

Ethics of Media Interpreting in the Arab World: The Simultaneous Interpreting of Al-Jazeera News Outlet as Example

Assistant Professor Jasim Khalifah Sultan Al-Maryani (PhD)

Dept. of Translation, University of Basrah

Abstract

To increase viewer numbers, Arab news outlets establish codes of ethics based, of course, on media laws and regulations declared by the League of Arab States. The Arab audience can directly assess the degree to which these codes are upheld and adhered to if coverage is in Arabic. Nevertheless, coverage may indicate texts or utterances that are delivered in a foreign language such as English. On these occasions, the only way through which the audience can access the source text is the translation or/and interpretation provided by the outlets. Therefore, s/he may mistakenly believe that the production of these renderings fully corresponds to the outlet's stated code of ethics. This article will challenge this conception with special reference to simultaneous interpreting of political discourse provided by Al-Jazeera. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus', it reveals the contradiction between Al-Jazeera's code of ethics and the actual performance of its interpreters. It suggests that the dispositions that interpreters accumulate, as a result of being under the pressure of the outlet's agendas, are the determinants of interpreting decisions. In other words, institutional codes of ethics have no or little impact on the transparency of the produced target texts.

Keywords:

ethics habitus Al-Jazeera Arabic simultaneous interpreting

1. Introduction

As is the case with other professions, translation has gradually developed its own code of conduct or ethics. This code is highly influenced by the boundaries that translation theory draws to the role of the translator. From a Skopos Theory perspective, for example, Christiane Nord (1991: 28) suggests that the translator has the freedom to adapt or adjust the source text to suit the audience or translation brief. Such view has been heavily criticised by Lawrence Venuti who emphasises the importance of translators' invisibility. He believes that adapting the source text to the target language and/or culture involves an ethnocentric violence. In other words, he views domestication, i.e. modifying the source text in order to be readable by the target audience, as an ethically suspect practice because the translated text should erase all traces of the original (Venuti 1995:20). Similarly to Venuti's proposal, Andre Lefevere underlined the subjective agency of the translator. He (1992:9) regards translation as a form of rewriting that 'manipulates...and is effective'. Moreover, with the beginning of the twenty-first century, the translator's subjective agency has become the focus of other translation scholars. In particular, Baker (2005; 2006) proposes that the translator 'reframes' the source text to suit his/her interests as well as those of his/her institution. Furthermore, contributions in Munday (2007) treat the translator as an 'interventionist' or 'intervenient being' who is consciously or unconsciously driven to feed his/her beliefs into the texts s/he is processing. Such scepticism in the translator's role is further seconded by the contributions in House (2008). These insights have drawn attention to the need for the improvement of translation training programmes. Since then, much time and effort have been invested by universities and translation institutions to offer curriculums that enable the translator to manage the pressures that urge them to intervene to feed their beliefs into the texts (Baker and Maier 2011). To date, however, there seems no effective remedy that can help to produce an

intervention-free version, especially from those who work for institutions other than translation services proper. The code of ethics that the translator should not break, therefore, becomes of that particular employing institution which could be, in turn, oriented to serve specific agendas. The matter is yet more complicated if these agendas are not explicitly stated. It is true that particular institutions provide their employees with written or oral guidelines on what is un/ethical, but what about the practices that are consciously or unconsciously acquired from the work environment within which the translators are embedded? In this respect, translation ethics of that particular institution do not stem from the abstractly written lists fixed on its walls, mentioned on its website or even declared in training programs held, but they are the actual dispositions that the translator has developed as a result of the daily exposure to the constraints of his/her institution, i.e. social space. In what follows, we are going to examine the validity of this last assumption with special reference to Arabic/English simultaneous interpreting in the media, the Al-Jazeera news outlet in particular. The main objective is to obtain sufficient evidence on the translator's conscious or unconscious negligence of his/her employing institution's ethics (including those s/he has been trained to preserve).

2. The Role of Habitus in Violating Al-Jazeera's Code of Ethics

Al-Jazeera is a well-known 24-hour news outlet. Its Arabic version was launched in 1996 to break the monopoly of voices, i.e. the voices of the rulers and their adherents, that the Arab audience was used to hear. It has earned a global reputation, even prior to the launch of its English version in 2006, as it was the first and, sometimes, the only source of Osama Bin Laden's videos and tapes, such as those of 9/11. Both Al-Jazeera Arabic and Al-Jazeera English broadcast from Doha, Qatar. Although each outlet has its own independent building and members of staff, both are chaired by Sheikh Hamad bin Thamer Al-Thani, a member of the ruling family. What is important here is that both

subscribe to exactly the same ten-point code of ethics which is available on their websites. Table 1 below depicts these ethics.

