysis for future research.

As a whole, one of the main goals of this project was to connect theory and practice. As such, given that the examination and analysis allowed for a general view of NGO translation practices, the research findings led me to sketch a few practical notes, or recommendations, for development-NGOs in Canada. With regards to text-types, I believe more value should be given to the translation of internal documents and progress reports, given that many of the larger NGOs approached have dozens of development projects going on at any given time. Such projects have several components, for example, many entail workshops, training sessions, the coordination of resources, etc., and so they should be evaluated and discussed in a dialogic manner between the “developed” and “developing” parties involved. This would strengthen cooperation processes and help to avoid one-sided Western imposition of specific development project strategies<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> This is not to say that such dialogic communication does not take place within development-NGOs, but that communication between the different parties could be better mediated through translation, and that the discussion of project specifics should be afforded greater importance.

Furthermore, the use of well-informed and experienced translators to act as mediators within these dialogues would be extremely beneficial as they would be able to foster meaningful communication by drawing on their cultural awareness and language expertise. Improved translational mediation may even result in development practices that are more meaningful to all parties involved, and contribute to changing the very notion of development in its Western sense.

As possibilities for future research, further work could be focused on the translated materials themselves. This could include the translation of other videos, texts, and various forms of documentation within development-NGOs. Another area would be the languages themselves, and how the use of multiple languages is handled within specific NGOs. As previously mentioned, analyzing the presence and use of minority languages may reveal new dimensions of translation practices within such NGOs. Finally, the visual components of the videos could be further analysed, to include greater discussion of Multimodal Discourse Analysis (discussed by Machin and Mayr in *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction*).

The kind of empirical research conducted in Chapter 4 may also be expanded. For instance, development-NGO translators outside of Canada could be approached to complete the survey. Further questions may also be posed to both translation coordinators and translators, to include their professional history, their socio-economic backgrounds and specific translation experience, as examples. Finally, conducting interviews with translation coordinators and translators may provide a greater understanding of the system of development-NGO translation, and produce fruitful dialogue and unforeseen findings.

To end, I would like to reiterate that my ideology has inevitably affected the presentation of context, and analysis of findings within this project. I have made an effort to remain cognizant

of my ideological inclinations throughout the writing of this project, however, I do believe that the topics addressed within this thesis project are inherently ideological in nature, and so the very selection of topics is a manifestation of my ideology. Following the words of Lilla Watson and the Aboriginal activists group, I also believe that we may seek to understand a given phenomenon, not necessarily because we may change it, but because it helps us to better understand ourselves and the world we live in. It may be that the ‘liberation’ of “developing” communities and translators may at times be ‘bound’ together. I hope that this research project may be seen as having been produced in solidarity with both translators and NGO aid-receiving communities alike, and that we may continue to find ‘committed approaches’ (Brownlie) to discussing topics and addressing issues that affect us all as global citizens.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix A: List of Canadian NGOs Approached and Investigated**

1. Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace - <http://www.devp.org>
2. Canadian Co-operative Association - <http://www.coopscanada.coop>
3. Canadian Crossroads International - Canada - <http://www.cciorg.ca>
4. Canadian Executive Service Organization - <http://www.ceso-saco.com>
5. Canadian Federation for Sexual Health - <http://www.cfsh.ca>
6. Canadian Red Cross - <http://www.redcross.ca>
7. CARE Canada - <http://www.care.ca>
8. Centre for International Studies and Cooperation - [www.ceci.ca](http://www.ceci.ca)
9. CUSO-VSO - <http://cusointernational.org/>
10. Habitat for Humanity Canada - <http://www.habitat.ca>
11. Inter Pares - [www.interpares.ca](http://www.interpares.ca)
12. International Development and Refugee Foundation - <http://idrf.com/>
13. L'Oeuvre Léger - <http://www.leger.org>
14. Mennonite Central Committee (Canada) - <http://www.mcc.org/canada/ottawa>
15. Plan Canada International Inc. - <http://www.plancanada.ca>
16. Right to Play - [www.righttoplay.ca](http://www.righttoplay.ca)
17. Save the Children Canada - <http://www.savethechildren.ca/>
18. Street Kids International - [info@streetkids.org](mailto:info@streetkids.org)
19. Terre Sans Frontières - <http://www.terresansfrontieres.ca>
20. The Hunger Project - <http://www.thp.org>
21. World University Service of Canada - <http://www.wusc.ca/en>
22. World Vision Canada - <http://www.worldvision.ca>

## Appendix B: Translation Coordinator Survey Results

Timestamp	By clicking the checkbox below, I acknowledge that I have read and agree to the consent letter presented in the email request for participants.	Name :	Name of the non-governmental organization (NGO) you work for:	1. What is your position in the NGO?	2. Is coordinating translation your main activity/task? Please explain.	3. Do the translators you work with receive financial remuneration?
<b>Participant A</b> 2014/06/18 5:00:52 PM AST	I agree to the consent letter			Development Officer	No, a small portion of my online fundraising and website coordination responsibilities.	Yes, we found we received better quality of work and faster turn around times when we paid a professional translator.
<b>Participant B</b> 2014/06/30 9:51:44 AM AST	I agree to the consent letter		Inter Pares	Program manager for Inter Pares' Latin America Program	No. Inter Pares works under a co-management structure, therefore coordinator of the translation/revision of translations committee is one of the many different tasks and committee I take part in. Every staff is in the same situation.	Yes.

