Translation practices in political institutions: a comparison of national, supranational, and non-governmental organisations

Translation practices in political institutions: A comparison of national, supranational, and non-governmental organisations

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Abstract: This paper explores the settings and practices of translation at three types of political institutions, i.e. national, supranational, and non-governmental organisations. The three institutions are the translation service of the German Foreign Office, the translation department of the European Central Bank, and translation provision by the non-governmental organisation Amnesty International. The three case studies describe the specific translation practices in place at these institutions and illustrate some characteristic translation strategies. In this way, we reflect on how different translation practices can impact on translation agency and how these practices in turn are influenced by the type of institution and its organisational structure. The article also aims to explore to which extent the characteristics of collectivity, anonymity and standardisation, and of institutional translation as self-translation are applicable to the institutions under discussion.

Keywords: institutional translation, agency, translation service of the German Foreign Office, translation at the European Central Bank, translation provision for Amnesty International

1. Introduction: Translating institutions, institutional translation, agency

In the widest sense, any translation that occurs in an institutional setting can be called institutional translation, and consequently the institution that manages translation is a translating institution. In Translation Studies, however, the label ‘institutional translation’ is generally used to refer to translating in or for a specific organisation (Kang, 2008, p. 141). Koskinen (2008, p. 22) defines institutional translation in an even more specific way:

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

In this understanding then, all specific translating institutions produce translations, but not all of them necessarily produceinstitutional translations. There is widespread agreement among researchers (e.g. Kang, 2008; Koskinen, 2008; Mossop, 1988) that institutional translation is still rather unexplored and that empirical studies are missing. Studies undertaken so far (e.g. of the Canadian Government's translation service by Mossop, 1988 and Gagnon, 2006, and of the translation process in the European Commission by Koskinen, 2008) have shown that institutional translation is a complex process regulated by rules and that multiple agents are involved and cooperate (translators, revisers, editors, experts). Institutional translation is typically collective, anonymous and standardised. The consistency of vocabulary, syntax and style of documents is ensured by, amongst others, style guides and CAT tools, revision procedures, and mentoring and training arrangements (see also Koskinen, 2011).

As pointed out by Koskinen (2008, p. 18), ‘all institutions constrain and regulate behaviour’, and this includes the translation process. Translators are subordinate to the overall aims of the institution and the intra-institutional procedures. The role of the individual translator has been explored in sociological approaches to translation with the concept of agency, which has been defined as ‘willingness and ability to act’ (Koskinen, 2010, p. 60). In the context of institutional translation, agency means the extent to which translators can take their own decisions when they are constrained by institutional procedures and when the standardised ‘voice’ of the institution is the one to be heard. The degree of institutionalisation, and consequently the degree of freedom translators enjoy, is different in each institution. The variety of regulations and guidelines that are used in specific institutions results in a whole range of translation strategies and routines.

The present article aims to illustrate institutional practices for translation at three types of institutions, i.e. national, supranational, and non-governmental organisations. All these organisations operate in the domain of politics in the widest sense. We will present three case studies: the translation service of the German Foreign Office, the translation department of the European Central Bank, and translation provision by the non-governmental organisation Amnesty International. For each institution, we will describe the specific translation practices in place and illustrate some characteristic translation strategies. We intend to show how different translation practices can impact on translation agency and constrain translators' choices, and how these practices are influenced by the type of institution and its organisational structure.

The present article aims to contribute to our understanding of institutional translation, taking Koskinen's definition of institutional translation and of translating institutions as a starting point. We intend to explore to which extent the characteristics of collectivity, anonymity and standardisation, and of institutional translation as self-translation are applicable to the institutions under discussion. We have therefore deliberately chosen three institutions of a different nature in order to investigate how generalisable these characteristics are.

2. Researching translation in institutions: Methodological considerations

The translation process in an institutional context is a socially situated practice and as such governed by internal procedures. The type of institution also determines which kinds of discourse and texts are produced, and this also has implications for translation strategies and the structure of the translations produced. As already argued by Mossop in 1988:

the goals of a translating institution are what determines the general approach taken in the translations it produces: whether they are relatively literal or free, whether the language is conventional or innovative, whether metaphors are eliminated or retained, and so forth (p. 65)

He adds that sometimes the ‘meaning is changed to serve the purpose of the translating institution’ (Mossop, 1990, p. 345).

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In order to understand why translations are done in a certain way, the institutional setting needs to be investigated. This requires analysing the translations as products in order to identify translation strategies, and also observing institutional procedures and interviewing the agents involved in these processes (translators, revisers, managers). These methods have been used for all three case studies. In each case, fieldwork was done individually by one of the authors of this article, at different periods of time and of a different duration. The fieldwork included observation of practices, participation in meetings, and (formal or informal) interviews with various agents as specific for the institution. The data gathered in this way include documents relevant for the translation practice (e.g. styleguides), researchers' fieldnotes, interview transcripts, and source texts and target texts. For the product analysis, a descriptive approach was applied for each case study, comparing the target texts to their respective source texts. This was done above all as a qualitative analysis, partly supported by corpus software.

The starting point for our analysis was the institution, and our research questions included the following: which kinds of texts are produced and translated by this institution; for which purposes and audience; into which languages? Who are the agents who take decisions concerning the translation process? How do translators see their role in the institution? Which translation strategies can be identified? The answers to these questions are different, which also explains why in the section below, different genres, different languages, and different textual features are presented. For illustrating translation strategies in sample target texts, our own language expertise has also played a role.