Table 1 Al-Jazeera English and Al-Jazeera Arabic Code of Ethics

Al-Jazeera English	Al-Jazeera Arabic
<p>Being a globally oriented media service, Al Jazeera shall adopt the following code of ethics in pursuance of the vision and mission it has set for itself:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Adhere to the journalistic values of honesty, courage, fairness, balance, independence, credibility and diversity, giving no priority to commercial or political over professional consideration. 2. Endeavour to get to the truth and declare it in our dispatches, programmes and news bulletins unequivocally in a manner which leaves no doubt about its validity and accuracy. 3. Treat our audiences with due respect and address every issue or story with due attention to present a clear, factual and accurate picture while giving full consideration to the feelings of victims of crime, war, persecution and disaster, their relatives and our viewers, and to individual privacies and public decorum. 4. Welcome fair and honest media competition without allowing it to affect adversely our standards of performance and thereby having a “scoop” would not become an end in itself. 5. Present the diverse points of view and opinions without bias and partiality. 6. Recognise diversity in human societies with all their races, cultures and beliefs and their values and intrinsic individualities so as to present unbiased and faithful reflection of them. 7. Acknowledge a mistake when it occurs, promptly correct it and ensure it does not recur. 8. Observe transparency in dealing with the news and its sources while adhering to the internationally established practices concerning the rights of these sources. 9. Distinguish between news material, opinion and analysis to avoid the snares of speculation and propaganda. 10. Stand by colleagues in the profession and give them support when required, particularly in the light of the acts of aggression and harassment to which journalists are subjected at times. Cooperate with Arab and international journalistic unions and associations to defend freedom of the press. 	<p>كونها خدمة إعلامية عالمية التوجه فإن الجزيرة تعتمد ميثاق الشرف المهني التالي سعياً لتحقيق الرؤية والمهمة اللتين حددتهما لنفسها:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> ١ - التمسك بالقيم الصحفية من صدق وجراة وإنصاف وتوازن واستقلالية ومصادقية وتنوع دون تغليب للاعتبارات التجارية أو السياسية على المهنية. ٢ - السعي للوصول إلى الحقيقة وإعلانها في تقاريرنا وبرامجنا ونشرنا الإخبارية بشكل لا غموض فيه ولا ارتياب في صحته أو دقته. ٣ - معاملة جمهورنا بما يستحقه من احترام، والتعامل مع كل قضية أو خبر بالاهتمام المناسب لتقديم صورة واضحة واقعية ودقيقة مع مراعاة مشاعر ضحايا الجريمة والحروب والاضطهاد والكوارث وأحاسيس ذويهم والمشاهدين واحترام خصوصيات الأفراد والنزق العام. ٤ - الترحيب بالمنافسة النزيهة الصادقة دون السماح لها بالنيل من مستويات الأداء حتى لا يصبح السبق الصحفي هدفاً بحد ذاته. ٥ - تقديم وجهات النظر والآراء المختلفة دون محاباة أو انحياز لأي منها. ٦ - التعامل الموضوعي مع التنوع الذي يميز المجتمعات البشرية بكل ما فيها من أعراق وثقافات ومعتقدات وما تتطوي عليه من قيم وخصوصيات ذاتية لتقديم انعكاس أمين وغير منحاز عنها. ٧ - الاعتراف بالخطأ فور وقوعه والمبادرة إلى تصحيحه وتقادي تكراره. ٨ - مراعاة الشفافية في التعامل مع الأخبار ومصادرها والالتزام بالممارسات الدولية المرعية فيما يتعلق بحقوق هذه المصادر. ٩ - التمييز بين مادة الخبر والتحليل والتعليق لتجنب الوقوع في فخ الدعاية والتكهن. ١٠ - الوقوف إلى جانب الزملاء في المهنة وتقديم الدعم لهم عند الضرورة وخاصة في ضوء ما يتعرض له الصحفيون أحياناً من اعتداءات أو مضايقات، والتعاون مع النقابات الصحفية العربية والدولية للدفاع عن حرية الصحافة والإعلام.

One would imagine that interpreters working for both outlets are supposed to follow the same code and will face the same consequences if they fail to adhere to the regulations. But this is not the case. Only interpreters at Al-Jazeera English follow this code, for reasons that we will examine shortly. To see how interpreters of Al-Jazeera Arabic violate this code, let us examine briefly the simultaneous interpreting of an excerpt taken from the Iraqi Prime Minister Haider Al-Abadi's speech at the 51st Munich Security Conference which took place from 6 to 8 February, 2016:

Source Text: *the collapse of oil prices may lead to other collapses. It is so harsh, so hard on the oil producing countries, it can affect things. I think of it like a domino effect. Once you start that, the Gulf States are going to be taken.*

Target Text:

انهيار الأسعار قد يؤدي إلى انهيارات أخرى. فهو انهيار قوي وتداعياته كبيرة على دول منتجة للنفط والنتيجة مثل انهيار حجيرات الدومينو إذا ما سقطت أو انهارت دولة فتنهار الأخرى وبالتالي فإن التداعيات ستتضاعف على الاقتصادات الأخرى.

