



MONASH University

**A policy-focused examination of the establishment of the National Accreditation
Authority for Translators and Interpreters in Australia**

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*La nature est un temple où de vivants piliers
Laissent parfois sortir de confuses paroles;
L'homme y passe à travers des forêts de symboles
Qui l'observent avec des regards familiers*

(C. Baudelaire *Correspondances* v1-4)

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Abstract

The establishment of translation and interpreting services, and the role of government in this endeavour represents a significant and innovative milestone in the ambit of migration policy in Australia. This work investigates the developments which culminated in the setting up of the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters and which created a then unique system for the provision of services. This thesis uses a policy process model developed by Kingdon (1995), the Multiple Streams Framework, previously utilised in many other contexts but, as yet, not in a translation and interpreting services one, to investigate and analyse these developments. The consideration of this issue will intersect with the concept of translation policy, a concept which has only received sporadic and scant academic attention. A fundamental definitional problem exists in the area whereby translation policy has been regarded as a policy applicable to non-official (often labelled minority) languages within political systems and most often in a discussion of *status planning* within a language(s) policy framework (Ozolins 1991 and 2010, Diaz Fauces 2005, Meylaerts, 2011, González Núñez 2016).

The kind of policy developed in Australia and which is the object of this study encompasses a view of translation as a service belonging to the realm of public policy. The findings indicate that the policy in question was the outcome of a philosophy of the migration program rooted in the concept of nation-building and supported by a bipartisan political approach more than the question of language.

The implications of my research are relevant to policy development in this area in many parts of the world which are only now finding it necessary to consider this issue given the massive movements of people between states and continents as well as to the formalisation of policies dealing with interpreting and translating services.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Publications during enrolment

Books

2014. Gentile, Adolfo & Arnall, Annamaria, edited volume of proceedings of AUSIT's 2012 *JubilaTION 25* Conference and wrote introductory chapter. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Encyclopaedia entries

2015. Gentile, Adolfo. "Australia" entry in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies* 2015, edited by Franz Pochhacker, London: Taylor & Francis (2015)

2018 "Australia" entry in the *World Atlas of Translation* edited by Yves Gambier for John Benjamins (forthcoming)

Journal articles

2016. Gentile, Adolfo. Training, certification and qualification of translators and interpreters: Reflections on the present and the future *Chinese Translators Journal* 6 pp.48-52, 2016

2018. Jim Hlavac, Adolfo Gentile, Marc Orlando, Emiliano Zucchi, Ari Pappas. "Translation as a sub-set of public and social policy and as a consequence of *multiculturalism*: the provision of translation and interpreting services in Australia". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language (IJSL)*. Special issue on Translation Policies and Minority Languages: Theory, Methods and Case Studies (forthcoming)

Conference presentations

2015. "Motivations and tribulations: the beginnings of Interpreting and Translation training in Australia – a commemoration of 40 years" invited paper presented at the *Symposium on the Role of Translators and Interpreters in Social Inclusion*, RMIT University 6 March 2015

2015. "Interpreting and Translating Policy in Australia - through the looking glass" invited paper presented at the University of New South Wales symposium, *NAATI yesterday, today and tomorrow* 22 September 2015

2016. "Papering over the cracks - the interpreter, the asylum seeker and the adjudicator: professionalism, justice and human rights" invited paper presented at the Humanitarian Interpreting Conference Monash University April 2016

2017. With Mary Gurgone "Consumer Directed Communication: New interpreter challenges for CALD aged care service provision" FIT 2017 World Congress Brisbane, 3-5 August.

Invited guest speaker at major events;

2017. NAATI 40th anniversary event. "Celebrating the first 40 years of NAATI- looking back, looking forward"

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I dedicate this work to the memory of my parents, Maria and Domenico, who valued the role of education even though they did not have the opportunity to experience it.

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Table 1 – Archival Data Typology

Table 2 – NAA document description and type

Acronyms and abbreviations

ACAAE – Australian Council for Awards in Advanced Education

ACF – Advocacy Coalitions Framework

ACT – Australian Capital Territory

AIIC – Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence

AIMA – Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs

AJWS – Australian Jewish Welfare Society

ARC – Administrative Review Committee

BILC – Bureau for International Language Co-ordination

CAE – College of Advanced Education

CCAE – Canberra College of Advanced Education

C.E.S. – Commonwealth Employment Service

CO.AS.IT – Comitato Assistenza Italiani

COPQ – Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications

COPQWP – Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications -Working party on Interpreting

DP – Displaced person(s)

ERC – Expenditure Review Committee

ETIS – Emergency Telephone Interpreting Service

FECCA – Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia

FIT – Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs

GNC – Good Neighbour Council

GWS – Greek Welfare Society

ILR – Interagency Language Roundtable

INT – NAATI Improvements to Testing project

IWPIT – Interdepartmental Working Party on Interpreters and Translators
LOTE – Language(s) Other Than English
LP – Language planning
MOG – Machinery of Government Committee of Cabinet
MSF – Multiple Streams Framework
NAATI – National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters
NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEAT – National Employment and Training Scheme
NESB – Non-English-Speaking Background
NLIA – National Languages Institute of Australia
NPL – National Policy on Languages
PET – Punctuated Equilibrium Theory
PFT – Policy Framework Theory
PSB – Public Service Board
QAAC – Qualifications and Assessment Advisory Committee of NAATI
RAAF – Royal Australian Air Force
RMIT – Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
SAPTI – State Assessment Panel for Translators and Interpreters
SBS – Special Broadcasting Service
SMH – Sydney Morning Herald newspaper
WWII – Second World War

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Prologue

In 1977, as a response to the report of a Working Party of the Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications (COPQWP), the Australian Government established the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI). Essentially its role was and remains to accredit (certify) practitioners by setting tests, approving Australian courses leading to accreditation and providing individual accreditation following completion of courses in interpreting and translation overseas.

The accreditation system was a world-first innovation which broke new ground on a number of levels. Firstly, it was a nation-wide accreditation system for translators and interpreters; secondly, the accreditations were generally for competence in translation and/or interpreting between English and a Language Other Than English (LOTE); thirdly, it was aimed at meeting the domestic needs of Australia; fourthly, it covered a large number of languages; fifthly, it was initiated by a government.

The importance of the development and implementation of a policy dealing with the provision of translators and interpreters, lies not in its *minutiae* but in the reasons why it was developed, the time at which it was developed and the effect which it has had domestically and internationally on the discussion and development of translation and interpreting, especially in its subset of translation and interpreting for the domestic needs of nations. The approach which the policy has fostered to the provision of translation and interpreting services has also influenced practice in other parts of the world.

1.2 Aims

The purpose of this work is to analyse the reasoning and interests in the development of professional interpreting and translating in Australia seen through the lens of a theoretical framework from research in the area of policy. The latter is understood to encompass what is generally referred to as the ‘policy process’. The focus of the work will be on the central instrument for the creation of professionalised interpreting and translating in Australia, NAATI. The scope of this task has been expressly restricted to the main vehicle of implementation of this policy in order to better reveal the innovative elements of it, to highlight the key variables which brought it to fruition and to make explicit the process which culminated in its setting up. Other policy areas which clearly intersect with the question of translation and interpreting will be discussed but will not themselves become the object of investigation. This study represents an attempt to fill an important *lacuna* in the differentiation of translation and interpreting policy from similar work on language and languages. That there is a need to differentiate work on languages from work on interpreting and translating requires particular attention, especially from the policy standpoint, since impediments to the development of the profession of interpreter/translator have been created by the confusion in the mind of the lay person and some policy makers, between the issue of language competence (intended here as second or subsequent language competence) and interpreting and translating competence.

The creation of an interpreter/translator profession could be studied from a number of standpoints. The study of the policy process with interpreting and translating as its focus, is receiving more attention (Gonzales Núñez, 2016) as more of the world's population finds itself, for myriad reasons, outside of the areas where they are competent in the local language and this study will hopefully serve as a stimulus, if not a point of departure, for policy makers in other social and political realities who are grappling with the same issues.

While the discussion about policies which involve interpreting and translating have become more relevant in the last decade because of situations on the ground as described above, there is not sufficient clarity in the academic treatment of these issues in part because the tools for analysis are not well-developed nor are discussions clearly delineated in terms of the concepts underpinning observable phenomena (Ozolins 2010, Diaz Fauces 2017) There is a tendency in Australia to regard issues of interpreting and translating either as matters of welfare policy, which is not conducive to the elucidation of the work of interpreters and translators, or as solely matters of language, which is equally misleading.

I attempt here to reconstruct the manner in which the policy to create an accreditation authority for interpreters and translators in Australia was pursued and achieved in order to develop an understanding and a methodology for the process itself which could be replicated in other situations and thus avoid the errors of the past and at the same time capture the essence of what occurred.

I believe this is a worthwhile endeavour as the field is developing so quickly that the time for reflection and trial before action is becoming harder to find, leading to sometimes dubious frolics and wasted resources. In addition, while Australia has managed to come up with a durable and robust system, many other countries are in the throes of searching for their own solutions.

1.3 The problem

The need for some action on the quality and standards of interpreting and translating in Australia stemmed from the difficulties experienced by migrants in a number of areas crucial to their life and central to the philosophy which guided the program of mass migration following WWII. Among them was access to structures and the ability to avail oneself of the administrative, legal, law enforcement, health and other services provided by the government; the ability to participate and contribute to the life of the community following the aims of the migration program as a nation-building exercise; the ability to integrate into the community to lead to full participation, including the obtaining of citizenship and voting at elections. Similar difficulties of communication were experienced by the Indigenous community and the deaf community. Later sections will provide the context and detail of the problem, but it is relevant to indicate here that the reason that this was regarded as problem was that the expectations of the migration program was that migrants would come to Australia with the intention of settling here permanently, indeed, settler was the nomenclature used.

1.4 The researcher

1.4.1 Positionality of the author

At this point it is appropriate for me to provide details of my own involvement in the organisation which is the subject of this study. At the time when NAATI was established I was a staff member in the then Level III training course at the Advanced College of the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. At that time, this course had been running for 2 years and with the addition of Italian, in 1978, I became the person in charge of that stream. The person in charge of the course was Dr G. Strauss, who was by then a member of the first NAATI Board. He had also been a member of the COPQWP. About that time (1978/1979), I was appointed to the NAATI Italian testing panel working together with another member, to set, conduct and assess interpreting and translating tests in the Italian/English language combination. This was followed by engagement with NAATI in different capacities, such as member and later, chair of its Qualifications and Assessment Advisory Committee (QAAC) (the advisory committee to the Board which dealt with course approval, testing policy and overseas qualifications assessment), which continued until 1995 when I was appointed Chair of the Board of NAATI and held this post until 2002. Later I was reappointed to the QAAC, which, in 2017, was re-cast as the Technical Reference Advisory Committee. I am currently also a member of a Sub-Committee advising the Board on the implementation of the Improvements to NAATI Testing (INT) project and have carried out other short-term consultancies for NAATI over the years. All in all, I have filled operational, administrative, executive and consultancy roles within NAATI.

My near 40-year involvement with NAATI has meant that I have been a witness to and sometimes a protagonist of the events which I shall discuss in this thesis. In addition, I have personal knowledge not only of the people involved but also of the vicissitudes which have accompanied the formation and implementation of this policy. My involvement in training interpreters and translators within the NAATI system and in the administration of the whole system as a former Chair of the Board of NAATI has given me access over a number of years to a large number of people involved in the field, this has enabled me to prevail upon some of them to be interviewed for this thesis. My intimate knowledge of the NAATI administrative systems has enabled me to gain access to certain documents also utilised in this work and in some cases specifically referred to.