3.Translation practices in different political institutions

3.1 The Translation Service of the German Foreign Office

3.1.1. Institutional settings and agency

Translation and interpreting play an important role for international politics and political relations. The German government has translation departments (of different size) in all of its individual ministries except one, to cater for the specific needs of the respective ministry. This includes translation of speeches by the ministers, press releases, and of subject-specific

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documents. The German Parliament has its own translation service that caters for translation and interpreting needs of the members of parliament. Translations cover a wide range of genres, from documents for parliamentary hearings to dinner menus. All these translation departments are officially called 'Sprachendienst' (languages service), except for the service at the Ministry of Defence, which is called 'Bundessprachenamt' (Federal Office of Languages, see http://www.bundessprachenamt.de/). All translation departments of the individual ministries cooperate closely, pass on translation commissions if there is a huge demand and/or a tight deadline, and share their own internal terminology database.

For the purpose of this paper, the translation service of the Federal Foreign Office has been selected since it is both the biggest language service of all and the one that has been in place longest. It has existed since 1921 and has grown tremendously in the course of time. In summer 2012, there were 85 members of staff, of which 30 were full-time translators and an additional 10 full-time staff worked both as translators and interpreters. The Language Services Division of the Foreign Office (see http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/AAmt/Dienste/Sprachendienst_node.html), from now on abbreviated as SDAA, caters for all translation and interpreting needs of the Federal Chancellery, the Office of the Federal President, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which also means translating a huge variety of genres on a variety of topics. They include speeches, correspondence, treaties, press releases, diplomatic messages, negotiation protocols, and visit programmes. The authors of these texts are politicians or their staff, and depending on the genre, the institutional voice is more or less prominent. The SDAA has its offices in Berlin and is subordinate to the Central Directorate-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is divided into five groups: (i) the Interpretation Service, (ii) the Translation Service, (iii) the Translation Service for International Agreements, (iv) the IT, Terminology and Documentation Service, and (v) the Language Training Centre (which provides training in new languages for SDAA staff).

Originally, translations were done between German and English, French, Spanish, Russian, and Arabic, whereas nowadays the SDAA provides for 15 languages in house. The increase in languages is due to political developments, such as the Eastern enlargement of the European Union. If a specific language cannot be provided in-house or the deadline is very tight, then external translators will be used. English constitutes by far the vast majority of jobs for both translation and interpreting with about 70 per cent of all translation tasks, and translators for English are therefore the largest group within the SDAA. Most of the translations are done into English, with German only rarely as the target language. For this reason, the focus of this case study is on the English section and translation into English.

The SDAA operates an elaborate system of quality assurance. All translation requests are received in the first instance by the head of the translation service and entered into an electronic database. A template has been used for this purpose for several decades for clients to complete, with guidelines available to support the completion of this form. Translation requests are communicated mainly by electronic means or by phone, and not normally by the top politicians themselves but by their staff in the various divisions of the Chancellery or Ministry. Since politicians often finalise a speech they are going to deliver abroad on a state visit just shortly before its actual delivery, translations are provided to be put on the website for information purposes after the speech has been delivered. Advance translations are produced less frequently nowadays than in the past.

The template that is completed by translation requesters records information on client contacts, the purpose of the request (i.e. translation, checking of translation, comparison of several language versions of a text, gist translation), languages, and deadline. The section head checks this form and will also consider whether the deadline is realistic, and if similar previous texts exist. If felt necessary, he/she would contact the client and ask for any missing information. The section head will also decide on the translator and the reviser for each translation brief. For the internal procedures, a specific worksheet is initially completed by the section head listing deadline, source and target languages, purpose, client, and contact person, as well as the selected translator and reviser. This worksheet is attached to the source text and is passed on from the translator to the reviser and then returned to the section head for a final check, before the translation is sent to the client and the project logged as completed. These procedures are comparable to project management procedures in translation companies, although project managers as such are not employed, and staff themselves do not speak of project management, as was noticed during a one-week fieldwork on the SDAA premises in September 2012. The translators have the right to contact the client/requester themselves if they have questions or if they notice any problems in the source

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text. The client too is informed who the translator is, so that they can contact the translator directly, for example if changes are made to the source text. Even if the name of the translator does not show up in the final translation, the translators are very much 'visible' during the production phase.

The translators who were interviewed stated that the SDAA operates the mother tongue principle, that is, all translators translate into their mother tongue, with only the odd exception to this rule. About 95% of all translations get revised. If the translation was done into English by a native speaker of English, the reviser will be a native speaker of German. The translators also normally indicate which research they did to back up their translation solutions, e.g. highlighting whether a particular term, phrase or quote had been taken from a previously translated text. The use of translation memory systems is beneficial in this respect, and is used as a matter of routine. The reviser would go back to the translator and they jointly discuss the suggested changes. The final say on the English style is with the translator. The SDAA does not have specific style guides, although the Head of the SDAA mentioned in an interview conducted during the fieldwork that one for English is in progress. This explains why translators themselves have more freedom when it comes to style.