Back Translation: The collapse of prices may lead to other collapses. It is so harsh and has big consequences on oil producing countries...and the result is like the collapse of a domino. If one state falls and collapses, the other will collapse and as a result the consequences will increase on other economies.

There are a number of positions that show the interpreter's intervention, however, the most important one is the change of 'Gulf states' to 'الاقتصادات الأخرى' (other economies). As is clear above, Al-Abadi is addressing the effect of the collapse of oil prices on the oil producing countries, but is specifically underlining the impact of this collapse on certain group of states, i.e. Gulf States. Because of the interpreter's unacceptable choice, therefore, Al-Abadi's message has been shifted. The question that immediately comes to mind is: Does this intervention violate Al-Jazeera Arabic's code of ethics? The answer is

yes. It breaks, for example, code no.5 which calls for the presentation of ‘diverse views without bias or partiality’. Even if one may claim that the example provided above could be an interpreting mistake, neither the interpreter nor his employing institution has admitted or corrected it by any means available to them. This, in fact, breaks code no. 7 which underlines the necessity to acknowledge and correct mistakes as well as to ensure that they will not reoccur. One justification for the lack of action could be that because this intervention serves the outlet’s agenda, it is not viewed as violation. In other words, this intervention is overlooked because the transference of Al-Abadi’s message may embarrass Al-Jazeera or its sponsor, i.e. Qatar. To elaborate on this aspect of violating ethics, we are going, in what follows, to borrow Bourdieu’s terminology suggested in his sociological theory of relational action.

According to Bourdieu (1991), Al-Jazeera Media Network (the parent company of Al-Jazeera Arabic and Al-Jazeera English) may be viewed as a ‘field’ or a ‘market’. It has a ‘structured space of positions’ that translators, editors, reporters, etc. occupy. The allocation of these positions and their interrelatedness is not an arbitrary process: it depends on ‘the distribution of different kinds of resources or capitals’ such as money or executive positions. Compared to the position the editor occupies, for example, the translator is less powerful, as the editor is the person who has the final decision to approve or overrule certain translations. The constant exposure to implicit or explicit institutional rules (that aim at orienting his/her outcome as well as the overall approach that Al-Jazeera Media Network follows in covering the different issues) will lead the translator to consciously or unconsciously develop a translation ‘habitus’ composed of a set of ‘dispositions’. These ‘dispositions’, in turn, determine his/her actions and reactions because they ‘generate practices, perceptions, and attitudes which are regular without being consciously coordinated or governed by a rule’(Thompson 1991: 12-14). That is to say, the

translator's performances will be highly influenced by these dispositions so that s/he is no longer consciously capable of detaching himself/herself from the texts s/he is processing. Therefore, s/he will not only intervene to modify the source text in a way that suits Al-Jazeera Media Network's agendas but, moreover, to see these interventions as 'regular', i.e. natural or unproblematic (though they actually break his/her institution's declared code of ethics). But because Al-Jazeera Media Network is multimedia and multinational, its Arabic and English news outlets have different agendas. Al-Jazeera Arabic, on the one hand, is designed to meet the needs of (a certain group of) the Arab audience. Consequently, its news coverage, interviews, programs, etc. are oriented towards that group's interests. For instance, its biased stance towards the Sunni-Shia ideological conflict in the Middle East is evident because its approach legitimises the Sunni call for change in Syria that started in 2011, while it delegitimises the Shia call for change in Yemen in 2015. Al-Jazeera English, on the other hand, addresses the international audience who already has its own national media but requires an unbiased Middle Eastern perspective and analysis of the events. For Al-Jazeera English to establish an international reputation among other outlets such as the BBC and CNN, nevertheless, it should be credible. Therefore, awareness that its performance is monitored puts pressure on its management to be as transparent as possible, an aspect that Al-Jazeera Arabic neglects.

Even though Al-Jazeera Arabic and Al-Jazeera English share the same code of ethics, the translation 'habitus' that translators working for the respective outlet develop (and, therefore, the interventions carried out) is substantially different in line with the news outlets' respective agendas; as a result the constraints experienced by the translators differ accordingly. In light of the discussion provided above, it is expected that only the translators at Al-Jazeera English do not break the stated code of ethics, not because they are, for

example, better trained or monitored, but because the approach that the English version follows is less biased than that of its Arabic counterpart. To validate such assumption, below is an analysis of the translation outcomes of these two outlets.