It follows that legitimate questions may be raised about the effect of this involvement on the methodology and overall approach to this work. The issues of positionality and the researcher's status as an insider-outsider have received much attention in the literature. This has been mainly from an ethnographic perspective where researchers have conducted large scale qualitative and interview-based studies either in their own or another ethnic community. ((Kusow (2003); Fontana & Frey (2005); Eppley (2006); Hill (2006) Brunier (2006)) The use of different methods to obtain data is also a feature of ethnographic research (Willis and Trodman 2000) as I have attempted here. This type of research methodology is used in a range of fields from anthropology (which gives prominence to insider accounts), sociology, geography and more recently also, interpreting (Hale & Napier 2013). The literature indicates a shift, over the decades, of

the attitude to the insider/outsider questions and if, initially, the blurring of these roles was regarded as detrimental to the conduct of research, more recently the inherent advantages and difficulties have been documented and the rigid attitude of the past is regarded as detrimental to research because of the benefits which can accrue to it if certain issues are known beforehand and sensibly managed. For example, Sharif (2001) examines the effect on her research of the cultural imperatives which require careful navigation when one is conducting interviews in a culture where one is regarded as an insider, but in effect is not. Chavez (2008) echoes Sharif's experience and caveats. Merriam *et al.* (2010) summarise the current views about the issue and consider that it has been acknowledged that the boundaries between the two positions are not necessarily clearly delineated. The researchers in question were forced to examine their assumptions about access, power relationships and commonality of experience.

In the present case, there are a number of factors which impinge on my positionality as a researcher but I do not believe that these influence the work to any greater degree than the positionality of any researcher *vis-à-vis* their research on any topic, for the following reasons: firstly, the literature on positionality is derived in the main from research activity characterised as qualitative studies involving interviewing on a fairly large scale, sometimes with iterations of the interviews with the same respondent. This is not the case in this study where I have sought to supplement views about events from a necessarily limited number of interviewees, not specifically to augment the data but to attempt to triangulate some information in the written form to confirm or deny its flavour more than its veracity. Secondly, any conclusions reached by me or observations proffered will be overwhelmingly based on the archival data from multiple sources in order to make valid deductions from the congruence or otherwise of the various sources. In summary, there are certain advantages to be derived from accepting insider status as methodologically appropriate and here the risks have been identified and techniques for minimising and managing them have been put in place.

I regard myself as an interested onlooker attempting to theoretically examine retrospectively the process by which NAATI was born in order to increase the understanding and the knowledge base on the creation of a complex policy for a complex service.

1.5 The context

The essential and peculiarly Australian element which is inherent in any discussion about policy in this area is the phenomenon which has contributed significantly to Australia's demographic expansion and development in the last 70 years, that being migration. The influence of migration on the manner and timing of considerations of required action in the translation and interpreting field cannot be overestimated, even if there has always been an awareness of and a necessary, albeit cursory, regard to interpreting in the diplomatic sphere and in the defence/security domain.

The migration perspective represents a significant departure from the perspective which led to the establishment of interpreting and translating in Europe and Asia which saw interpreting as an instrument in the conduct of diplomacy and translation as the

propagation of major works of literature. Both Europe and Asia had for centuries engaged in scholarly translation of sacred texts and works of philosophy and literature among others (Delisle and Woodsworth, (1995).

The interpreting which concerns relations with the Aboriginal population of Australia ought to belong to this discussion, however, and obviously, here the influence on policy and its consideration is not migration. The late 1700s in Australia were characterised by approaches to translation inextricably tied to the need of the colonizers to communicate with the Indigenous population. The method adopted was to cultivate a number of Indigenous people whom they took in and who were taught English; some of these were sent to England to complete their 'training' and were utilised as 'interpreters'. (Watson, 1914:13 *et passim*). These methods were driven by the requirements of administration and also in tune with the religious objectives of various Christian orders to 'convert' the Indigenous population. This entailed necessarily the translation of religious texts, mainly the Bible (or parts thereof) into Indigenous languages for the purpose of missionary work. In addition, some members of the upper echelons of the administration were more specifically interested in the Indigenous languages, for example Capt. (later Sir) George Grey (1812-1898), sometime explorer, magistrate and later governor of South Australia, who, in 1839 published *Vocabulary of the Dialects spoken by the Aboriginal Races of South-Western Australia*. He believed in compulsory assimilation of Aborigines as the only method to change their tribal customs. (Grey- Aust. Dictionary of Biography (Pike, Nairn, Serle, Ritchie, & Melbourne University, 1996)). Concurrently, the Indigenous languages of the time, some 250 of them, were used by often bi-lingual and multi-lingual individuals, due to the mobility of the speakers and their frequent contact with allophone groups (Brandl and Walsh, 1982)

With the arrival of the British and later other European, Asian and Pacific Islander people, some as colonizers, some as convicts, some as immigrants, some as adventurers following their dreams in the gold rush, the linguistic profile of Australia became more varied and complex. Initially, the attitude towards languages other than English was laissez-faire and few controls were imposed on the establishment of schools with a language of instruction that was not English, usually German or Chinese (Clyne, (1991). At the federation of the Australian states in 1901 the Constitution was silent on an official language. Notwithstanding the absence of a nationally prescribed language, there have been (long) periods in Australian history when languages other than English have been proscribed. During WWI, instruction in a language other than English was prohibited in most states, all German-language publications prohibited, and most German place-names were Anglicised. This policy was relaxed in 1925, but then re-introduced against German and Italian in WWII. In the post-WWII period, *assimilation* was the official state ideology, remaining so until the early 70s. At the same time Australia embarked on a massive immigration program.

Many scholars, Jupp (1966), Martin (1978), Ozolins (1993) among others, have indicated that the post-World War II immigration program presented Australia with a new situation: substantial numbers of its people unable to speak English who were expected to assimilate into the society and to learn the language. There was little thought given to the real outcomes other than theoretical expectations; talk of assimilation turned to

integration in the 1960s in order to adjust the political rhetoric to what had actually occurred and to the increase in problems arising out of the status of migrant, which were more frequently being addressed to the government of the day. The gamut of the issues covered all aspects of people's lives among which was the question of language and with it the ability to communicate needs.

By the mid-1970s 'Australia's immigration intakes became global in scope' (Castles and Miller 2003:202) with people from countries beyond Europe migrating. The 1970s were characterised by a move to the policy of multiculturalism with its attendant increase in awareness and action on the needs of migrants. Most notable among the documents of the time is the Galbally Report (Galbally, 1978) which was a review of post-arrival programs and services for migrants. This was in a sense the culmination of work in the same decade by a number of scholars considering different aspects of migrant life. For example, the work of David Cox (D. Cox & J. I. Martin, 1975) who discussed the role of the ethnic groups themselves in organizing welfare support in their own communities; June Hearn (1976) who investigated the participation in Trade Union leadership of immigrants. Schooling and the problems for schoolchildren from an immigrant background, ranging from poor results to lack of expected participation of the parents in school life were issues pursued by Alison Goding (1973) so that specific institutional responses could be made to prevent the situation repeating itself from one generation to another. The whole relationship of migrants with the legal system had produced some egregious injustices and the Inquiry into Poverty commissioned research into this issue by Jakubowicz and Buckley (1975) which highlighted the problems of access and comprehension of the legal system by immigrants. Other researchers examined the broader implications of a large migration program, looking at the effects of it on institutions and the questions of rights of ethnic groups (Price (1971), Storer (1975), and Birrell and Hay (1978)). The introduction of the study of ethnic languages in schools was also an important element of the overall response to the migration program and Smolicz and Secombe (1977) investigated the attitudes to the introduction of ethnic languages in schools.

The work completed in these different social contexts pointed invariably to a series of problems and difficulties experienced by migrants because of their inability to make themselves understood or to communicate with government structures; this element was the often-cited reason for the existence, creation or escalation of the problems.

1.5.1 Australia's migration program

Migration to Australia is a phenomenon which may have gone on for more than 40,000 years with the movement of peoples between continents, including the groups which are now regarded as Australia's Indigenous people. British colonization provided a subsequent wave of migration and settlers in the early 1800s and the gold rush period saw the arrival of people from many cultures. The influx of people of non-European origin, mainly Chinese, was met firstly with a degree of curiosity followed by one of tension and hostility culminating in two incidents where Chinese gold diggers were murdered (Ward 1958:131); These kinds of incidents are emblematic of a distrust of Asians and the fear of invasion from the north which developed and led to the "White Australia policy" (Jayaraman 2000).

The major influx of migrants has occurred since the end of the Second World War (WWII). The very fact that Australia was a British colony and that, from the very beginning, the mindset included arrivals from abroad, not only to fit in with the role of a penal colony but also to supplement the requirements of a society busily expanding the settlements and engaging in agriculture, mining and a host of other activities. Waiting for the next boat to come from distant shores appears to be an attitude which forms part of the Australian psyche. The distant shores referred, in the main, to Britain (the 'mother country'). In his seminal work, *Arrivals and departures* James Jupp (1966), in the title itself, emphasised that Australia was not only a country of immigration but also of emigration. From the very beginning, there was traffic both ways, but the return traffic was chiefly to Britain. The implications of this would prove to be far-reaching for future policies to do with language and translation and interpreting. Almost one and a quarter centuries of colonial existence, which ended formally, but not exactly, at Federation in 1901 did much to establish not only Australia's national language but also an attitude towards other languages. Other contributing factors to this state of affairs was the isolation of Australia and its size which made interaction with speakers of other languages sporadic and difficult. The status of the British Empire in that world provided no incentive for looking beyond a British horizon. The practice of middle-class Australian youth travelling to Britain for a reasonably extended period at the completion of their studies did little to weaken the bond of cultural affinity which existed and still exists, between Australia and Britain.

In this context, it is no surprise that Australians at Federation wanted to formalise this bond and wanted to ensure that the essentially British character and British features of its population were privileged. Notwithstanding the presence of Indigenous Australians and other non-European peoples, as indicated above, the "White Australia" policy was introduced in 1901 (specifically the *Immigration Restriction Act No 17 of 1901*). It was directed at 'reducing and eventually eliminating non-Europeans from Australia, other than as temporary visitors' (Jupp 1998:76) It was broadly successful in this endeavour, lasted until the late nineteen sixties and was formally ended when the Whitlam government came to power in 1972. This policy, which began under the guise of labour protectionism in the late 1800s, has been generally assessed by successive scholars as a policy of racism in favour of white-skinned people of British stock (Markus 2003). The pronouncements made over time for internal political consumption left no doubt that the major issue was the preservation of the population of Australia as one of British characteristics (Northern-Europeans were included later). The practice of the infamous 'dictation' test, whereby the above-mentioned Act provided that any would-be migrant

[...] who when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of fifty words in length in an European language directed by the officer (sec 3a of the Act)

would be a 'prohibited immigrant' and not be allowed to land, became a not so subtle means of exclusion on a variety of grounds, including race, whilst appearing somewhat innocuous and justified. It was abolished by the *Migration Act 1958*.

After the end of WWII Australia found itself in need of labour not only to boost its industrial and agricultural output but to buttress itself against a perceived vulnerability to attack from the North, as had occurred during the war. This period marked the advent of a migration program whose catchcry was 'populate or perish'. It became quickly apparent that labour from traditional sources, that is, mainly Britain, was not as readily available (even with assisted passages) after the upheavals of the war, the death toll which this exacted and the needs of Britain itself in reconstruction. The urgency of the requirements led to a number of political shifts *vis-à-vis* the White Australia policy and the availability of large numbers of Displaced Persons (DP) in Europe. Hitherto so called 'Nordic racial cousins' (people from northern Europe) had been deemed acceptable as migrants within the White Australia policy, specifically for the perceived 'affinity of the English, German and Scandinavian peoples' (Jupp 1998:100). Refugee camps in Europe had considerable numbers of Slavs, these, along with the 'Nordics', were deemed acceptable for immigration under this DP program. To the white skin characteristics which made this group acceptable, the criterion of 'assimilability' was in its favour, this was seen as compatible religious beliefs, a certain level of education and youth. This group of 'aliens' (being non-British) were to be called 'New Australians' a term which lasted until the 1970s and which Arthur Calwell, the architect of the scheme and the first Minister for Immigration, sanctioned in a quasi-Orwellian pronouncement reported in *The Argus* (Melbourne) of 11 August 1949:

The terms "Balts", "Displaced Persons", and "DP's" [*sic*], had been banned from official communications, Mr Calwell, Minister for Immigration, said today.