<p><b>4. If you work with volunteer translators, do they also work for your NGO in another capacity? If not, do volunteers ever get hired at your NGO? Has this ever been the case for translators?</b></p>	<p><b>5. Approximately how many translators are there on your team?</b></p>	<p><b>6. What are the language combinations of your translators?</b></p>
<p>We used volunteer translators at one time, however as I said above the quality was not to our standards plus it could take 2-3 weeks to complete a short blog post.</p> <p>The volunteers completed a writing sample and were screened by our professional translator, however it just did not work out.</p>	<p>1 for the Canadian office, unsure about other offices</p>	<p>French/English</p>
<p>Most of the translation that has been done by volunteers was on a very ad-hoc basis, and it mostly had to do with translations that was not English to French, and it was never for official communications. We also do a fair bit of light translation work in-house, using internal staff capacity.</p>	<p>2</p>	<p>English to French</p>

<p><b>7. Please rank these types of texts from most often translated to least often translated.</b></p>				<p><b>8. If there are other types of texts frequently translated at your NGO, please identify them here.</b></p>	<p><b>9. Are some translations considered more important for the activities of your NGO than others?</b></p>
<p><b>Progress reports/ other internal docs: 2</b></p>	<p><b>Promotional materials: 1</b></p>	<p><b>Website content: 1</b></p>	<p><b>Communications with donors: 2</b></p>		<p>No, we are required to provide French information on our website to demonstrate to the Canadian gov't that we are bilingual. This often comes secondary to the English website and other fundraising priorities.</p>
<p>4</p>	<p>3</p>	<p>3</p>	<p>1</p>		<p>Most of the material that is used to communicate with our donors is considered very important. This broadly encompasses all of the fundraising letters, the monthly e-bulletins, our Inter Pares Bulletins and Annual Reports, etc.</p>

<p><b>10. Who are the people involved in the process of translation (e.g. project managers, revisers, etc.)?</b></p>	<p><b>11. Typically, what are the stages involved in a translation assignment/project?</b></p>	<p><b>12. Is there an application process for translators who wish to work for your NGO? If so, please explain what this consists of and how candidates are selected.</b></p>
<p>Myself as Project Manger and the translator.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Collect content to be translated</li> <li>2) Send to translator for project quote and timeline</li> <li>3) Approve quote</li> <li>4) Return of content to myself</li> </ol>	<p>Currently we have preferred vendor relationship with our translator. Usually this is reviewed every three years.</p>
<p>The staff who mainly needs the support of translators because of the lack of in-house capacity are fundraisers and our communications director. They will send directly the materials that need translation to the translators, who will in turn bill Inter Pares for their work. As mentioned earlier, we also have a small translation/revision of translations committee. In this committee are involved all of the French native speakers at Inter Pares, who take turns in reviewing the pieces that have been translated and will be used as official communications in order to make sure they truly reflect the original meaning and etymology that is being used at Inter Pares.</p>	<p>Redaction of material; sending out of material to translators; review of translations by translation committee; publication and distribution.</p>	<p>We have been working with the same professional translators for a very long time now. Through the years we developed a relationship of mutual respect and trust, which we value a lot. My guess is that our translators have probably been referred to us by an allied NGO, and that's probably how we'll proceed again in the unfortunate case that one of our translators stop working with us.</p>

## Appendix C: Translator Survey Results

Timestamp	By clicking the checkbox below, I acknowledge that I have read and agree to the consent letter presented in the email request for participants.	Name:	Name of the non-governmental organization (NGO) translate for:	1. How long have you translated for this NGO?	2. What kinds of documents do you translate most frequently?	3. What is your greatest motivational factor for translating for this NGO?
<b>Participant 1</b> 2014/05/13 12:09:32 PM AST	I agree to the consent letter			Over 2 years	project updates and summaries	gaining professional translation experience
<b>Participant 2</b> 2014/06/18 4:30:03 PM AST	I agree to the consent letter			Over 2 years	Press releases	supporting the cause of the specific NGO in question
<b>Participant 3</b> 2014/06/26 12:41:24 PM AST	I agree to the consent letter			Over 2 years	promotional materials	earning an income
<b>Participant 4</b> 2014/06/30 9:37:31 AM AST	I agree to the consent letter			Over 2 years	promotional materials	supporting the cause of the specific NGO in question
<b>Participant 5</b> 2014/06/30 11:09:46 AM AST	I agree to the consent letter			Over 2 years	All of the above+ quarterly bulletins, letters to supporters	They offer a refreshing perspective and a critical approach to things. Often more interesting than commercial clients.

4. Which of the following best describes how often you translate for this NGO?	5. Is this a volunteer position?	6. If you hold a volunteer position, would you accept a paid position with this NGO?	7. Do you translate for other NGOs?	8. If you answered 'Yes' to the above question, please specify how many other NGOs you translate for.	9. If you answered 'No' to the above question, would you like to translate for other NGOs?	10. Do you volunteer in other capacities (not as a translator)?	11. Would you consider yourself to be an activist?
Less than 10 hours per week	Yes	Yes	Yes	1		Yes	No
Less than 10 hours per week	Yes	No	Yes	One		No	Yes
Less than 10 hours per week	No	Yes	Yes	2	Yes	Yes	No
Less than 10 hours per week	No		Yes	10		No	
Less than 10 hours per week	No	No	Yes	About 9. But not regularly		No	No