3. Data Analysis

Al-Jazeera Arabic pursues various agendas in the Arab World. These agendas leave its interpreters, as we have explored, to accumulate an interpreting ‘habitus’ that determines their performance. Because of the limited space here, we are going to focus only on its coverage of violent extremism. As violent extremists’ ideology has been adopted by a limited number of Muslims (especially those who view Westerners as Crusades), some individuals in the West mistakenly believe that Islam encourages violence against those of other faiths, such as Christians or Jews. This belief has strongly prevailed after 9/11 when Osama Bin Laden declared Al-Qaeda’s responsibility of the attacks on New York. As a reaction, the United States launched its approach to combat violent extremism, widely known as *The War on Terror*, which was not only an ideological war but also a military one. Only a month after 9/11, the United States led a coalition that invaded Afghanistan. Two years later, in March 2003, it led another, larger coalition to ‘liberate’ Iraq from Saddam’s regime. These incidents were also accompanied by the fear from and hatred of Muslims at home; in the West commonly referred to as Islamophobia. In the Muslim community, on the other hand, there was a rejection for this accelerated hostility towards Muslims and Islam. All this leads us to the following question: What was Al-Jazeera Arabic’s (and therefore its interpreters’) stance towards these wars and ideological conflicts? To respond to its Muslim audiences’ expectations, Al-Jazeera Arabic’s outcomes have been oriented to resist the West’s hostility as well as disclose its consequences. For that reason, it was the only source of Bin Laden’s videos and recordings, to such a degree that

American state officials labelled it ‘the mouthpiece of Bin Laden’. Let us now assess whether this presumed sympathy with violent extremists has impacted its interpreters’ performance or not. The examples discussed below are taken from Barack Obama’s ‘A New Beginning’ and ‘A Moment of Opportunity’ which specifically address the Muslim audience (For extra-evidence on Al-Jazeera’s violation of ethics motivated by different agendas, additional examples are presented in Table 2 and 3):

Excerpt 1:

Violent extremists have exploited these tensions in a small but potent minority of Muslims. The attacks of September 11th, 2001 and the continued efforts of these extremists to engage in violence against civilians has led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only to America and Western countries, but also to human rights....They[violent extremists] have affiliates in many countries and are trying to expand their reach....Indeed, none of us should tolerate these extremists (Barack Obama, A New Beginning, 2009).

Target Text:

كما ان المتطرفين استغلوا هذه التوترات وفي صفوف قليل من المسلمين . هجمات الحادي عشر من سبتمبر واستمرار جهود هؤلاء المتطرفين لشن عمليات عنف ضد المدنيين جعلت الكثيرين ينظرون بان الاسلام.... اتباعها وانصارها يحاولون توسيع نطاق تأثيرها.... لان لا احد منا ينبغي ان يتسامح مع هذا التشدد.

Back Translation: As extremists have exploited these tensions in few Muslims.... The attacks of September 11th and the continued efforts of these extremists to launch violence against the civilians has led many...view Islam....Its followers and adherents try to expand the extent of its influence....Because none should tolerate this extremism.

Table 2 Selected Examples from Barack Obama's 'A New Beginning'