Immigration authorities were beginning a campaign to outlaw the terms as applied to immigrants reaching Australia under the agreement with the International Refugee Organisation.

Mr Calwell suggested that all new immigrants should be called "new Australians", "new-comers", or "new settlers".

In time the expressions "Balts" and "DP's" might eventually assume the unpleasant undertones of words such as "Dago" and "Reffo", he said.

"No matter how these words are used, they have an unpleasant ring. If they become embedded in the Australian vocabulary, they could easily come to be used disparagingly, " Mr Calwell declared.

I appeal to Australians to outlaw these expressions. These people have come from Europe to join their destiny with ours in the development of a country they have willingly adopted.

Today just on 50,000 new settlers have reached Australia under agreement with the IRO. They were innocent victims of war, displaced from their homes and homelands, and now, as Australia is the land of resettlement for them, they are no longer displaced persons. They are

newcomers, new settlers or, preferably, new Australians. (*The Argus* (1949))

I shall return to the issue of assimilation later, however for our purposes, it is sufficient to point out that the White Australia policy was subtly and consistently diluted up to the 1960s, while it was officially espoused. A clear departure from it was the acceptance of migrants from southern Europe (from 1948) which was the result of government-to-government agreements which provided assisted passages. Similar agreements already existed and continued for British migrants. Relevantly, the composition of the Australian population took on a different character with substantial numbers of persons whose first language was not English and who came from more diverse backgrounds and a much broader spectrum of education levels. In 1955 the millionth post-war immigrant arrived.

1.5.2 Characterisations of migration policy

The Australian migration program continued with its adjustments to intake numbers and difficulties in reaching targets in certain years; the addition of more source countries and the arrival of Asian migrants, particularly as refugees, after the end of the Vietnam war. The vicissitudes of the management of the migration program and the cyclical debates about the role of migration within the community, although interesting, will not be examined here. The more immediate question is to explore the relative silence of the migrant communities until the early seventies. In my view, this is related to the move through a number of political stances by the successive governments in regard to migration, these have been labelled assimilation, integration and multiculturalism. They have also been called policies, but they can be perceived as changes in nomenclature initiated by governments, of what are essentially expectations by the majority regarding the behaviour of the minority(ies). Furthermore, it is apparent that the situation on the ground in relation to the different groups of migrants forced a redefinition or revision of the underlying principles of the migration program along the continuum from assimilation to multiculturalism.

The migration program had to deal with 'difference' from the very beginning. Essentially there was an expectation that migrants would come to this country and after a period would become indistinguishable from the rest of the population. This is not to say that there was no consideration of any needs of migrants but what was provided was firmly directed to a speedy achievement of this state. Arguments were mounted in debates over the source of migrants in terms of their 'assimilability'. Since the racial characteristic was a controlled variable, the issues were on the whole 'cultural' in nature, they were about the adoption of a 'way of life'; this included learning English and competence in the language, along with the willingness and, when the time came, the actual taking up, of Australian citizenship. The latter was regarded as an indication of successful assimilation.

The concept, as far as it went, can be regarded as unobjectionable; the logic of an invitation to come to live in this country, be provided with employment (although not necessarily a choice of the nature or location of this employment) and the expectation of learning the language and melding with the host society over time in return, can seem a reasonably equitable 'contractual' proposition. The whole point of the White Australia

policy was to reduce the elements that would disturb this theoretically 'balanced' approach by seeking firstly, British migrants and subsequently others regarded as physically and culturally compatible with the British 'stock'.

A variety of factors, well canvassed in the literature, shows that world events, changes in migration patterns to countries hitherto open to migration (especially the USA and Canada), changes in the source countries and factors beyond the power of Australia to control or influence (Castles 2009), meant that, if it was to continue to prioritise the national imperatives of labour requirements and population augmentation through migration, it had to cast a wider net for its migration intake which it duly did.

In the first twenty years of post-war migration a number of elements became more obvious as time went on. Despite the effort of governments to talk up assimilation, this phenomenon was not following the patterns which the authorities had anticipated or indeed hoped for. The reason for the slow flow of information from the situation on the ground to the organs of government was partly due to the almost insignificant political voice which migrants had at the time. Jupp's (1966) survey was "the most comprehensive attempt that has ever been made to survey post-1945 migrant settlement in Australia" (Martin, 1978). This revealed that the assumptions which had been made about how migrants would fit in were often wide of the mark. Firstly, the response to migration varied in relation to the group surveyed (these were the British, Dutch, Greeks and Italians). In some instances, it indicated not only lukewarm acceptance but also negative reactions to the situation they found themselves in. It must be added that the survey had 142 respondents and it was subject to the limitations of the sample itself, nevertheless it was a clear indication that the smooth progression from 'alien' to 'settler' which had been implied and touted in official communications did not reflect the reality on the ground.

In 1964 the title of the Assimilation Section of the Department of Immigration was changed to the Integration Section. Integration would appear to be a weaker version of assimilation where it is conceded that people cannot stop being themselves (that is, cannot avoid being the carriers of cultural traditions, including language) and simply adopt another set of values and abandon the former one. Along with assimilation, integration also represents a facile interpretation of the complex interplay between factors and circumstances which occur during and as a result of the process of migration. Changes in the host culture as well as in the migrant culture occur and the specific cause of these changes can often be little more than speculation, given the variety of characteristics, attitudes and predispositions, even among the same cultural group. In terms of acquiring competence in the English language, the concept of integration rather than assimilation did allow for the more realistic assessment of the limit of possibilities in becoming proficient in English, accepting that there existed variables which made this process different according to age at the time of arrival, prior educational level, opportunity to learn, opportunity to practise and it also recognised, applying the fruits of academic research on second language acquisition, that what proficiency was acquired could easily vanish in situations of stress, trauma and the like.

The late 1960s and the 1970s were characterised by increasing attention to issues to do with the results or consequences of migration for the now two and a half million people,

out of a population of 12.7 million, who were born overseas (1971 figures) (Bureau of Immigration Research, 1990). Martin's work (Martin 1978) clearly illustrates the amount of research and political activity which was undertaken during this period and represents a kind of awakening to the issues relevant to migrants and migration. The numerous reports of difficulties experienced by non-English speakers eventually coalesced into the realization that many were the result of communication problems with consequences such as lack of awareness of assistance structures, lack of awareness of rights and general lack of participation in the mainstream community. This period was also characterised by the advent of multiculturalism (see also sec.1.5.5). In the face of its many interpretations and heated debates on the merits or otherwise of the policy over the past thirty years or so, it is difficult to be comprehensive in defining it. It is more useful and relevant to our purpose to consider multiculturalism as a departure from a rigid advocacy of the desirability of a single culture into a more flexible and realistic view that the society is constituted by a diversity of cultural manifestations, around language and customs which is nevertheless committed to an overall set of values embodied in law and applicable to everyone. Jayaraman (2000:146), in referring to the role of "inclusion" played by the policy indicates that it represented:

the state's public acknowledgment of cultural and ethnic diversity, the abandonment of the myth that Australia is a monocultural and homogeneous society, and recognition that all Australians have the right to hold, express, and share their cultural heritage.

Some argued that the policy was one of 'exclusion' given that it implies an unequal treatment of the citizens in that it seems to preference minorities or ethnic groups and that the policy would impact negatively on national identity and national unity (see for example Castles, 1992).

The policy of multiculturalism followed the election of the Whitlam Labor Government in December 1972. This government created momentous changes in the policy landscape with the introduction of progressive policies in a number of areas of government. In the migration areas specifically, the idea of 'multiculturalism' obtained traction and the pace of change was accelerating, not least because of the flamboyant Minister for Immigration, Al Grassby. The atmosphere was one of action and 'can do', even though some of the actions taken by the government led to its demise in a hitherto unimagined manner with the sacking of the Whitlam Government by the Governor General on 11 November 1975. Charles Price (1998) remarked of 1972:

In that year the new Labor Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, decided to announce a completely non-discriminatory immigration policy which would not only affect settler intake but also abolish voting and other privileges hitherto held by British settlers. Whitlam and Grassby (Minister for Immigration) thought they could avoid a major public outcry about Asian immigration because they were also reducing total intake from the 140,000 of the late Coalition days to a mere 50,000 or less (*ibid.* p123).

James Jupp (1995) provides further details of the actions of the Whitlam government:

His brief government officially ended White Australia, declared Australia to be a multicultural society, created a Community Relations Commission and a Racial Discrimination Act, granted independence to Papua New Guinea in 1975, recognized the Chinese Communist government in Beijing, and withdrew Australian troops from Vietnam. (p.158)

In a presentation to the Intergovernmental Committee on Migration in 1988 in Geneva, (Australia. DILGEA Population Research Section, 1988) the Immigration Department's research section outlined a comprehensive list of initiatives for the period from 1968 to 1973 as follows:

The introduction of grants to community agencies for immigrant welfare (1968), the establishment of a Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications (1969); passage of the Immigration (Education) Act (1971) which gave a legislative basis to the allocation of resources for teaching English to children and adults; the commencement of English language courses by television (1971); a decision to introduce English Language courses at the workplace (1972); and approval (in 1972) to establish the Telephone Interpreter Service (initially in Sydney and Melbourne)

[...]

The new Government embarked on a program of consultations with ethnic communities (through Migrant Task Force Committees) which among other matters covered such diverse areas as community education, interpreting and translating needs, migrant education and welfare, health, housing and legal services. (pp.8-9)

At Appendix A is a list of Ministers of Immigration and Secretaries of the Department, which will place into context some of the personalities mentioned herein. A separate list denotes the changes in the name of the department dealing with migration over time which reflects to some extent the political mood in relation to migration.

The connection between multiculturalism and multilingualism, or at the very least, the presence of spoken languages other than English within a multicultural Australia is a feature of particular relevance to education and services and to interpreting and translation specifically. The discussions about the connection between multiculturalism and language went well beyond the period under consideration here (see for example Smolicz (1991).

Apart from the persistent attitudes to language and culture which have been illustrated above in the discussion of shifts in policy stances, other elements have had an important influence on the development of policy about 'migrant services' in general and 'language

services' in particular; these are citizenship or naturalisation, compulsory voting and a bipartisan political approach to migration.

1.5.3 Citizenship

In terms of citizenship, it is important to note that until the relatively recent introduction of the 457 visa (a temporary visa albeit with possible permanent settlement outcomes) only once before had Australia embarked on a 'guest worker' scheme and that was the recruitment of Kanakas (Pacific Islanders) in Queensland from 1863, a practice which ended ignominiously after the introduction of the White Australia Policy with their repatriation in 1906. Australian citizenship, through the enactment of the *Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948*, was introduced in 1949 (Klapdor, Coombs & Bohm (2009). In general terms, it was expected and assumed that a migrant would settle in Australia and that a part of that settlement process (and a measure of assimilation as indicated above) was their naturalisation. This very label is testament to the prevailing attitudes in this arena. Although the proportion of persons who took up the option of naturalisation at various periods since mass migration has varied, the available opportunity and the fact that lack of naturalisation did not entail great disadvantage (except perhaps the right to vote in state and federal elections (Rubenstein 1995:510) has meant that not much can be read into the non-application for citizenship by individuals. Government interest in this aspect has also changed over time and the conditions to be able to be naturalised have reflected the fervour with which this is seen depending on the prevalent political winds, from reducing or increasing the number of years of residence in Australia before an application could be made, to the introduction of a 'citizenship test' by the government on 1 October 2007, involving written answers to questions on various aspects of life in Australia.

Relevantly to our purpose, the description of the citizenship test includes:

The test is also designed to assess whether you have a basic knowledge of the English language. English is our national language. Communicating in English helps you to play a more active role in Australian society. It helps you to take full advantage of education, employment and the other opportunities Australia has to offer. (Department of Immigration, 2013)

It is worthy of note that according to the Immigration Department's website, more than 5 million people have become citizens since 1949. The figures indicate that in 1949, 2,493 people from about 35 nationalities and in 2015-16, a total of 133,126 people become Australian citizens by conferral, from at least 190 different countries. (Department of Immigration, 2017).