There is less freedom, however, in respect of terminology and consistency. The translators are supported by a terminology division. There is close cooperation between the translators and the staff who are employed as full-time terminologists. The terminologists themselves do research to keep the constantly growing databank up-to-date, and translators hand their translations daily to the terminology section. Translators highlight (in green) terminology and phrases they used in their texts for the terminologists to consider for inclusion in the database. There are also regular terminology meetings where terminologists and translators jointly discuss terms to be added to, or deleted from, the database. During participation in one of these meetings held at the SDAA, it became clear that these discussions are very welcome by everybody, very productive, and that translators have broad and detailed knowledge of political issues. Multilingual terminological databases and glossaries are available for a range of topics, e.g. for official titles of German political institutions, for country names, etc. Both translators and terminologists also benefit from discussions with the interpreters in the SDAA when it comes to new terms. Interpreters are at the cold face and have up-to-date vocabulary and are also conscious of sensitive terms due to their immediate involvement in discussions of politicians (for an illustration of the sensitivity of the term 'economic governance' and the corresponding German term see Schäffner, 2012).

3.1.2 Translation strategies

For the purpose of this article, translation strategies will be briefly illustrated with reference to political speeches and interviews as genres that are translated for a wider audience. As said above, there is no official document that lays out the SDAA's translation policy or translation strategies to be applied. Translators reported that their overall translation method is a reader-oriented approach and their guiding principle is comprehensibility. Translations to be put on the website for information purposes have been increasing, and the readers of these texts are foreign politicians, journalists and others interested in German politics (and in Chancellor Merkel). This awareness of the audience also governs the reader-focused translation approach. Speeches by the top German politicians are usually translated in a very literal way, not omitting or adding any information, and normally not breaking up or merging sentences. The reader-orientation thus concerns above all stylistic conventions and text-internal cohesion, as can be illustrated with a few examples from a speech by the German Federal President Joachim Gauck, delivered on 22 February 2013 in his residence in Berlin. These examples show a verbal style in the English translations (compared to nominal style in German), adaptation of salutation conventions, and also more liberty in English in using metaphors and idioms for more neutral formulations in the source text, and also compared to French, which has been added for comparison (emphasis in bold is ours).

German source text	**English version**	**French version**
Seien Sie herzlich willkommen.	Allow me to extend a warm welcome to you.	Soyez les bienvenus!
Junge Gäste hier in Schloss Bellevue haben mir vor Kurzem bestätigt, was wohl viele hier im Saal auch **kennen**	Some young guests visiting Bellevue the other day confirmed something that I think will **ring bells** with many of you here.	Des jeunes qui étaient en visite au château de Bellevue récemment m'ont confirmé ce que **pensent** sans doute bien des personnes ici présentes

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Wir halten inne, um uns gedanklich und emotional zu rüsten für den nächsten Schritt, der **Neues** von uns verlangt.	we are pausing to reflect so that we can equip ourselves both intellectually and emotionally for the next step, which will require us to enter **unchartered territory**	Nous marquons une pause pour nous préparer mentalement et émotionnellement à la prochaine étape qui nous conduira sur de **nouvelles voies**
http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Joachim-Gauck/Reden/2013/02/130222-Europa.html	http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Reden/2013/02/130222-Europe-englisch.pdf?__blob=publicationFile	http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Reden/2013/02/130222-Europa-Rede-Franzoesisch.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

Such changes of nominal style to verbal style can also be found in the English version of an interview that the Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel gave to several European newspapers. The table below also gives additional examples of conventions in question formulation.

German source text	**English version**	**French version**
Frau Bundeskanzlerin, spielen Sie eigentlich ein Instrument?	Federal Chancellor, **may I ask** whether you play a musical instrument?	Madame la Chancelière fédérale, jouez-vous d'un instrument de musique?
Und schließlich haben wir allzu oft die von uns selbst aufgestellten Regeln wie den **Stabilitätspakt** nicht eingehalten.	And all too often, we weren’t upholding our own rules, like the **Stability and Growth Pact**	Pour finir, nous avons trop souvent omis de respecter les règles que nous avions nous-mêmes adoptées comme le **pacte de stabilité**.
Bei allen Milliardenhilfen und **Rettungsschirmen**,	Amid all the billions in financial assistance **and rescue packages**,	Vu les milliards d'aides et les **fonds de secours**
aber vor allem müssen wir uns in Europa auf einen gemeinsamen **Weg** verständigen.	but the main thing we need to be doing in the EU is finding consensus on how we are going to **move forward** together	mais nous devons avant tout nous accorder en Europe sur une **voie** commune.
http://www.bundesregierung.de/ContentArchiv/DE/Archiv17/Interview/2012/01/2012-01-26-merkel-sueddeutsche-zeitung.html	http://www.london.diplo.de/Vertretung/london/en/03/__Political__News/01/Merkel__Interview.html	http://www.cidal.diplo.de/Vertretung/cidal/fr/__pr/actualites/nq/Dossier__Eurokrise/2012-01-27-merkel-interview-pm.html

What we also notice is the use of the official terminology ('rescue package', 'fonds de secours') instead of the more colloquial metaphor 'Rettungsschirm'. This interview was translated into English, French, Spanish, Italian and Polish and published on the websites of the German embassies in the respective countries. If, as in this case, one source text is to be translated into several languages, there is normally no time to have regular joint meetings of all translators involved and for close cooperation since the sheer volume of work does not allow for this. However, everything is electronically available and every translator sees on the internal worksheet the names of the translators for each language. Translators can thus consult each other, e.g. on the content or structure of the source text. If one translator contacts the client, e.g. if there are comprehension problems, he/she will inform all the other translators. In other words, the management of the whole project is entrusted to the translators themselves. In respect of the translation practices at the SDAA, we can say that Koskinen's definition of institutional translation as collective, anonymous and standardised does apply. It does not apply, however, in the same way for each genre, which, due to their specific purposes do not necessarily reflect the institutional voice.