Code	Source Text(Obama)	Target Text (Al-Jazeera Arabic)	Back Translation	Interpreter's Decision Believed to Violate the Outlet's Code of Ethics
1	Moreover, the sweeping change brought by modernity and globalization led many Muslims to view the West as hostile to the traditions of Islam.	ايضا التغيرات التي جاءت بها العولمة و الحداثة جعل الكثير من المسلمين ينظرون بعين العداء الى الولايات المتحدة باعتبارها تنظر بعين العداء للإسلام	Also, the ...changes brought by globalization and modernity led many Muslims to look through an eye of enmity to the United States for it looks through an eye of enmity to Islam	1.Deletes 'sweeping' 2. Shifts 'hostile' into 'العداء'(enmity) 3. Replaces 'West' with 'الولايات المتحدة'(United States)
2	There is so much fear, so much mistrust.	وهناك الكثير من الخوف الكثير من عدم الثقة التي تنامت على مر السنين	There is so much fear, so much mistrust which hardened across years	التي تنامت على مر 'السنين'(which hardened across years)
3	9/11 was an enormous trauma to our country. The fear and anger that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases, it led us to act contrary to our ideals.	فالحادي عشر من سبتمبر كان مصدر صدمة والم كبيرين على بلدنا فالغضب و الكراهية التي فجرها مفهوم لكن في بعض الحالات ادى بنا الى التصرف بشكل يخالف افكارنا وقيمنا ومثلنا العليا	9/11 was a source great shock and pain to our country. The anger and hatred that it provoked was understandable, but in some cases, it led us to act contrary to our ideas, values and ideals.	1.Changes 'enormous trauma' into 'مصدر صدمة' (a source great shock and pain) 2.Shifts 'fear' into 'الكراهية' (hatred)
4	I know there has been controversy about the promotion of democracy in recent years, and much of this controversy is connected to the war in Iraq.	فانا اعلم انه كان هناك تناقضات واثارة الجدل حول الترويج للديمقراطية في السنوات القليلة الماضية وكثير من ذلك يرتبط بالحرب على العراق	I know there have been contradictions and provocation of controversy about the promotion of democracy in the previous few years, and much of this is connected to the war on Iraq.	1.Replaces 'controversy' with 'تناقضات واثارة الجدل' (contradictions and provocation of controversy) 2.Shifts 'the war in Iraq' into 'الحرب على العراق' (war on Iraq)
5	Among some Muslims, there is a disturbing tendency to measure one's own faith by the rejection of another's.	فلدى بعض المسلمين هناك ميل يدعوا الى القلق لتحريف اعتقادهم من خلال رفض ايمان اخر وعقيدته.	Among some Muslims, there is a disturbing tendency to divert their faith through the rejection of another's belief and faith.	Shifts 'measure one's own faith by the rejection of another's' into 'لتحريف اعتقادهم من خلال رفض ايمان اخر وعقيدته' (divert their faith through the rejection of another's belief and faith)

In the above excerpt, Obama reflects on the consequences of the tension between the West and Muslims. He suggests that it prepared the ground for violent extremists to win the hearts and minds of Muslims and then pave the way to mobilise them to engage in violence against the West. Moreover, he admits that ‘some’ Americans view Islam as inevitably hostile. But to what degree is Obama credible? Will the Muslim audiences accept these one-sided justifications? And, if these are the foundations on which Obama builds his proposed ‘new’ beginning’ with them, will the audiences cooperate with him to lessen or terminate violent extremism? Though the answers may vary from one Muslim to another depending on his/her understanding of this issue, the ones that Al-Jazeera Arabic’s employees have is relevant and important here: they determine the interpreter’s conscious or unconscious decisions to intervene in the text.

There are many occasions that reveal the interpreter’s intervention. First of all, he disregards the attributive adjective ‘violent’, which is used to distinguish the kind of extremists to which Obama is alluding. The immediate inquiries that such a decision evokes are: Does the interpreter believe that extremists are not violent? Or, is it only an instance of misinterpretation caused by the pressures of the simultaneity of delivery? To respond to such inquiries we need further evidence. Although Obama admits that there are only a small number of individuals who follow the violent extremists’ approach, he emphasises their powerfulness, an aspect that the interpreter neglects. This last performance may strengthen our distrust in the interpreter which might have already been triggered by the preceding intervention. Once again, let us try to find other evidence that shows whether these decisions are misinterpretations or consciously or unconsciously deployed to lessen Obama’s criticism of violent extremists. If we consider the sentence previous to the last one in the interpreter’s version and compare it to the source text, we can see that he does

not provide equivalents to ‘they, i.e. violent extremist, have affiliates in many countries’, which is in line with his preceding decisions to lessen Obama’s emphasis on the powerfulness of violent extremists. The same trend may be identified in the interpreter’s rendition of the last sentence, particularly in his transference of ‘these extremists’ into ‘هذا التشدد’ (this extremism). Another aspect that shows the interpreter’s attempt to distract the audiences’ attention from the conveyed negative evaluations attached to extremists can be witnessed when he tries to free them from any responsibility with regards to the view of Islam’s hostility in which some Americans believe. This becomes clear in his omission of ‘led some in my country to view Islam as inevitably hostile not only America or Western countries, but also to human rights’ from the rendition that he provides to the second sentence of the text provided above. Together, these interventions provide us with indications that we can relate to the interpreter’s ‘habitus’, which is, in turn, based on Al-Jazeera Arabic’s agendas. But before we reflect extensively on this issue, let us rule out the possibility that all the interventions discussed are personal decisions in which the employing institution, i.e. Al-Jazeera Arabic, has no role. To that purpose, we are going to examine Al-Jazeera Arabic’s simultaneous interpreting of an excerpt from another speech, Obama’s ‘A Moment of Opportunity’.