1.5.4 Compulsory Voting

Entwined with the question of citizenship is that of compulsory voting which has existed in Australia since 1924. Compulsory voting has its detractors who see it as imposition of a restriction on the concept of free choice, however, as Hill (2000) states "compulsion

provides protection against social and economic marginality” (p.31). In any case, citizenship was and is a precondition to voting in the federal elections and thus the ability to vote creates a viable reason for the interest of politicians and would-be politicians in migrants in general and in encouraging the taking up of citizenship. This interest articulates on two important elements: the desire of politicians to acquire or remain in power and the achievement of the objectives of nation-building of the migration program. Voting is also a public administrative act which confirms and legitimises the status of citizen in the eyes of other residents, thus is an act which testifies to belonging to the nation and part of ‘multicultural’ Australia.

1.5.5 Bipartisan political approach to migration

The second element which has contributed to producing the relatively conflict-free society which is modern Australia, despite it being formed by more than 200 different ethnic groups, is the fact that migration policy has been, since 1920, the year in which the Federal Government assumed administrative responsibility for migration, a policy which has been in broad terms espoused by the two main political forces in the country. This does not mean that there have not been differences in emphasis and positions over the years, but a common belief that Australia needs to have a migration program and that this program is a positive for Australia. It also does not mean that there have not been arguments about the level of migration intake and this has fluctuated in response to internal issues as well as external ones. Less benign reasons for this seeming lack of differences have been advanced by authors such as McAllister (1993) who posits that the issue has never become an election issue because it could jeopardise internal party unity, or because the parties wish to maintain political stability and are reluctant to raise issues which could change the ‘rules of the game’ and lastly, because, by avoiding public debate and maintaining consensus, they also avoid accountability to voters. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that there has been a broad consensus on this issue in the political arena. The shared view of the fundamental purpose of the migration program as a ‘nation building’ exercise has contributed to a more pragmatic and less ideological approach to migration, notwithstanding the fact that the number of temporary visas issued in the last few years has grown significantly. It must be added that the non-discriminatory nature of the program itself, based on a points system where points are allocated to each *desideratum*, and where the criteria themselves and the quotas applicable to each migration category are determined largely through yearly public meetings by the successive immigration ministers, is also an element which removes a number of sticking points which could lead to lack of harmony in this policy area.

In the recent past, as has happened sporadically before, there has been the occasional voicing by minority parties of the desirability to halt migration or to exclude certain groups from accessing the migration program. These views do have some effect on public opinion and may have caused adjustments to the way in which the points system is administered. Finally, and more recently, following arrivals of larger than usual numbers of asylum seekers by sea through the intervention of people smugglers, there has been a hardening of attitudes towards this element of the program while the total intake of refugees has been increased.

In moving to the particular area of interest for this thesis, namely interpreting and translating, it is necessary to discuss the broad characteristics of these professions and to indicate their place in the Australian society.

1.6 Interpreting and translating – *lupus in fabula*

1.6.1 General characteristics of interpreting and translating

The profession(s) of interpreting and translation have changed dramatically over the centuries. What has remained constant is that at its heart is the concept of transmission of information from one code (language) to another. For the purposes of this study, the professions are taken to refer to the practice of interpreting and translation from the end of the Second World War, not only in Australia but in the rest of the world. At that point in interpreting, the simultaneous mode (when interpreting occurs at same time as the speaker) began to be used along with the consecutive mode (occurring when the speaker pauses) and written translation, especially in the West, extended beyond the translation of literary, scholarly or religious works which had characterised it hitherto and encompassed a larger number of subject areas and text types (Delisle and Woodsworth, (1995)).

Any interpreting which could be regarded as professional was ‘conference interpreting’, done in international organisations such as the UN and at international gatherings of professionals in all manner of professions. Interpreting was done in the simultaneous mode by interpreters who worked in booths and who performed their interpretation into their ‘native’ language. Consecutive mode was used in smaller gatherings and in workshops and meetings associated with conferences. Of course, interpreting was also done by people in war zones, in hospitals in courts of law, indeed in any context where there was no shared language. Only conference interpreting was considered to be a professional activity and commensurate status was granted to the practitioners. Interpreting performed outside of the conference interpreting context was not regarded as interpreting and was not considered a professional activity.

Australia until the early fifties was, broadly speaking, a monolingual country with the exception of the Indigenous population which did not share the national language and was often multilingual, being able to speak more than one indigenous language (see sec. 1.5). Interpreting and translation for diplomatic and business purposes was left to a few practitioners who were mostly expatriates or members of the military who had had some language training in the defence force (Funch, 2003; Kerr, 1988). Interpreting and translating for domestic needs was totally unregulated and performed by volunteers or others for remuneration, who used their facility in two or more languages as a means of obtaining employment. Often their work in this field was within the context of their main employment.

The many names by which interpreting of the non-conference variety was and is, still referred to throughout the world, is but one indication of the difficulties of role definition and role expectations which vary dramatically even within one country. Some of the names used for this kind of interpreting are: *ad hoc* interpreting, liaison interpreting, language mediation, public service interpreting, three-cornered interpreting, contact

interpreting, cultural interpreting and community interpreting; the use of the latter term has become more widespread and thus gained a degree of currency (Gentile, 1997).

Australia was the first country in the world to develop national standards for interpreters who were not conference interpreters as well as for translators. These were people who worked for the domestic needs in many areas. The domestic needs had resulted from Australia's post-war migration program which, contrary to what had been expected, did not result in all migrants learning English to a sufficient standard for autonomous navigation of all situations encountered in the Australian community.

In terms of the interpreting and translating profession in Australia, the predominant mode utilised in spoken language interpreting is short consecutive, usually dialogue and for sign language interpreting, simultaneous; often mixed mode use is required in a number of contexts such as interpreting in mental health assessments. Telephone interpreting is widely used and sub-titling has developed to world standard since the creation of the Special Broadcasting Service. Conference interpreting has increased with the increase in international conferences held in Australia. The advent of relevant technological developments has seen translation become essentially a global profession with clients anywhere in the world and 'remote' interpreting, following more widespread use of video connections through various platforms, is following suit. In addition, much progress has been made in computer-assisted translation, thereby changing a number of parameters of translation practice.

1.6.2 Policy and interpreting and translation in Australia

The theoretical issues dealing with the concept of interpreting and translation policy will be considered in Ch. 2, within the literature review. Here I limit myself to providing some context which will illustrate how interpreting and translation is perceived in the realm of policy in Australia.

Australia does not have an official language in its statutes, it has never attempted to classify the languages spoken on its territory, except in the most rudimentary economic terms when allocating resources for their teaching. This is a prioritisation usually based on economic and strategic considerations which may include elements of status planning in the teaching of particular LOTES with reference to the current or future economic interests of the country. Decision-making as to the teaching of particular languages is largely decentralised so that both the impact of these decisions and the long-term outcomes of programs have been less than felicitous.

In the mid-to-late 70s a number of interest groups mainly from the education and academic sectors began to meet to encourage governments to devise a language policy. This bore fruit when the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts embarked on an inquiry and report on "*The development and implementation of a co-ordinated language policy for Australia*". Its report was titled *A National Language Policy*. (Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, 1984). Since this report was initiated by the Senate Committee on Education and the Arts and its broad premises are educational, it canvassed the issues about Australia's national language, teaching of English, adult

literacy and a number of areas where language is seen as an expression of the people's culture. It was with the acceptance by the government of the Galbally report (Galbally, 1978) that matters to do with language use in the community and the provision of services in LOTES were in fact included in the deliberations of the committee of the Senate (p.1). This report included a whole chapter on 'Translating and Interpreting Services' with other comments about interpreting and translating placed in other relevant sections; it made 11 recommendations about this topic; it was tabled in parliament but never formally adopted. A more implementation-oriented work was commissioned by the Department of Education and subsequently adopted as policy by the cabinet; this was completed in 1987 by Joseph Lo Bianco (1987) and was, significantly, titled *A National Policy on Languages* (NPL). Although this report included some discussion of interpreting and translating through the items on language services, the treatment of it was rather cursory and in fact it devoted less space to this element than the earlier Senate report. Ozolins' report (Ozolins, 1991a) prepared for the National Languages Institute of Australia (NLIA) and commissioned as part of the implementation of the NPL, although titled *Interpreting Translating and Language Policy*, was more concerned with language policy as contained in the NPL and documented the marked marginalisation of interpreting and translating issues, even after the consideration afforded to it in the NPL report. Ozolins made a number of recommendations to the NLIA which in general advocate an attitude of inclusion of interpreting and translation in the broader context of issues to do with languages by specific representation of persons from the field on a number of relevant committees and dialogue between issues of language and issues of translation.

In the NPL report, the pronouncements on policy which contained elements of interpreting and translating did not easily fit with its broadly education-based approach to language policy and it highlights the distinctions between language policy, language services policy and interpreting and translating policy.

In a discussion of language policy in Australia, it is important to specify that the concept of 'minority' languages does not carry the same cultural baggage as it does in Europe, as one example. In fact, the term 'minority' does not have currency in Australia, either for describing a group in the community or with the addition of any qualifiers, such as 'minority languages'; the reference is to languages other than English. The European context has given rise to a differentiation between "old minorities" and "new minorities" (González Nuñez, 2016b) in the context of translation policy. This will be discussed in Ch.2.

In the development of policies, the issue is seen as one of how services can be organised for languages where there are fewer speakers, not whether to establish parameters to allocate an official status to a language. This is consonant with the whole purpose of language services in Australia to facilitate full participation of its residents in the institutions of the State. It is not surprising, although almost counter-productive, that issues of interpreting and translation are often confused with those of language. This distinction, because of its effect on the manner in which translation and interpreting are viewed and discussed, is seen as crucial both in the academic and political treatment of the issue.

Perusal of any academic work on professional translation and interpreting and statutes of professional associations in the field all over the world will reveal the prominence of the issue in the sense that native or near-native proficiency in two (or more) languages is regarded as a prerequisite to training for the profession and subsequent employment in the field. The professional practice of translating only into one's first language is a further acknowledgment that, even if one has high level proficiency in more than one language, in terms of nuance, intent and other pragmatic features of the target text, these are achieved in more cases where the translator is working into his/her first language; for example, the Nairobi Recommendation - (UNESCO, 1972) (adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its Nineteenth Session in Nairobi on November 22, 1976) states at Article 14(d): "a translator should, as far as possible, translate into his own mother tongue or into a language of which he or she has a mastery equal to that of his or her mother tongue."

The Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence (AIIC), in its statute, defines the working languages of its members in terms of A, B and C. This classification has currency within the professions at large the world over and will be used in this thesis. It is as follows:

Active languages:

A: The interpreter's native language (or another language strictly equivalent to a native language), into which the interpreter works from all her or his other languages in both modes of interpretation, simultaneous and consecutive.

All members must have at least one 'A' language but may have more than one.

B: A language other than the interpreter's native language, of which she or he has a perfect command and into which she or he works from one or more of her or his other languages. Some interpreters work into a 'B' language in only one of the two modes of interpretation.

Passive languages:

C: Languages, of which the interpreter has a complete understanding and from which she or he works. (Regulation governing admissions and language classification- Art 7)

Thus, from a professional point of view, the place of language in the performance of the work of an interpreter or a translator is well understood. The relationship can be regarded as analogous to the relationship between mathematics and physics. In order to do physics, one must be competent in mathematics but the two are not the same.