3.2 The European Central Bank

3.2.1. Institutional settings and agency

The European Central Bank (ECB) was established in 1998 and its headquarters is in Frankfurt, Germany. Its role is to maintain price stability and to implement and define the monetary policy in the euro zone. Other tasks are to ensure the supervision of financial markets, to set the key interest rates for the euro zone, to control the money supply, to manage the foreign currency reserves of the euro zone, to issue euro banknotes and to monitor price trends.

The linguistic regime of the ECB respects the principle of multilingualism, like in other EU institutions. Peterson and Shackleton (2006, p. 185) state that English is the *de facto* working language of the ECB because it is the global language of banking. According to Scheller

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(2006, p. 139), regulations and other legal acts are published in all official languages, as well as the statutory publications (e.g. Annual Reports, Monthly Bulletins) and some press releases.

The Language Services division is the translation department of the ECB. It is a small department and comprises translation, terminology, editing and other linguistic services. Legal documents are not dealt with in this division, but they are translated by the lawyer linguists, who are part of the Legal division. The task of the Language Services division is to facilitate ECB's communication process, in view of its reporting obligations. The ECB has to publish certain specialised documents on a regular basis and it also has to communicate with the external world, via the website and other information materials. At the ECB there are one or two translators per EU language permanently employed (amounting to about 40 staff translators). The work is supported by freelancers who may be called to work in-house for a specific period of time when the workload is high, trainees (traineeships normally last three or six months), and sometimes translators from the national bank or from other institutions who come for a short-term exchange.

At the ECB, all translators work with a central translation memory tool. This is useful especially in case of repetitive and urgent documents, where only a few words need to be changed. Another reason for using the translation memory is that the documents have to correspond with the ones published before. At the ECB the use of translation memory tools is prescribed and is part of the institutional translation process to ensure the coherence and consistency of the documents. There are specific requirements for each type of document and translators also have to use databases, glossaries, and previous documents, etc. The translations are anonymous, as the translators' names do not appear anywhere. The author is thus the translated institution, the ECB, and the documents produced and translated reflect the institutional voice. By being part of the ECB staff, translators belong to and represent an authoritative institution, contribute in a way to policy-making and to sending important political messages.

Legal acts and official reporting documents (annual reports, monthly bulletins) have to be translated into all official languages of the EU. In the case of external communication, documents may be translated only into some languages, depending on their purpose. For specific events (e.g. cultural days), material is sometimes translated only into or from one specific language. According to the intended target audience, ECB documents can be divided into documents intended for experts (the specialised publications: weekly financial statements, monthly bulletins, annual reports, annual accounts) and documents for the general public (the website, informational brochures and leaflets, educational material). All language units work in collaboration with their respective national bank and translators often go on work visits to the national bank.

Revision is an integral part of the translation process at the ECB. Normally, all translations are revised by a translator who has the same mother tongue. Sometimes, specific documents are revised by the translators of the national bank, who send their comments and feedback. Highly specialised texts are also revised by experts in the field (economists). There is also close collaboration with translators from other EU institutions and with national experts, in order to ensure the consistency of the terminology across all EU institutions.

The specific rules to be followed are included in *The Interinstitutional Style Guide* (also used by the other EU institutions) and the style guide specific to the institution, to which a style guide for the specific language is sometimes added. The only guide specific to the European Central Bank is the *ECB English Style Guide–Guide to the stylistic conventions used in English language texts produced by the ECB*. Consistency is also assured by close cooperation between translators and terminologists, as the terminology unit often selects specific terms from translated texts and translators add them to the terminology database for future reference.

The translators who translate for the European Central Bank have little freedom when it comes to the translation choices. As with the translators for the other EU institutions, they are mainly bound by the specific institutional practices. According to Koskinen (2008, p. 2), 'the official nature of the institution endows the documents with authority and performative power'. In order to ensure this, translators have to follow certain rules and base their decisions on the precedent of previous translations, which are often recorded in the translation memory.

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3.2.2 Translation strategies

Two of the most dominant types of documents produced and translated at the ECB are the monthly bulletin and the annual report, which are regular publications that appear on the website. They are highly specialised, rather comprehensive and contain economic data and statistics, numerous tables and figures, and often employ phrases and terms from previous editions. After analysing the source and target texts, it was noticed that they contain a large number of metaphors, which will be used to illustrate translation strategies below.

Some examples of these strategies are shown below in several target languages, with a special focus on Romanian. Romanian was chosen because it is a new language in the EU, and the country has undergone economic and political changes, which have influenced the development of the terminology, whereas French and Spanish, as Romance languages with a long-standing tradition in EU translation, are used as a reference. An analysis of English source texts and Romanian target texts produced at the ECB, with a special focus on metaphors (see Tcaciuc, 2012) shows that while English embraces new terms and metaphors with ease, in the Romanian texts there is often a tendency to be more conservative with regards to the economic vocabulary. In many instances, the terms and expressions are demetaphorised and explained through additions and meta-communicative elements. The main strategies for translating metaphors in economic documents of the ECB identified in Tcaciuc (2012) were: (a) metaphor into non-metaphor (demetaphorisation), (b) addition, (c) retaining the conceptual metaphor, (d) using a different image. Two of these strategies are illustrated below. What was also noticeable in the Romanian target texts was a high number of English loan words, especially when a newly coined term that was used in the English text had not yet made its way into the Romanian economic vocabulary. The examples below are taken from monthly bulletins (metaphors emphasised in bold).