Table 3 Selected Examples from Barack Obama's 'A Moment of Opportunity'

Code	Source Text(Obama)	Target Text (Al-Jazeera Arabic)	Back Translation	Interpreter's Decision Believed to Violate the Outlet's Code of Ethics
1	Now, already, we've done much to shift our foreign policy following a decade defined by two costly conflicts.	لقد قمنا بالكثير لتحديد ملامح سياستنا الخارجية بعد سنوات من الازمات	...we've done much to determine our foreign policy following years of crises	1.Deletes 'now, already' 2.Changes 'shift' into 'لتحديد' (determine) 3.Changes 'following a decade defined by two costly conflicts' into 'بعد سنوات من ' (following years of crises'
2	In the face of these challenges, too many leaders in the region tried to direct their people's grievances elsewhere...Divisions of tribe, ethnicity and religious sect were manipulated as a means of holding on to power, or taking it away from somebody else.	وكثيرون في لمنطقة كانوا يحاولون تحويل مظالم المنطقة نحو جهات اخرى ايضا الرؤى القائمة على القبلية و الطائفية و العرقية ومن ثم استخدامها وكلها اخذت من ناس اخرين.	... Too many... in the region try to direct their people's grievances elsewhere. Divisions based on tribe, religious sec, and ethnicity then have been used and all have been taken from other people.	1. Deletes 'in the face of these challenges' 2. Changes ' too many leaders in the region' into 'وكثيرون في لمنطقة' (too many in the region) 3. Shifts 'were manipulated as a means of holding on to power' into 'ومن ثم استخدامها' (have been used)
3	The United States opposes the use of violence and repression against the people of the region.	الولايات المتحدة ترفض استخدام العنف ضد شعوب المنطقة	The United States refuses the use of violence ...against the people of the region.	1.Replaces 'opposes' with 'ترفض'(refuses) 2. Deletes 'repression'
4	The dream of a Jewish and democratic state cannot be fulfilled with permanent occupation	فامال اليهود لن تتحقق باستمرار احتلال اجرامي	The Jewish aspirations/hopes will not be fulfilled with criminal occupation	1.Shifts : a. 'The dream of a Jewish and democratic state' into 'آمال ' (Jewish aspirations/hopes) b. 'cannot' into 'لن' (will not) c. 'permanent' into 'اجرامي' (criminal)
5	And we will continue to insist that the Iranian people deserve their universal rights, and a government that does not smother their aspirations.	ومازلنا نحن ايضا نصر على ان شعب ايران له الحق في الاستمرار بالمطالبة بحقوقه المشروعة.	And we will also continue to insist that the Iranian people deserve to continue to demand their legitimate rights	Deletes 'and a government that does not smother their aspirations'

Excerpt 2:

Bin Laden and his murderous vision won some adherents. But even before his death, al Qaeda was losing its struggle for relevance, as the overwhelming majority of people saw that the slaughter of innocents did not answer their cries for a better life. By the time we found bin Laden, al Qaeda's agenda had come to be seen by the vast majority of the region as a dead end, and the people of the Middle East and North Africa had taken their future into their own hands (Barack Obama, A Moment of Opportunity, 2011).

Target Text:

بن لادن ورؤية المبنية على القتل... ولكن حتى قبل مقتلة كانت القاعدة تخسر معركتها من اجل ان تبقى ذات علاقة بحياة الناس لأن الملايين... لم يستجيبوا لدعواتها لانهم ارادوا تحقيق مطالبهم... وعندما عثرنا على بن لادن راه كثيرون في المنطقة على انه وصل الى نهاية مرحلة والى طريق مسدود و الشعوب في الشرق الاوسط وشمال افريقيا اخذت زمام امورها وتقرير مستقبلها بايديها.

Back Translation: Bin Laden and his murderous vision.... Even before his killing, Al-Qaeda was losing its struggle for relevance as millions did not answer its calls because they wanted to achieve their demands. By the time we found Ben Laden, many in the region have seen him be at the end of a stage and at a dead end, and the people of the Middle East and North Africa had taken their future into their own hands.

As is the case with the preceding excerpt, there are many positions in which the interpreter intrudes. To begin with, he does not provide an equivalent to 'won some adherents', a decision that seems to follow a similar agenda to the ones we have discussed previously. In addition, though his substitution shift of 'the overwhelming majority of people' into 'الملايين' (millions) is questionable, his disregard of 'saw the slaughter of innocent' is more important as this shift reduces transferring Al-Qaeda's criminality that Obama underlines. Moreover, he substitutes 'Al-Qaeda's agenda had come to be seen by the vast majority of

the region' with 'رآه كثيرون' (many have seen him, i.e. Bin Laden), resulting in a shift of focus from Al-Qaeda to Bin Laden and a downscaling of the number of people who discovered the failure of Al-Qaeda's agenda; as the region's population is around 366 million in 2011, the vast majority would mean more than just 'كثيرون' (many). These interventions tend to follow the same trend as in the preceding excerpt, which is, Al-Jazeera Arabic's sympathetic approach to violent extremism. This sympathy has become a defining characteristic of the interpreters' 'habitus'. Importantly, the interpreters have been driven to violate their institution's code of ethics because they have not impartially presented 'the diverse views and opinions'. Even if we accept that all these cases are mistakes or mistranslations, neither the interpreters nor Al-Jazeera Arabic has acknowledged, corrected, or ensured the reoccurrence of such mistakes which is in itself enough to prove that the declared code does not resist the accumulated 'habitus'.