The difficulties become apparent when those outside the profession, including and especially, policy makers, but also significantly, clients of interpreters and translators, assume that language competence and translation and interpreting competence are one and the same thing. These misconceptions are obstacles to the expectation that the clear distinction between language and translation and interpreting be considered in discussions of policy. Difficulties arise because interpreters (or translators) are labelled or generally referred to, by the language into which they interpret, thus at the EU, for example, a person called an 'Italian interpreter' is automatically considered to be an interpreter whose first language (or A language -see above) is Italian and that this person interprets into Italian from a number of languages. In the context of interpreting other than conference interpreting, an interpreter is, more often than not, defined not by the hegemonic language of the context (in this case English) but by the 'other' language. Thus, in Australia, an 'Italian interpreter' is regarded as an interpreter from English into Italian and Italian into English *and* as a person of Italian cultural background.

Whilst the foregoing exemplifies some underlying structural difficulties in the policy-making process in this field, another compelling factor in the manner in which interpreters and translators are regarded in Australia stems from their association with the context of migration and welfare, leading to a view of the interpreter or translator as a dispenser of welfare services and a helper of migrants.

This study begins when Australia became aware of the communication difficulties experienced by many migrants. It concerns itself, in particular, with the way in which the relevant levels of government became aware of these issues and the work which was done in order to remedy the situation, so not only could migrants have access to government services, like any other citizen, but they could also participate more readily in the political and social institutions of the country.

This study will explore the manner in which the issue of interpreting and translation quality was elevated to the policy level and how the proposed solution was implemented by the setting up of NAATI.

1.7 Research Questions

The essential element of this enquiry is to discover, document and critically examine how policy in this particular area evolved. Its apparent beginnings as a proposal tied to a need which developed into a system of accreditation will be examined in order to evaluate the fit between the policy and the practice and establish the reasons for the outcomes, both intended and unintended, of such policy up to the point when NAATI became a company limited by guarantee, owned by the Federal, State and Territory governments.

More specifically, the study will attempt to answer the following questions:

- What were the factors which shaped the development of the policy and its implementation up to 1983 (the point when NAATI became a company limited by guarantee, owned by the Federal, State and Territory governments)?
- What were the reasons why the policy work was initiated at a particular time and the reasons why the process of policy making took the shape and proceeded at the pace at which it did?
- What was the manner in which the issue or problem which merited a policy response at that particular time was perceived?
- What were the changes effected to the initial policy in this first period of NAATI's existence?

The above provides a context to the situation which led to the consideration and development of the policy to create an accreditation authority for interpreters and translators. In the next chapter I will review the literature on policy relevant to the particular public policy which the creation of NAATI represents. The review will consider a number of theoretical approaches and lead to a decision on which of them will be utilised in this thesis.

Chapter 2 Review of the literature

2.1 Introduction

The review of the literature is divided into a number of areas, each dealing with an aspect of the study. The thesis covers the background, creation and implementation of a policy, thus firstly the literature relating to the concept of policy is examined. In this regard the theories relevant to this study are discussed with a view to a consideration of an appropriate framework for the analysis of the data. This is followed by a consideration of attempts at integrating interpreting and translation into the writings on policy, especially language policy and its components. Writings on NAATI itself are reviewed, however, the material which is utilised as a primary source in the analysis of the data is not included in the review of the literature. Finally, the theoretical framework of the policy process chosen to apply to the data is presented and its various elements discussed.

2.2 Exploring the concept of Policy

The concept of policy derives from theories of government and politics and its precursors go back to concepts such as the relationships between knowledge and power in Plato's philosopher kings (Book IV of Plato's Republic- Pappas, 2013). The records of empires, kingdoms and city states never fail to devote space to the intrigue and position of 'advisers' to the respective persons who wielded power and the advice they gave, in forms not recognisable as modern academic writing, nevertheless contributed to the task of understanding why people make the decisions which they do. Niccolò Machiavelli, for instance, exemplified the concept of professional 'advice' in *The Prince* (translated by G. Bull, 1961). The motivation for the study of policy seems to have emerged essentially from the desire to facilitate planning and understanding of the process of decision-making, especially the decision-making of governments. The recurring elements which feature in attempts to define policy are that policy is a course, principle or method of action which is proposed or adopted by an entity, the latter being an individual, an organisation, an institution or a government. It is implied that this course of action is a deliberate choice among available alternatives and is applicable to given conditions in order to inform and in some cases, direct, decision-making into the future. Referring to definitions of 'policy' Guba (1984:70) declared:

It is nonsense to ask the question "What is the *real* definition of policy?" No one of the definitions given above [*in his article*] (or any others for that matter) can stake a legitimate claim to priority. All definitions are *constructions*, none can claim tangible reality. Virtually *any* policy definition must be admitted so long as its proposer can make a rational case for his or her particular usage.

The context-dependent nature of policy, and it is argued, the policy process, is a central issue in this study and relates to the research question of the timing of the development of the policy. Massey (2009), in summarising the work of Pollitt (2008), states that "[t]he policy process exists within a narrative informed by the theoretical and practical

context in which it is situated” (p.384). The term ‘policy’ is used interchangeably for a proposed or an adopted course of action thus the distinction between policy creation or formulation (policies are said to be ‘made’) and policy implementation is not always apparent.

This study deals with public policy which refers to the decision-making of governments, involving the expenditure and allocation of resources and it deals with policy creation and policy implementation. The study of public policy was initially characterised by attempts at ‘scientific’ approaches, for example, by Lasswell (1950, 1971). His work projected and advocated the study of policy as a ‘science’, attempting to eliminate, or at least attenuate the vagaries of human intervention in a process deemed to be a rational one. His approach has been heavily criticised by later scholars as having downplayed the ‘political’ element which characterises public policy decisions.

Notwithstanding the latter, Lasswell usefully distinguished public policy from policy in general in order to explore the interplay between policy-making and the political context in which this takes place (Haigh, 2012). For the purposes of the present work, public policy is the object of consideration which brings with it the inevitable connection with politics.

In what follows I shall provide a consideration of the literature dealing with how public policy is defined, how it is formulated and what tools are used in its formulation and implementation. This will lead into an overview of the models considered for utilisation in the present work and finally a discussion of the preferred model.

2.3 Defining the concept of Public Policy

Attempts at defining the concept of public policy range from considering public policy simply as the result of decisions made by governments, including decisions not to take any action, to more elaborate and complex definitions which include the consideration of policy as a process rather than an event (Dye (1966, 1972), Jenkins (1978). Jenkins refines the discussion on public policy by considering it not necessarily a single decision but a number of interconnected decisions within a specified context which are within the power of governments to make. He introduces the concept that public policy is goal-oriented thus implying a subsequent evaluation of whether the goal has been achieved. (Jenkins 1978).

Further elaborations on the description of public policy by Anderson (1984) add two other elements, the first that public policy does not constitute decisions taken by one individual but by a number of decision-makers and the second, that public policy underscores the connection between government action and the perception of a problem (which may be real or imagined). The latter point is of particular significance to the present investigation and represents a matrix of layers of decisions with interconnectivity and interdependency both as to decision-makers and in relation to the political context in which they operate; especially in a bureaucracy where the lines of authority are well-defined and purport to adhere to some rational organisation, in the Weberian sense. The definition of policy or, more precisely, the way policy has been regarded, has gone from

the Lasswellian concept of a stages heuristic where there is an order of events and a general assumption of rationality to a more process-oriented view of policy which includes, in the various models, elements of politics and accepts that the rationality of the process is not absolute but bounded by the capacity of the actors and the political imperatives which the process entails. Even though the most recent interpretations eschew the idea of 'stages' in the Lasswellian sense, the chronological nature of the process is still very much present. Among the definitions which move away from a series of steps is that of Lowi and Ginsberg (1996) who define the term 'public policy' as "an officially expressed intention backed by a sanction, which can be a reward or a punishment", which although vague in its formulation, highlights the element of 'winners' and 'losers' and the perception of winning or losing is common in the outcome of many public policies but also in the attitudes of the actors during their development. Lo Bianco (2008:157) provides yet another way of interpreting the concept of policy when he states, extending earlier propositions by Ball (1993):

we can view policy as an ensemble of activities, some of which are *textual* (laws, reports, authorisations), others of which are *discursive* (speeches, radio debates), while still others involve the *public performance* of behaviours that powerful individuals or institutions hold up as models to be followed.

This view appears to emphasise the human elements in the manifestations of policy and the gulf which can exist between a plan and its results.

2.4 Public policy formulation

Public policy formulation involves the devising of some course of action to achieve a particular aim. In analysing the purpose of a course of action, i.e., the purpose of a policy, differing views are held by those who contend that the purpose of a policy is to solve a (perceived) public problem and those who argue that problems are ideological constructs to be manipulated by the political establishment and are not revealed by the decision-makers. Bacchi (2009), for example, notes that the underlying assumption is that policy is there to remedy a situation which implies that there exists a situation which is less than ideal, in other words, a problem. This line of argument advocates the making explicit what is implicit in policy, so that the problem which the policy is purporting to solve is clearly articulated. The very process of how an issue becomes a 'problem' worthy of the attention of policy makers and what makes them choose one over another will be the subject of analysis in the treatment of the different models of the policy process, below.

In the formulation of the policy, the policy-makers need to decide on a course of action. The arrival at the choice of a course of action involves the narrowing down of the options, however, the whole process is far from the Lasswellian, rational, well-ordered process. For example, Jones (1984), as reported by Howlett (1995), suggests that policy formulation involves finding the means to resolve somebody's perception of the needs which exist in society. Howlett goes on to indicate that the limitations operating on the narrowing of options in the formulation phase of policy-making, need not be based on fact. The characteristics of public policy in particular which recur in the literature and are

exemplified in the above observations, reflect the operation, not only of a rational process but also of a political process which may not be seen as a well-reasoned process but will have its own political rationale. I will utilise the two approaches to the question of problem-determination in the present work, not so much to discover whether the policy in question was a response to a perceived problem (which in essence is a given), but how this problem was articulated and how the methodology for tackling it, that is, the formulation of the policy, was influenced by the politics of the day.

2.5 The instruments of policy

The next relevant element in the discussion of public policy concerns the instruments utilized to put policies into effect, by this I mean the tools and levers which are used to formulate and implement the policy. This aspect is useful in this investigation in order to allow the reader to identify the sources of friction in the implementation of the policy as well as to explain some events which may have been considered less desirable than they actually were.

In essence, the work on trying to identify and classify policy instruments goes back to economists and political scientists in the 1960s. There are many classification systems and taxonomies for the different tools; the spectrum of instruments which was developed by Howlett (1995) most closely serves the purpose of tackling the research questions, is reported here and his labels are reproduced.

This classification system consists of ten main types of instruments or tools on a continuum of the level of State involvement in the delivery of the policy. The instruments where there is *low* State involvement are called 'Voluntary' and the carriage (of the implementation) of the policy is left to either 'Family and Community', 'Voluntary Organisations' and 'Private Markets'. Where there is the *greatest* level of State involvement and the State is carrying the implementation, the instruments are called 'Compulsory' and the State employs either 'Regulation', 'Public Enterprises' and 'Direct Provision' to put policies into effect. Where there is considerable but not exclusive State involvement in the implementation of the policy, the instruments are called 'Mixed' and consist of 'Information and Exhortation', 'Subsidies, Auction of Property Rights' and 'Tax and User Charges'. The latter nomenclature is rooted in an American cultural system and equivalent instruments, in an Australian context might be information campaigns, grants schemes, user-pays regimes. It is emphasised that taxonomies of this kind are limited only by the imagination of policy-makers and the degree of their ability to exist within the relevant political system.

A variant of a taxonomy of instruments is one proposed by John (1998) which is a synthesis of approaches which attempts explain how policy is made and implemented. It is cited below:

1. Institutional Approaches: political organisations, such as parliaments, legal systems and bureaucracies, structure policy decisions and outcomes.