3.2.2.1 Metaphor into non-metaphor / Demetaphorisation

This strategy consists in replacing the ST metaphor with a non-metaphoric phrase in the TT (the conceptual metaphor and metaphorical expressions are not retained) and using a paraphrase (a phrase without metaphoric potential).

English version	Romanian version
The ongoing **"health check"** of the EU common agricultural policy […] (*Monthly Bulletin June 2008*)	**evaluarea** politicii agricole comune a UE, aflată în prezent în plină desfăşurare […] **Back translation:** the **evaluation** of the common agricultural policy of the EU which is currently in full swing
http://www.ecb.int/pub/pdf/mobu/mb200806en.pdf	http://www.bnro.ro/Buletinul-lunar-al-BCE-3222.aspx

In this excerpt, the English 'health' metaphor is simply replaced by the non-metaphorical word 'evaluarea' ('evaluation') in the Romanian version. If the metaphor were retained, it would not be perceived as belonging to the economic field in Romanian. In the French and Spanish translations, however, the medical image has been retained ('bilan de santé', 'chequeo').

3.2.2.2 Addition

This strategy implies retaining the metaphor and adding elements to it, in order to make the meaning more explicit. In the example below, meta-communicative elements in the source text (inverted commas and the phrase 'so-called') are used to emphasise that the term is new. In the target text, this is even more explicit.

English version	Romanian version
The annual average growth rate of real GDP for a given year is determined both by the growth dynamics in that particular year and in the previous year, **the so-called "carry-over effect"**.	Ritmul mediu anual de creştere a PIB real pentru un anumit an este determinat de dinamica din acel an şi de cea din anul anterior, **fenomen cunoscut sub denumirea de efect de report**.

(*Monthly Bulletin March 2010*)	**<u>Back translation:</u>** The annual average growth rate of real GDP for a certain year is determined by the dynamics in that year and in the previous year, **phenomenon known as carry-over effect**.
http://www.ecb.europa.eu/pub/pdf/mobu/mb201003en.pdf	http://www.bnro.ro/Buletinul-lunar-al-BCE-3222.aspx

The term 'carry-over effect' denotes a new, less well-known concept, with this novelty signalled by metalinguistic elements (so-called, 'fenomen cunoscut sub denumirea de', 'on parle alors de', 'lo que se denomina') and also inverted commas in English, French and Spanish.

3.2.2.3 English loan words

When performing the textual analysis, it was noticed that Romanian economic texts contain a large number of English loan words. This is why only examples from English source texts and Romanian target texts are presented below.

English version	**Romanian version**
ECB welcomes Spanish authorities' announcement on **bottom-up stress test**. (*Monthly Bulletin March 2010*)	BCE salută anunţul autorităţilor spaniole cu privire la **exerciţiul de stress test de tip „bottom-up”.** **<u>Back translation:</u>** The ECB welcomes the announcement of Spanish authorities regarding the **"bottom-up" type stress test exercise**.
http://www.ecb.europa.eu/pub/pdf/mobu/mb201003en.pdf	http://www.bnro.ro/Buletinul-lunar-al-BCE-3222.aspx

When a term is new in Romanian, sometimes the English term is borrowed, often until a better solution is found. In the first excerpt, there are two English terms borrowed in Romanian: 'stress test' (also with the addition 'exercitiul'–'exercise') and 'bottom-up'. In the second excerpt, the borrowed term is 'tranzactii de tip carry trade' ('carry trade type transactions').

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The English economic vocabulary is more developed (also noticed by Dobrotă & Maftei, 2002), whereas in Romanian, in many instances, the economic terms reflect new realities. Due to the political changes in Romania in the last 20 years (passing from a planned economy to a market economy), the Romanian economic vocabulary is still emerging, and translation plays an essential role in this respect.

It can be concluded that Koskinen's considerations regarding the institution's ‘voice’ that is to be heard apply to the ECB translations, which are collective and standardised. Although sometimes there is room for creativity (e.g. when it comes to translating new terms), generally the translators' power and freedom are limited, as they have to abide by the procedures of the institution. During the fieldwork carried out in the ECB, it was noticed that the translators make extensive use of the translation memory, which has a huge impact on the translation choices, as the terms are usually taken as such from the memory or from the MultiTerm glossary. As was noticed during the fieldwork, Romanian translators, when in doubt, often consult other language versions (usually Romance languages) to find a solution that is closer to their own target language. Sometimes experts (economists) are consulted or documents are revised by the national bank, which often has the final say on some terms (which may also influence the way metaphors are dealt with), as the language used in Romanian economic texts is generally rather formal. Translators' creativity can also depend on the genre and the target audience: whereas translators may have more freedom when it comes to material for the general public and the website, creativity is more limited in case of specialised documents based on previous versions. Therefore, translators are pieces in this large and complex mechanism of EU institutions. This is why Koskinen's (2008) characterisation of the EU institutions constituting a ‘microcosm’, with each one having its own rules and conventions, applies to the ECB as well.