Let us now move on to assess the impact of the interpreting 'habitus' on the quality of simultaneous interpreting into English provided by Al-Jazeera English. The sample is Hosni Mubarak's speech from February 10, 2011, delivered to the protesters gathered at Al-Tahrir Square as well as other Egyptian cities who called for new leadership. Al-Jazeera Media Network, including Al-Jazeera English extensively covered these protests (as well as the calls for change under the Arab Spring). Interestingly, the thorough examination of the rendition of the speech that we carried out does not reveal any significant occasion of modification for Mubarak's views and opinions. Here is an example that shows the degree of interpreting transparency.

Excerpt 3:

الأبناء شباب مصر، الإخوة المواطنون. لقد أعلنت بعبارات لا تحتل الجدل أو التأويل عدم ترشحي للانتخابات الرئاسية المقبلة، مكتفياً بما قدمته من عطاء للوطن لأكثر من ٦٠ عاماً في سنوات الحرب

والسلام. أعلنت تمسكي بذلك، وأعلنت تمسكا مماثلا وبذات القدر بالمضي في النهوض بمسؤوليتي في حماية الدستور ومصالح الشعب حتى يتم تسليم السلطة والمسؤولية لمن يختاره الناخبون في شهر سبتمبر المقبل، في انتخابات حرة ونزيهة توفر لها ضمانات الحرية والنزاهة.

Back Translation:

Sons and daughters the youth of Egypt, brother citizens, I have announced in unarguable and non-interpretable phrases that I am not going to run for office in the coming presidential elections sufficed with what I have offered of bestowal to my nation for more than 60 years of war and peace. I have announced my commitment to that, and I have announced a similar and equal commitment to move forward in keeping my responsibility of safeguarding the Constitution and the interests of the people until power and responsibility are handed to who will be chosen by voters next September in fair and free elections where all the guarantees for transparency and adaptability will be secured.

Target Text:

My fellow countrymen the youth of Egypt my fellow citizens, I announced in very plain and equivocal words that I'll not run the coming presidential elections satisfied with what I have offered to the nation for over sixty years in the time of war and peace. I announced that I'll adhere to this position and I also announced that I'll similarly remain adamant to continue shouldering my responsibility protecting the constitution, safeguarding the interest of people until the authority and power is handed over to this to be elected by the people in September coming in the fair and free elections where all the guarantees for transparency and adaptability will be secured.

Such performance may denote that the 'habitus' that the interpreter has accumulated is unbiased. We may ask why this is the case? As a member of Al-Jazeera English's community, the interpreter absorbs the dispositions from the work environment around him. This environment is determined by the outlet's

objective to win the trust of the international audience. This confidence, in turn, cannot be obtained if, for example, international monitoring institutions prove that the outlet's outcomes are biased or faulty or manipulated. That is why news coverage, interviews and programs to which the interpreter is exposed, as well as the training he receives, come in association with the stated code of ethics.

4. Conclusion

In light of the discussion presented above, we can now offer the study conclusions. These are listed below:

1. As far as Al-Jazeera Arabic is concerned, there is always a conflict between the interpreter's 'habitus' and the outlet's code of ethics. Most times, the winning party is the habitus. That is to say, the dispositions that the interpreter gradually builds are the determinants of his/her performance and not the abstract codes of the news outlet stated somewhere in booklets or at websites. As for Al-Jazeera English, there is no such conflict because all the practices that shaped his/her habitus are oriented towards producing impartial news coverage. Therefore, the breach of ethics is a defining characteristic of Al-Jazeera Arabic's simultaneous interpreting. This does not mean, however, that the outlet is unaware of the interpreter's violations of ethics but because these violations contribute towards maintaining its agendas, it turns a blind eye.
2. The recurrence of the agenda-driven interventions of Al-Jazeera Arabic's interpreting proves the absence of and the need for independent interpreting monitoring institutions in the Arab World, the Middle East in particular, that can not only reveal (to the Arab audience) the decisions that have led to violations of ethics but also use available resources (legal procedures for example) to ensure that such violations will not take place again.