2. Group and Network Approaches: associations and informal relationships, both within and outside political institutions, shape decisions and outcomes. At its most refined, the group approach turns into the idea that networks and relationships between actors determine policy outputs and outcomes.
3. Socio-economic Approaches: socio-economic factors determine the decisions of public actors and effect policy outputs and outcomes.
4. Rational choice Theory: preferences and bargaining of actors explain decisions and outcomes. The bargains take place as a series of games between the participants and where the structure of choices is determined by institutional and socio-economic constraints.
5. Ideas-based Approaches: ideas about solutions to policy problems have a life of their own. Ideas circulate and gain influence independently or prior to interests in the policy process. (1998: 15-16)

The above discussion of the formulation of policies, illustrates the fluid nature of the concept of policy where different approaches to its implementation reflect the contexts in which this takes place and also the perspective of scholars who have approached this. It is often derived from a *post hoc* case study approach which this investigation itself is using. The extant body of work spans a number of disciplines or fields such as political science, social science, organizational behaviour, economics and others. This characteristic is illustrated in the above quotation from John (1998), which is an example co-existing with, rather than in contrast to, the Howlett (1995) classification. This leads to a number of issues such as the one exemplified below in the consideration of 'policy analysis'.

Policy analysis illustrates a problem of nomenclature: the literature which is from a political science perspective tends to regard policy analysis as an examination of a proposed policy before it is implemented (also called 'prospective analysis' - (Patton & Sawicki, 1986) in order to provide advice as to its feasibility and effect, including prediction or projection of future states which may lead to changes in the policy before approval or implementation. The literature from other perspectives, such as economics, tends to include in policy analysis the process which occurs after a policy has been implemented (or partially implemented) in order to evaluate or review the policy. Patton and Sawicki (1986) dub this 'descriptive' policy analysis and this term includes historical analysis of past policies which I will engage in in this investigation when I examine the manner in which I see the development of interpreting and translating policy fitting in with previous policies involving migration, citizenship and qualifications.

In the work of some scholars, theoretical positions such as those above are anchored to a 'stages' heuristic made popular by scholars such as Anderson (1975), Jones (1970), and Peters (1986), whereby the policy process is seen as a chronological sequence of compulsory steps thereby keeping to the Lasswellian tradition wishing to turn the process into a technical, if not a scientific, enterprise. This paradigm has been challenged by a number of scholars amongst whom Paul Sabatier (1991), Kingdon (1995), Zafonte and Sabatier (1998), Weible and Sabatier (2014). The reason for the challenge was that the stages paradigm is not a causal theory, that is, that its variables are not in a causal relationship to each other, as such the paradigm cannot illuminate cause and effect.

Sabatier and others further argue that policy processes are not particular to a specific type of institution, nor are they particular to behaviours outside the institutions and the stages heuristic is not sufficiently nimble to cater for elements such as policy communities having heterogeneous characteristics and for policy emanating from multiple levels of government. In the stages heuristic, the role of 'policy information' that being information relevant to the policy and 'policy elites' (persons who are in a position of superiority vis-à-vis the policy, by way of organizational status, having more information, wielding more power or expertise in the process) have been neglected as have differences across policy types. This investigation has to take into account a complex web of disparate interests over a considerable length of time and through a number of political changes, some minor, others momentous. My investigation will necessarily involve the establishment of causality in the bringing forward, initiation and completion of the policy under analysis, thus I consider the stages heuristic not as productive for my investigation as a more complex 'process' view which takes into account at least some of the variables and elements ignored or not emphasised by the 'stage' models. It is in this manner that a 'policy process' perspective has the capacity to deal with a greater number of elements and explore the interactions between the elements, reflecting more accurately the situation on the ground in real time.

2.6 Approaches within the 'policy process' perspective.

A number of theoretical approaches have emerged from the work of scholars, mainly in the U.S., which provide possible prisms through which to look at the 'policy process', a term which has come to encompass the field of policy analysis and which does not rely on a stages approach but regards the process as having an undefined beginning and an undefined end. The work in this field has been done by a number of scholars who have collaborated at many levels with Paul Sabatier over a period of time to produce and advance scholarship in the area of the policy process. This has led, amongst other things to the publication of three editions of *Theories of the Policy Process*, the last of which in 2014 (Weible & Sabatier, 2014). These volumes represent a synthesis and a blueprint for further research in a number of theoretical frameworks. Each of these frameworks represents a way of looking at the policy process and each looks at it from a different perspective so that it is immediately clear that the idea of producing an over-arching theory of the policy process is not the aim of the consideration of the different frameworks, rather, it represents an attempt at developing lines of enquiry into the phenomenon of policy which are useful in dealing with the inherent complexity born of the interaction of many elements in the real world in the task of developing and implementing policies.

In addition, the aim is to introduce and maintain academic rigour in the study of the process, hence the careful use of nomenclature such as theoretical framework rather than theory, where the first allows the work to be seen as 'work in progress' rather than definitive. The literature, in general, treads a careful line between what is a theory and what is a theoretical framework, however, at times there is a lack of consistency in distinguishing between the two. Predictive power, which is one of the defining characteristics of a theory, is often downplayed. In this work, I intend to use a number of theoretical positions within an overall framework rather than an over-arching theory, as I

consider that it is sufficient in achieving the aims of this study without engaging in a debate about what is or is not the nature of a theory, thereby detracting from the policy itself.

What follows is a description of the different frameworks derived from Weible and Sabatier (2014) and includes evaluative comments which are further considered in sec. 2.9.1.

2.6.1 Multiple Streams Framework (also called Ambiguity and Multiple streams)

This framework looks at the policy process under conditions of ambiguity and is a system-wide approach. It offers insights into agenda-setting, decision-making and implementation of policies. It postulates the existence of three streams contributing to the eventual policy, a problem stream, a policies stream and a politics stream. This can be seen essentially as streams of ideas and events flowing in the relevant context which at a certain point, in the presence of certain conditions, combine together with the actions of 'policy entrepreneurs' to create a 'policy window' which is an opportunity for the ideas to receive attention from policy-makers and the creation of a policy. The framework assumes that individuals can only process issues one after another whereas systems can process more than one issue at a time in parallel; it also assumes that policymakers operate under time constraints and the streams indicated above are independent of each other. Zahariadis (2014) describes how this framework considers that "Collective choice is not merely the derivative of individual effort aggregated in some fashion but rather the combined result of structural forces and cognitive and affective processes that are highly context-dependent" (p.31).

Finally, the process is seen as operating in conditions of ambiguity which itself is managed or manipulated strategically to achieve different aims of the different elements of the policy process.

2.6.2 Punctuated Equilibrium theory

This theory explores the observed phenomenon of change in policy processes occurring as frequent small accommodations punctuated by radical changes at longer intervals. This refers to the same policy or to a policy which has been in place over time. It explores the stability and change in the policy process and it includes a general theory of how information is processed. Originally applied to the sub-system level, the theory now extends to a more general application to punctuated changes in policy making. It is based on the consideration of political institutions and assumes bounded rationality as the principle which guides decision-making, in so doing it extends the scope of current theories about agenda-setting to include the elements of policy stasis and policy change, both incremental and punctuated. The main proponents of this approach are Baumgartner and Jones (1993, 2009, 2014) with a large number of scholars who have applied this theory to a variety of cases and contexts.

2.6.3 Democratic Policy design

This framework bases itself on the concept that the political world is socially constructed and is not necessarily an objective representation of 'reality', consequently the problems which vie for the attention of policy makers are themselves socially constructed by processes such as framing and agenda-setting. The design of policy in the context of a democratic political system is then also influenced and shaped by the social construction of target groups to whom the policy applies and to whom the policy allocates or denies a certain benefit. Policy design allows for a method of analysing policy content and process and their impact on society. The main proponents of this approach are Schneider and Ingram (1988, 1990, 1993; A. L. Schneider, 1997).

2.6.4 Policy Feedback Theory

Policy creation in contemporary politics is very much influenced by policies which already exist. The political feedback theory explores how policies which have been implemented affect or influence subsequent policy-making. Studies have been undertaken over a wide spectrum of policies from welfare policies to criminal justice. Some studies have focused on the effect of policies on the meaning of citizenship, forms of governance, power of groups, political agendas and the definition of policy problems. The main proponents of this theory are Skocpol (1992), Pierson (1993), Mettler (2005, 2014), Soss (Soss & Schram, 2007).

2.6.5 The Advocacy Coalition Framework

This framework studies the many variables at sub-system level which impact on policy creation in the presence of advocacy coalitions defined as actors who share core beliefs in a certain policy and coordinate their actions to influence a policy sub-system. The behaviour and characteristics of coalitions, from their degree of dominance to how they overcome threats to collective action, to the individual actors within them and many other aspects are investigated to gauge their effects on policy formation. This framework also encompasses the study of how coalitions acquire policy-oriented learning by exploring change in the belief systems of the coalitions and what this means for the policy process. What are the factors which impede or facilitate learning? Are they related to the attributes of the actors, the way information is presented, the kind of stimuli applied or other factors? The framework also strives to contribute to the understanding of policy change and stability especially the roles of coalitions in this element. The main proponents of this framework are Sabatier (1999), Jenkins-Smith (Jenkins-Smith, Troustet, & Weible, 2013), Weible (Weible et al., 2011).

2.6.6 The Narrative Policy Framework

This framework focuses on the manner in which a policy is presented and its importance to policy longevity and success. The significance of this approach stems from the development of marketing and consumerism which has led many policy entrepreneurs to turn public policy debates into battles over competing narratives. In addition, the availability of electronic communication systems has meant that narratives are

disseminated instantaneously. The importance of policy narratives in the social construction of public policy is the central concern of this framework. Work which has been undertaken under its aegis includes the definition of a policy narrative and the establishing of its four core elements of 'setting', 'characters', 'plot' and 'moral'. The framework analyses the narratives at three levels, the Micro dealing with the individual, the Meso dealing with groups or coalitions and the Macro dealing with an institution or a culture. The main proponents of this approach are McBeth, Shanahan and Jones (2005), McBeth et al. (2007), Shanahan et al. (2011).

2.6.7 Institution Analysis and development Framework

The collection and accumulation of knowledge useful for understanding the logic, the design and the performance of institutional arrangements in a large number of settings of different scale is the goal of this framework. The stated aim of the framework is to study institutions in order to understand how people use them to deal with problems and challenges, including the design of the institution in order to be able to make more informed inputs into institutional performance. The conceptual unit of 'action arena' is used to analyse, predict and explain behaviour within institutions. The arena is a social space where individuals interact in all manner of ways. Patterns of interaction derived from the analysis are useful to examine the results of such interactions and aid in predicting future behaviour. The main proponents of this approach are Vincent and Elinore Ostrom (V. Ostrom, 1974; E. Ostrom, 1982).

2.6.8 Social-Ecological Systems Framework

This framework is an extension of the Institution Analysis and Development Framework to include governance of institutions. There is the addition of biophysical elements which affect decision-making (resource units and resource systems); further, the inclusion of a tiered structure which enables the researcher to retrieve variables relevant only to the particular case or type of case in order to diagnose a problem occurring in a system. E. Ostrom continued the development of this framework (2007, 2009).

2.6.9 Innovation and Diffusion Models

It is argued that most public policy is incremental; however, every government program can be traced back to some innovation. It thus becomes necessary to understand how innovations in government programs come about, how does one arrive at policy innovation. This group of models are not strictly speaking solely related to the policy process, they borrow heavily from general research in innovation in many fields. These models are in essence two, the first relates to innovation and postulates that the factors leading to innovation in public policy are political, economic or social characteristics internal to the jurisdiction and the factors leading to diffusion are the adoption or emulation of policies previously adopted by other governments. The main proponents of this model are F. Berry (1994) and W. Berry (1990).

2.6.10 Summative comparison of policy models

It is significant from the point of view of this thesis that the above models, frameworks and theories all overlap somewhat; this is expected, as each is concerned with the fundamental issue of the policy process. However, there is a large disparity between them in terms of their stage of development and in the case of some, they appear to have reached a point where not much productive and detailed research is being done to enhance or indeed to question the utility or assumptions made by the model. In order to shed some light on the development of the policy on interpreting and translating quality in Australia in the 70s, what I am seeking is a framework which is able to deal with the elements I have identified in my collection of data. The above compendium of different models and frameworks has to be seen as a work in progress; indeed, this is how they are all presented. In the search for an appropriate model to utilise in the current work it is important to clarify that there are elements of each model which could be used in the current study, this speaks to the commonality of effort to focus on the policy processes and while each framework is able to improve our understanding of the policy process, it also is specifically interested in particular aspects of the process and goes deeper into this aspect. For example, the Advocacy Coalition Framework could be used to gain insights into what occurred when the policy to set up an accreditation system for interpreters and translators was being considered as there is evidence of different groups of people coming together to further the considerations, in other words they coalesced to advocate for the policy. In my considerations of the choice of framework to employ, a framework which is optimal for my purposes is one which can aid in answering the research questions.