3.3 Amnesty International

3.3.1. Institutional settings and agency

This third case study investigates the international non-governmental organisation (NGO) Amnesty International. Translation in NGOs has been generally overlooked in Translation

Studies, even though NGOs are powerful institutions that impact on world affairs. International NGOs are altogether different organisations from intergovernmental organisations (IGOs). Rather than being coherent and cohesive entities on a global level, they often share little but a common name and can be better conceived as networks of domestic-level groups (Wong, 2012, p. 192). These differences in organisational structure and the limited funding available to them also means that NGOs often deal with translation in a different way than IGOs, usually opting for a strategic use of translation that is linked to their real needs (Pym, 2004, p. 86). These issues raise questions concerning the applicability of a definition of institutional translation as self-translation, and concerning the voice that is actually heard in translation.

Amnesty International is one of the largest and most influential human rights organisations worldwide. It has supporters, members and activists in over 150 countries and offices in more than 80 countries. The organisation's International Secretariat (IS) is based in London. Amnesty's main methods of working in advocating human rights are researching and publishing facts on cases of human rights abuses around the world and mobilising public pressure on governments and other actors to stop these abuses. A lot of the work is done by Amnesty's members through letter writing, campaigning and demonstrating.

To make Amnesty and its actions visible around the world, information on the organisation's research and actions needs to be made available in a wide variety of languages. Throughout the years, Arabic, English, French, and Spanish have achieved the status of strategic languages within the organisation, meaning that they are considered as languages that will maximise Amnesty's impact on human rights. Amnesty generates most of its documents in English. For translation into Arabic, French and Spanish, the movement has teams of professional translators, based at the IS for Arabic, and at separate translation offices in Paris for French, and in Madrid for Spanish.

Resources were also developed for translation into a number of other languages over the years. For example, an Asian Language Program was founded, to which Asian sections could apply for funding for specific translation projects. Yet until 2007, there was no unified, strategic way in which translation services were organised, and many sections catered for their own translation needs on the local level.

The distinct approaches to translation entailed missed opportunities in terms of impact and growth. Amnesty started implementing a new language policy and strategy from 2007 onwards, aiming to translate into more languages. For this purpose, a Language Resource Centre (AILRC) was established in 2011. The AILRC has incorporated the existing language structures, and also covers support for terminology and interpreting. It aims to add support for a wide variety of languages over time.

The language services at Amnesty are in a transitional phase. The focus in this article is on translation at Amnesty for the period 2012–2013 and contrasts working procedures at two offices where fieldwork was carried out, i.e. at the translation office in Paris (AILRC-FR), and at the local section of Amnesty International Flanders (AI VL), based in Antwerp, which caters for its own translation needs.

AILRC-FR deals with the translation of the majority of Amnesty documents from English into French. The office employs seven internal translators, who both translate and revise texts. The bulk of the translation work is carried out by a team of approximately 20 freelancers. AILRC-FR largely functions as a translation agency, which receives translation requests from the IS and the French-speaking sections. However, not all translations need to be requested: a difference is made between planned and reactive work. Reactive work includes documents that need to be translated urgently, such as press releases and web documents. These are usually short documents and translation does not need to be requested due to their urgent need. For planned work, a Translation Request Form needs to be completed, so that the AILRC-FR can decide whether the translation is really needed (depending on the number of sections using it, for example) and can plan the work. A similar system is in place for translation into Spanish and Arabic at AILRC-ES and at the Arabic translation team.

When looking at translation into Dutch as carried out at AI VL, a completely different picture emerges. Translation for non-strategic languages is often catered for on the local level. There is no formal organisational structure in place for translation, and no internal translators are employed. Documents that are translated at the local level usually comprise media and campaigning documents. Internal documents or reports are not translated, unless the topic is relevant to the local context. In this case, the translation will be outsourced to a translation agency.

At AI VL, translation mainly consists of press releases, Urgent Actions, and campaigning materials. For the translation of Urgent Actions, AI VL works with a team of approximately 70 volunteers, who translate no more than one Urgent Action per month and who work from home. These volunteers include translation students, professional translators, and pensioners who do not have a background in translation. For press releases, there are two possibilities. Press releases that are sent to local media contacts are translated by the local press officer. Some additional press releases are translated for the website by a volunteer who comes into the AI VL office two to three days per week and helps out with media work. The selection of press releases for translation is related to the campaigns AI VL focuses on. Next to press releases and Urgent Actions, other media and campaigning materials (e.g. posters, slogans, leaflets, blog posts) are translated on an ad-hoc basis by all staff members. It is also noteworthy that there is hardly any collaboration for translation with AI NL, the local section of Amnesty in the Netherlands. This is due to regional language differences and different priorities of the sections.

Differences for translation into strategic vs. non-strategic languages are not only present on the organisational level, but also in terms of translation procedures and available resources. At AILRC-FR, freelancers receive a number of documents related to translating for Amnesty, such as a basic glossary, guidelines for translation, and a typographic guide. Furthermore, both internal and freelance translators work with a shared translation memory and a terminology database. Translations are subject to an in-depth revision process, which is carried out by internal or senior freelance translators. It should be noted though that even though translation into the strategic languages is organised in a similar way, there are substantial differences in institutional practices as well. For example, the French and Spanish translation teams work with different types of translation memory software.