3. Because they operate under the same name, a Western audience may believe that Al-Jazeera Arabic follows literally the same code of ethics of Al-Jazeera English (whose credibility is already known to him/her). Such misconception needs to be rectified so that the viewer is aware that English speeches interpreted into Arabic by Al-Jazeera Arabic undergo various alterations that affect the source opinions and points of views.
4. The status quo of ethics in Arabic media interpreting (exemplified here by Al-Jazeera Arabic) is questionable. Hence, interpreting professionals and academics need to think about ways to improve it. As a minimum, intensive training programs at universities or interpreting centres should be offered that enable trainees to free them as far as possible from the unconscious decisions that violate their institutions' codes of ethics. One possible strategy that these programs may offer is the encouragement of monitoring among interpreters working at different independent or agenda-based institutions (self-monitoring is not possible as it will be biased as well). If there is controversy on certain interpreting performances, then this is in itself a constructive step, for it will lead to a deeper investigation and possibly a much less biased understanding.

5. Suggestions for Further Research

There are a number of areas for further research. It would be useful, for example, to examine whether or not other modes of translation and interpreting that Al-Jazeera Arabic provides, such as audiovisual translation, break the stated code of ethics, and then compare the results obtained. Another possible area is the analysis of translation and interpreting outcomes of other versions of Al-Jazeera, such as Al-Jazeera Documentary. The same investigation may be applied to other Arabic-speaking outlets. Such research will enable the audience to discover contradictions between the outlets' ethics and real practices, and

therefore determine the least biased destination from which they can watch/listen to renderings of foreign speeches, programmes, etc.

Bibliography

- Pym, Anthony. (2012). *On Translator Ethics: Principles for Mediation between Cultures*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Baker, Mona. (2005). 'Narratives in and of Translation'. *SKASE Journal of Translation and Interpretation*, vol.1, pp.4–13.
- Baker, Mona. (2006). *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Baker, Mona and Carol Maier. (2011). 'Ethics in Interpreter and Translator Training: Critical Perspectives'. *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, vol. 5, issue 1, pp.1-14.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Trans. by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (1986). 'The Forms of Capital'. In John G. Richardson, ed. *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood Press, pp.241-258.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (1990a). In *Other Words*. Trans. by Matthew Adamson. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (1990b). *The Logic of Practice*. Trans. by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Trans. by Gino Raymond & Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre & Loïc Wacquant. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- House, Juliane. (2008). 'Beyond Intervention: Universals in Translation?' *Trans Kom*, vol.1, pp. 6-19.
- Lefevere, Andre. (1992). *Translation, Rewriting, and Manipulation of Literary Fame*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Munday, Jeremy, ed. (2007). *Translation as Intervention*. London: Continuum.
- Nord, Christiane. (1991). *Text Analysis in Translation: Theory, Method, and Didactic Application of a Model for Translation-Oriented Text Analysis*. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi.
- Thompson, John B. (1991). 'Editor's Introduction'. In Pierre Bourdieu. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp.1-31.
- Venuti, Lawrence. (1995). *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Venuti, Lawrence. (1998). 'Translation Strategies'. In Mona Baker, ed. *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 240-244.
- Venuti, Lawrence. (2013). *Translation Changes Everything: Theory and Practice*. London and New York: Routledge.

اخلاقيات الترجمة الاعلامية الشفوية في العالم العربي: الترجمة الفورية في قناة الجزيرة الاخبارية نموذجا

لزيادة عدد المشاهدين والمستمعين، تضع وكالات الأنباء العربية مدونات سلوك أخلاقي مبنية على قوانين وأنظمة جامعة الدول العربية. يمكن للجمهور العربي تقييم درجة الالتزام بهذه السلوكيات إذا كانت التغطية باللغة العربية. لكن في بعض الاحيان قد تتضمن التغطية الاشارة إلى نصوص أو ألفاظ أجنبية كأن تكون باللغة الإنجليزية. في مثل هكذا حالات ، فإن الطريقة الوحيدة لفهم الرسائل المراد ايصالها في النص الأصلي هي الترجمة التحريرية أو الترجمة الشفوية التي توفرها وسائل الاعلام . لذلك فقد يتوهم المشاهد او المستمع أن هذه الترجمات تتوافق تمامًا مع مدونة السلوك الأخلاقي المعلنة للقناة. سوف تتحدى المقالة الحالية هذا الفهم الخاطئ وتركز بشكل خاص على الترجمة الفورية للخطاب السياسي الذي توفره قناة الجزيرة الاخبارية. بالاعتماد على مفهوم "الهابيتوس" والذي يطرحه عالم الاجتماع الفرنسي بيير بورديو فقد اظهرت بعض التناقض بين مدونة السلوك الأخلاقي لقناة الجزيرة والأداء الفعلي لمترجميها.