The above is a sequential consideration from the general idea of policy to one of its subsets, public policy, followed by a discussion of some of the models used in studying public policy, specifically those which are relevant to this study. I now move to a consideration of policies where research has produced insights immediately relevant to the matter at hand. There are also other policies which impinge on the consideration of the way in which interpreting and translation is seen, the major one in Australia being migration policy, which I have considered in the introductory chapter. In sec.2.9 I indicate the reasons for my choice of framework.

2.7 Language policy, language planning and translation policy

The relationship between language and interpreting and translation gives rise to the need to consider these three concepts in the ambit of this study which seeks to apply a policy focus on an issue which concerns interpreting and translating. In sec. 1.6.2 above I have provided a description of the assumptions and misunderstandings about the relationship between language and interpreting and translating which exists amongst the groups relevant to this study, I now turn to a consideration of the theoretical work which, from a policy point of view, encompasses the notions of language and interpreting and translating under the rubric of language policy. The relevance of this to the research questions is enhanced by recent work which has reinvigorated the academic debate about translation policy.

‘Language policy’ is not co-terminous with ‘language planning’ (LP). LP, in its most widely used meaning, refers to at least two processes: corpus planning and status planning (cf. Kloss 1969). Corpus planning refers to the codification or standardisation of a language. Status planning refers to the allocation of a language to functional domains within a society, particularly where this is bi- or multi-lingual such that the status awarded to a language variety provides this language with some kind of regulated position (from that of an official national language to that of an officially recognised regional or minority language). Lo Bianco (2010) summarises Hornberger’s (2006) “integrative framework” of definitions for LP which update Kloss’ (1969). He states:

This [framework] specifies three categories of activity that count as LP: status, acquisition and corpus; and two approaches: *policy planning* (when the focus of activity is on the form of language) and *cultivation planning* (when the focus shifts to language function). *Status planning* is “about uses of language”, *acquisition planning* about “users of language” and *corpus planning* “about language” (p.4)

To these categories of activity are added *usage planning* – increasing the domains in which language is used; *prestige planning* – focusing on aesthetic or intellectual regard for a linguistic code and *discourse planning* – a much more diffuse concept referring to focus on persuasive expression from rhetorical skills to propaganda (Lo Bianco 2010:6).

It is in the nature of planning that implies decisions about courses of action, which in the public policy context invariably leads to concerns about the ways and means to achieve objectives (i.e., solve or attempt to solve problems) with these actions and necessitates the implicit development of a policy process as exemplified in the previous sections.

Notwithstanding the dearth of work on the concept of translation policy, there are at least two broad ways in which this concept has been interpreted. These have been canvassed by Meylaerts (2011a) and refer to the earlier view of translation policy being that which describes the strategies to be used during the translation process, such as the preservation of names in the source language, the use of certain company-specific terminology and so on. This approach she sees broadly exemplified but with some differences of emphasis and interpretation, by scholars such as Levy (1967), Even-Zohar (1990), Homes (1988) and Toury (1995). The second approach derives from a broader view of translation policy as

a set of legal rules that regulate translation in the public domain: in education, in legal affairs, in political institutions, in administration, in the media. By means of its translation policy, a government thus regulates people’s access to or exclusion from public life and services (Meylaerts 2011a:3)

This second approach represents recent attention being paid by translation scholars to translation policy (González Núñez and Reine Meylaerts (eds.) 2017; Diaz Fauces, 2017) indicates a desire to develop a conceptual framework within translation policy to take into account a broader range of phenomena not entertained to date to any great extent and encompassing the issues relevant to this thesis. Translation policy can be seen as a sub-set of or consequence of status planning, but it can be shaped by other factors that act independently of each other so that it may be difficult to develop a uniform approach to describe its development.

González-Nunez (2016) accepts Diaz Fauces' (2002) view that

translation policy is linked to language policy, both being types of cultural policy aimed at goals which include managing the flow of communications among the masses, establishing certain types of relationships between groups and their surroundings, or attributing a particular symbolic value to specific kinds of cultural products (p. 86)

and he ventures his own definition of translation policy as “a complex phenomenon that encompasses translation management, practice, and beliefs in any number of domains.” (ibid. p. 103).

In further work, Meylaerts (2011b) outlines conventions of translation policy in a cross-national analysis, identifying four “regimes” of practice:

... complete institutional multilingualism with obligatory multidirectional translation in all languages; complete institutional monolingualism and non-translation; institutional monolingualism and translation into the minority language”; “institutional monolingualism at the local level and institutional multilingualism with multidirectional mandatory translation at the superior... level. (Meylaerts 2011b: 749-753)

At the same time, Meylaerts (2011a, 2011b) is also cognisant of the wide range of relatively informal settings in which a translation policy also seems to pertain. She concludes with an appeal that “future research needs to be more interdisciplinary, exploring the complex relations between various translation policies and linguistic justice, integration, equal opportunities” (Meylaerts, 2011a: 167). The Australian situation can be regarded as typifying ‘institutional monolingualism and translation into the minority language’.

A discussion of the elements which contribute to the formulation of translation policy is offered by González Núñez (2016). He focuses his analysis on the provision of translation services in the UK for two different groups - autochthonous linguistic minorities (e.g. Welsh, Gaelic) and allochthonous (or immigrant) ones (e.g. Punjabi, Polish), and initially posits that the provision of such services is premised on language policy: “... issues of translation are intractably bound up with language policy” This position needs some

clarification for a country such as the UK that, for example, appears to have few obvious characteristics of a language policy, and no mention of an official language: English is the *de facto*, but not the *de jure* official language. To account for the provision of translation and interpreting services, including those for immigrant language groups, González Núñez (2016) shifts focus from language policy, to those to do with human rights and non-discrimination regulations (e.g. the UK *Human Rights Act 1998* and the UK *Equality Act 2010*). In these regulations, language background is but one of many attributes alongside disability, age, gender etc. according to which residents must not be discriminated against. The flow-on effect at the level of local government is that councils often provide translations into locally-used immigrant languages not only in a reactive sense (i.e. a local resident requests an interpreter to sight translate a document into Urdu), but for the “inclusion” of all local communities and the “accessib[ility]” of council services to them (González Núñez 2016: 9-10).

There are other translation realities which are not given detailed attention in the above writings, such as the policy work in this area in South Africa which is firmly anchored in a policy framework of language planning. South Africa has not given primacy to the concept of majority versus minority languages (although acknowledging status differentials between the 11 official languages) and the policy goal has been characterised as “giving concrete effect to innovation in the case of language reform, lexical modernisation and language standardisation [which] may arguably be facilitated through translation” (Beukes (2006:1-2). In the recent work, *Translation and Public Policy* (González Núñez, G., & Meylaerts, R. Eds., 2017), more attention is given to South Africa with the chapter by duPlessis (2017), where the latter examines the relationship between language policy and language services in education.

In summary, recent literature on translation policy advocates and considers the provision of language services as being part of translation policy expanding the scope of the concept beyond that which sees translation policy as the application of status planning. González Núñez (2016) above, illustrates a situation which more closely approximates that which exists in Australia and to this should be added Ozolins’ (2010:196) observation on the factors which determine the provision of Public Service Interpreting and characterising the policies as often a product of “cross-portfolio policy making”. In addition, and in keeping with the context-specific nature of public policy, caution needs to be exercised in considering the Australian situation as sufficiently similar to other contexts described in the theoretical approaches outlined above and applying these approaches without caveats.

2.8 Literature on NAATI

The writings on NAATI cannot be taken to be academic literature on the organisation in the traditional sense. This new organisation has been often mentioned in writings since its inception, for example Martin (1978). It has most often been considered in works dealing with service provision in interpreting and translating and specifically in those works describing its nature for the dissemination in other contexts the system being developed in Australia (Blewett and Gentile (1983), Gentile (1989), in a study of the politics of

language in Australia (Ozolins 1993) and comparisons between the Australian systems in other countries (Ozolins 1993, 1998). As is evident these lie outside the period under consideration in this work.

The other *tranche* of writing on translation and interpreting are documents on NAATI itself. These consist of formal reviews of the work of NAATI, reviews of particular aspects of its work, documents and government papers relating to the policy direction, objectives, structure and administration of NAATI, these constitute the corpus of the evidence of the development of the policy and thus will be treated in detail in the relevant section. The government documents preceding the setting up of NAATI will also be considered later as they constitute a window into the genesis of the policy and the determination of its nature. A number of publications from other countries refer to NAATI as an example upon which their system is based or provide reasons why their system could not be like the NAATI system, for example, Corsellis (2008), Ren (2006). These do not constitute an evaluation of the policy in a formal sense but do offer judgements on its success or otherwise.

2.9 Theoretical framework

2.9.1 Selecting a theoretical framework

A number of distinct but interconnected theoretical threads are relevant to this research. The first relates to the theoretical considerations dealing with the nature of policy making, when and how policy is made, who makes it and how it is implemented. It includes distinctions made between public policy and other policy; this distinction is central to this research as the object of the study is public policy. This theoretical approach includes work on policy analysis, a term which initially was understood as referring to an analysis carried out before the policy is implemented and latterly covers *post hoc* analysis including evaluation.

The second thread relates to the theoretical treatment of issues to do with language as it intersects with policy. The distinctions between translation/interpreting and language, while they are central to the profession, have not been considerations which have exercised the minds of policy makers to any great degree, thus theoretical positions in language policy and language planning, for example, will inform the discussion on translation and interpreting policy especially as it was seen at the time that the policy was developed.

The development of policy occurs within the broader frames of reference of social institutions and political and party-political contexts, amongst other things. This factor forms part of theoretical approaches within the body of research about the 'policy process' which will be used to analyse the data.

The choice of theoretical framework to be applied was made after the collection of the data, thus I was looking for a framework which would not only be helpful in analysing the elements of the data diachronically but also be sufficiently flexible to allow for the

interaction between the significant elements of the data synchronically as it is this aspect which is the more complex and promising in terms of establishing the reasons for the policy outcomes.

The data in this study are constituted by material (mostly written) about what actually occurred in the creation and development of policy which culminated in the setting up of NAATI, derived from primary sources and triangulated with interviews and secondary sources. In theoretical terms, the multifarious nature of the data and the method by which it is obtained expose the project to the problem of 'confirmation bias', especially given that it is not possible to establish when the point is reached in the collection of such data to consider it complete. This is not an issue peculiar to this project and common in all retrospective studies. The strategy adopted in this case is that, by continuing to search for more data until a 'circular' referencing phenomenon occurs, i.e., that following up the references to each element of data on the particular topic does not produce any new sources, a reasonable degree of satisfaction is reached about having collected most of the data about a certain event or process. The only exception to this is when papers in specific files in the National Archives were sought which were/are not open to public scrutiny, either for security reasons or because they are governed by a statute embargoing their release until a later date. This has happened only for one item of correspondence. I have therefore a high degree of confidence that the data set does not suffer from significant *lacunae*.

In selecting a framework to apply and in order to provide answers to the research questions, the suitability of the various theoretical frameworks which form part of the panoply of "Theories of the Policy Process" which were listed above were examined in relation to their suitability to answer the research questions. While the fundamental question which each of these frameworks seeks to answer is related to the nature of the process which occurs in public policy from a time which begins prior to the identification of a problem (whether real or imaginary) to the implementation of a policy to deal with the problem, each emphasises different elements or different aspects of the process. There is no comprehensive theory of the policy process and the proponents of each of these frameworks do not consider that the search for a grand theory is either productive or would add to the insights available through the current frameworks. The approach to policy in the literature has been one of welcoming research which expands the scope of each of the frameworks, indicates the limitations of each and introduces new frameworks to broaden the understanding of the phenomenon.