Institutional practices between strategic and non-strategic languages differ to a much larger extent. Hardly any resources for translation are available at AI VL. For the volunteers who translate Urgent Actions, a brief document with guidelines is available, yet the contents refer more to layout than to translation. There is a concise terminology list with the English and Dutch names of legal acts, but no extensive glossary is available. AI VL does not use a translation memory or a terminology database. Furthermore, revision of translated texts is limited. For the translations of Urgent Actions in particular, there is no revision at all. The reasoning behind this is that these documents are intended for Amnesty activists, who are already convinced of Amnesty's mission. However, there is revision for press releases, and many other sections who cater for their own translation needs do revise all locally translated texts.

3.3.2 Translation strategies

The aspects of organisation and translation procedures discussed above show that there are distinct translation approaches for different languages within Amnesty, and that the constraints by which translators are bound vary according to the language. The few textual examples below illustrate how these differing policies and settings impact on the translations. The examples are headlines of Amnesty press releases, one of the most translated genres at the organisation. Headlines are framing devices, meaning that they help in constructing a frame of a specific news story (De Vreese, 2005, p. 54). These frames may change in translation, especially in the translation of press releases, as the text is adapted to the needs and expectations of the target audience (cf. Jacobs, 1999; Möckli, 2012). In this case, it is possible that headlines are not actually translated, but are rather replaced by new headlines that are oriented towards the target audience. However, since these substitution processes form part of news translation, they are considered here. The examples discussed below are from headlines from press releases translated into French by AILRC-FR, and into Dutch by AI VL and AI NL.

AI IS	**AILRC-FR**	**AI NL**	**AI VL**
Bahrain: Reforms risk appearing hollow as	Bahreïn. Les réformes risquent de sembler	Bahrein: imago belangrijker dan	Bahrein: Oppervlakkige

violations continue	vides de sens face à la persistance des violations **Back translation**: Bahrain: reforms risk to appear empty of meaning as violations continue	mensenrechten **Back translation:** Bahrain: Image more important than human rights	hervormingen en aanhoudende mensenrechtenschendingen **Back translation:** Bahrain: Superficial reforms and continuing human rights violations
http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/bahrain-reforms-risk-appearing-hollow-violations-continue-2012-04-16	http://www.amnesty.org/fr/for-media/press-releases/bahrain-reforms-risk-appearing-hollow-violations-continue-2012-04-16	http://www.amnesty.nl/nieuwsportaal/nieuws/bahrein-imago-belangrijker-dan-mensenrechten	http://www.aivl.be/nieuws/bahrein-oppervlakkige-hervormingen-en-aanhoudende-mensenrechtenschendingen/39981#.UimU2YWFjV0

AILRC-FR's translation uses the same frame as in the source text and its meaning is close to the original. AI NL's translation, however, is a reformulation of the original headline. The main idea is summarised rather than translated. AI VL's translation contains a change in information. The nuance of the original headline expressed through the phrase ‘risk appearing hollow’ is omitted in the translation, and the superficiality of the reforms in Bahrain is expressed as a certainty. The translation strategies of the Dutch-speaking sections result in slightly differing frames, in which different elements of the original title are emphasised.

AI IS	AILRC-FR	AI NL	AI VL
Report 2012: No longer business as usual for tyranny and injustice	Rapport 2012 : La tyrannie et l'injustice n'ont plus les coudées franches **Back translation**: Report 2012 : tyranny and injustice no longer have free rein	Amnesty International Jaarboek 2012: Gebrek aan daadkracht VN-Veiligheidsraad maakt sterk wapenhandelverdrag noodzakelijker dan ooit **Back translation**:	Jaarrapport Amnesty International 2012: Moedige en volhardende burgers lijnrecht tegenover hypocriete en onverschillige wereldleiders

		Amnesty International Annual Report 2012: lack of action of the UN Security Council makes a strong Arms Trade Treaty more necessary than ever	**Back translation:** Annual Report Amnesty International 2012: Courageous and persevering citizens directly opposed to hypocritical and indifferent world leaders
http://www.amnesty.org/en/for-media/press-releases/report-2012-no-longer-business-usual-tyranny-and-injustice-2012-05-24-0	http://www.amnesty.org/fr/for-media/press-releases/report-2012-no-longer-business-usual-tyranny-and-injustice-2012-05-24	http://www.amnesty.nl/nieuwsportaal/pers/amnesty-international-jaarboek-2012-gebrek-aan-daadkracht-vn-veiligheidsraad-maak	http://www.aivl.be/nieuws/jaarrapport-2012-moedige-en-volhardende-burgers-lijnrecht-tegenover-hypocriete-en-onverschillige-wereldleiders/40307#.UihhtYWFjV0

In this example, AILRC-FR's translation again remains close to the original in terms of meaning and framing. ‘Tyranny and injustice’ have become the subject and were fronted, but this change does not have a huge impact on meaning or framing. AI NL's headline, however, is completely different from the English original one in that it refers to the UN Security Council and the Arms Trade Treaty. Amnesty's campaign for a strong Arms Trade Treaty was a priority for many Amnesty sections. AI NL's headline thus includes an information change and an adaptation to the local section's interests and priorities. AI VL's headline, on the other hand, maintains the frame set out in the original of tyranny and injustice, yet the headline is reformulated. It emphasises the contradiction of courageous citizens as opposed to indifferent world leaders, and thus focuses on the actors involved, making it more personalised.

These examples show that AI NL and AI VL take greater liberties with their translations than AILRC-FR. Changes in framing are more common for translations into Dutch than for translations into French. Staff translating for the Dutch-speaking sections are restrained by fewer constraints and guidelines than translators at AILRC-FR, where translation is institutionalised to a higher degree.

The examples illustrate that distinct approaches to translation also lead to differences in the texts themselves, with press releases being framed differently through changes in the headlines. Furthermore, as described in Tesseur (2014), the translations of press releases by AI VL also often quote a local staff member instead of staff from the International Secretariat quoted in the original press release. These changes to frames and to voice make it difficult to apply Koskinen's definition of institutional translation as collective, anonymous and standardised to Amnesty.

4. Conclusion

The aim of this article was to explore to what extent the characteristics of institutional translation as collective, anonymous and standardised, and as self-translation are applicable to the institutions under discussion. Our findings show that these characteristics apply to different degrees to the three institutions that made up our case studies. Moreover, even within one and the same institution, there are differences depending above all on the genre, the language and the translation purpose. Although the institutions discussed in this article can be seen as institutions that ‘directly serve the societies' control and governance functions’ (Koskinen, 2011, p. 57), ideological aspects do not seem to play the most important role for translation practices and translation strategies. All these institutions exercise different functions in society and they are organised and funded in different ways. This has an impact on the way translation is organised, conceptualised and executed, as illustrated above.

The translation practices are related to translation and language policies of the respective institutions. As we have seen, not all institutions do have a clearly formulated policy. The clearest type of policy is evident in the ECB, which is governed by the general policy of multilingualism that is the basis of all European Union institutions. This commitment to multilingualism and to equality of all official languages leads to an extensive translation activity. Collectivity, anonymity, and standardisation of translation do apply probably to the highest degree to the ECB, although, as illustrated above, some variation in translation strategies does occur, mainly if terminology is still new or if formulations do not fully fit the target language and/or the target culture conventions and/or expectations. Translators contribute to the functioning of the ECB and their agency is thus limited. Their individual voice is totally subjected to the voice of the institution. The extensive use of the translation memory confirms Koskinen's characterisation of these tools as 'one form of institutional memory' (Koskinen, 2011, p. 5–6). Thus, the results of the case study on ECB translation are consistent with Koskinen's (2008) findings, providing additional evidence that the EU institutions place very stringent constraints on translation, and that '[t]he language is not individual but quite heavily controlled and translation is not a personal act but a collective process' (Koskinen, 2008, p. 24).

In the case of Amnesty International, it is also the voice of the institution that is most important. As illustrated above, this can result in translation strategies that involve changes of content, such as changes in framing and attributing quotes to different people. It is not important which individual person has made a statement but that the position, and thus the voice, of Amnesty International is represented. Translations are adapted to the local context so that Amnesty's message will reach as wide an audience as possible. The features of anonymity and collectivity apply here to a smaller degree than to the ECB. The voice of the individual speaker is sometimes changed in translation, yet as they are speaking as representatives of the institution, the institutional voice is maintained. Furthermore, our analysis shows that these characteristics of institutional translation apply to different degrees to various offices of Amnesty International. It may be more useful to consider Amnesty not as one worldwide translating institution but rather as a collective of several translating institutions, each one with their own translation practices and beliefs.

For the translation service of the German Foreign Ministry, collectivity, anonymity, and standardisation apply as well when it comes to the translation practices that are in place. In this case, however, it is not so much the voice of the institution that is important, but rather the voice of the individual politician (we may, of course, also consider the office of the Federal Chancellor and that of the Federal President to be institutions). It is the politicians, and predominantly their staff, who decide which texts need to be translated, and this decision is related to the importance of the occasion and of the topic, rather than motivated by a more systematic strategy for communicating politics. Since the texts which are translated in the translation service of the Foreign Ministry are of a huge variety, not all of them convey the political position of the government and would thus not come under the label of 'institutional translation' in the more specific sense. The same applies by and large to the translation services of the other German ministries, even if there are minor differences if it comes to the practicalities of translation practices and procedures (e.g. slightly different templates to record translation commissions, number of staff, terminology work).

The institution as the author of both source texts and target texts can be said to apply more to the ECB and Amnesty International, but the translation strategies used to convey the institutional voice differs. Moreover, not all texts produced and translated in the three institutions investigated convey the institutional voice, since a variety of texts are translated for various purposes (this variation is probably the largest for the German SDAA). This observation also means that Koskinen's claim of institutional translation as self-translation cannot be verified for all our cases. We do, however, agree with her that understanding institutional translation requires 'detailed case studies of different institutional contexts' (Koskinen, 2011, p. 60). We have to acknowledge as well that our three case studies may not be representative of their respective type of institutions. That is, translation departments of governments in other countries may operate differently, other NGOs may have different practices, and translation procedures may differ from one EU institution to another. Analysing processes in other institutions is thus necessary to see how much similarity or variation there actually is. As Kang says, it is such studies which may 'render new insights about different forms of translation practice and provide more systematic explanations' (Kang, 2008, p. 144) and thus enhance our discipline of Translation Studies

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