These frameworks differ in the scope and the level at which they examine the issue, for example, the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) looks at the interaction of advocacy coalitions, policy learning and policy change, this is generally examined at the coalition level or at the level of government and other subsystems. The Punctuated Equilibrium Theory (PET) focuses more on the long-term patterns of agenda setting and policy changes at a system-wide level. The Policy Framework theory (PFT) aims at analysing how policies shape politics and subsequent policy-making at the system level and looks at the impacts on society in terms of forms of governance, citizen engagement and others. Each of the frameworks make a number of assumptions which, in most cases, they explicitly define; some of these have to do with the manner in which they conceive of the

individuals involved in the policy process; some treat the actors as rational beings, others as beings bounded by rationality but not devoid of values, emotions and beliefs (Weible & Sabatier, 2014). This latter point could be seen as a reaction to previous models of policy-making which assumed a rational approach to an orderly universe.

I have identified the framework “Ambiguity and Multiple streams”, more commonly described as the Multiple Streams Framework [MSF], as providing the greatest scope for the analysis of the data derived from primary sources. Some of the other frameworks placed their emphasis on elements which while interesting, did not contribute to the same extent to an examination of the policy which I am focusing upon, for example, the Punctuated Equilibrium Theory with its emphasis on change in policy processes and the Democratic Policy Design framework with its overarching view of societal constructions of realities would have made it more difficult for me to investigate the details of what occurred with the policy on NAATI. The Advocacy Coalition Framework which was considered, did not provide the optimum tool because, while there were groups at the time advocating for a policy on interpreters and translators, this was not the most important aspect which led to its becoming part of the government policy agenda. For the other four models, the aspects of the policy process which they took as pivotal, would not have yielded sufficient or important insights to the development of the policy on NAATI.

The concept of streams and streams coupling and the emergence of ‘windows’ in the MSF appeared to fit with the objective of dealing with the research questions at hand. Specifically, it provides a vehicle for answering the question of why and why then, was the policy to establish NAATI developed and actioned. The framework is suited to an examination of the events in a necessarily simplified but nevertheless detailed and realistic context which sees the interaction of many players, competing policy alternatives and party-political overlays, in other words it is a more genuine reproduction of the forces at play in real life during the creation and implementation of policy. Finally, the framework, as I have indicated above, is also more suited to the agenda setting and problem-framing elements of the policy process which are germane to the research questions.

2.9.2 The Multiple Streams Framework (MSF)

John Kingdon (1984; 1995; 2001; 2003; 2011) developed the MSF based upon the “Garbage Can Model” of organizational decision theory conceived by Cohen, March and Olsen (1972). Fig. 1 below is a pictorial representation of the MSF.

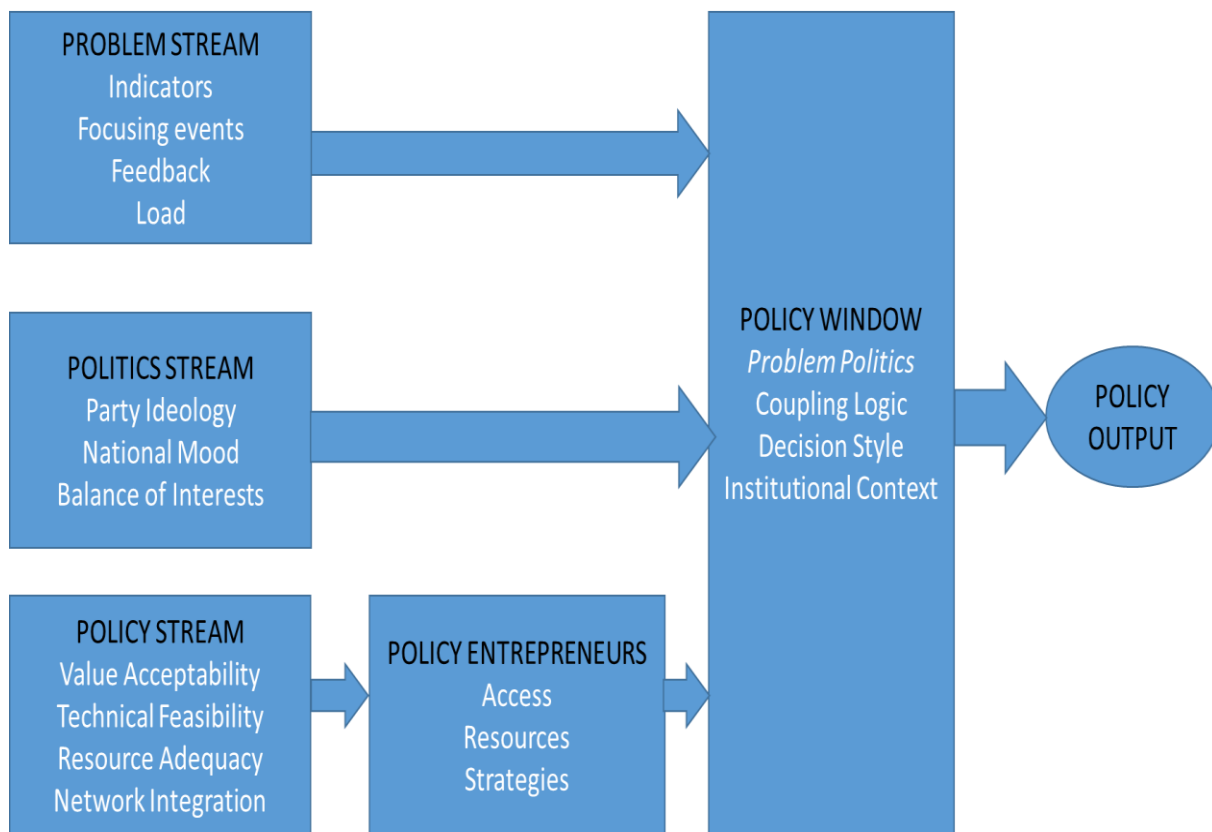


Fig. 1 The Multiple Streams Framework (adapted from C. Weible and Paul Sabatier (2014:37))

Essentially the framework views the policy process as consisting of three streams of actors and processes. The three streams, the problem stream, the politics stream and the policy stream are regarded as existing in parallel within the policy-making environment until they are ‘coupled’, that is, they join together when propitious circumstances called ‘policy windows’ open and ‘policy entrepreneurs’ are the actors who take advantage of the policy windows and place the idea on the decision-making agenda. A number of refinements or interpretations of this framework have been introduced into the discussion of it, especially by Zahariadis (2013, 2016) and I shall include these in later discussion.

The scope of the approach is very much grounded in the concept of ambiguity. Ambiguity is seen as a state whereby the situation is subject to a variety of interpretations or is, in some senses, unpredictable. It is based on the premise that policy making is “dynamic, irrational and unpredictable” (Davies, Nutley, & Walter, 2007) irrational in the sense that reason is not the only attribute brought to bear; and the policy making environment is “always ambiguous and complex” (Pollitt, 2008) While the focus of the framework is on actors and coupling streams, the framework is directed in application to system level considerations challenging assumptions of comprehensive rationality (Weible & Sabatier, 2014). “The multiple-streams perspective translates into a process in which individuals are viewed as less capable of choosing the issues they would like to solve and more concerned about addressing the multitude of problems that are thrust upon them, largely by factors beyond their control” (Zahariadis in (Sabatier, 1999)). Thus, the framework is

more suited to illuminating the agenda setting and specification of alternatives elements of the process (Kingdon, 1995). In short, what becomes worthy of consideration and in what form it is in. Kingdon (1995 p.xi) described the framework as attempting to answer the question “Why does an idea’s time come when it does?”. This coincides with the fundamental question which this thesis is asking in relation to the setting up of NAATI.

2.9.2.1 *The components of the MSF*

Referring to Fig. 1, I shall outline a number of features of the framework beginning with the three streams.

The Problems stream: this element of the framework considers the existence and nature of an issue which requires attention. It encompasses how such issues come to the attention of policy makers, how the policy makers learn that such an issue exists and why they are often defined as problems. It explores what the *indicators* are which elevate the issue so that it is noticed. These indicators are used to evaluate the magnitude of the issue and to assess changes occurring in the nature of the issue. The highlighting of an issue is often brought about by a *focusing event* which could be a system-wide event such as a natural disaster, a crisis, a powerful experience or a symbol. The effect of a focusing event is dissipated if it is not accompanied by some confirmatory *feedback* that the issue is still a live one. The feedback can be either formal such as during the course of established reporting or it could be informal as would be the case if there were a surge in complaints about the issue. The total *load* of issues on the policy makers is also a contributing factor to an issue fading away or getting greater attention. Kingdon also was at pains to point out the difference between what I have termed ‘issues’ (what he terms ‘conditions’) and problems. I have used the term issues because I feel that in Australian English the term ‘conditions’ does not allow the same pragmatic inferences as it does in American English. I prefer ‘issues’ because the term encompasses a more dynamic set of possibilities including the nuance that people disagree about what their nature is. Kingdon considers problems to be issues which have received sufficient attention for them to require some action, especially when considered in political terms. Not every issue becomes a problem and some problems are not really problems, but they are still introduced into the policy process because it suits some political objective for them to be regarded as such. This specific distinction between issues and problems also allows the policy makers to classify issues as characterising one problem instead of another, in other words to aid in ‘problem definition’ which affect the policy response; for example, the issue of interpreters could be classified as a problem of service provision or a problem of uptake of English classes for migrants. Implied in the discussion of this stream is that its ‘flow’ is not merely an issue of data collection on occurrence of issues but a purposeful analysis in light of the policy environment. The issue of ‘problem representation’ is something which has been developed further post Kingdon, specifically in emphasising that policy makers often do not explicitly refer to the problem at hand but proffer a policy for the amelioration of the implicit problem, in Bacchi’s (2009) terms a policy is a cultural product which requires the ‘problem’ to be articulated explicitly prior to the policy.

The Politics stream: separately from the issue of problem definition and problem recognition, events in the politics stream flow according to a different dynamic related to the presence of *party ideology* which uses its peculiar yardstick to admit or reject policy proposals. In addition, the politics stream is influenced by the *national mood*, something brought about by such things as pressure group campaigns, administrative, legislative or legislature changes and detected by such instruments as public opinion polls which monitor 'mood swings'. This perception of national mood is instrumental in promoting certain items on the agenda or retarding the progress of others or altogether eliminating some from consideration. The approach engendered by a consideration of mood and pressure group activity along with changes in government, influences how issues are seen and progress towards policy development. This kind of approach operates on a *balance of interests* litmus test in order to decide which issues will advance in the policy-making environment.

The Policy Stream: this stream was likened by Kingdon (1995) to a large number of policy ideas floating in a 'policy primeval soup'. These ideas are generated by groups, networks, communities, researchers and others and are subjected to varying degrees of scrutiny or even trialled by means of papers, hearings and conversations. Of the large number of extant policy ideas only a few receive serious consideration and those that do are selected using the criteria of *technical feasibility* and *value acceptability* in order to establish whether such ideas could actually be developed and whether they are of sufficient worth to pursue and there are *resources* to do it. The overlay of another criterion serves to further sort the ideas, this being whether the ideas are congruent with the values of the policy-makers and could be *integrated* into existing policies.

The above could be considered the structural elements of the framework. Even though there are dynamisms inherent to the elements, Kingdon's framework is based on the conjoining of these three streams at critical moments in time represented by the *policy window* through the agency of *policy entrepreneurs* this 'coupling' as Kingdon calls it, is the catalyst for the opening of the policy windows, opportunities for persons such as advocates and others to advance their solutions or present their problems. These windows are usually of short duration and often precipitated by some event, crisis or circumstance in the political stream or if a pressing problem from the problem stream requires a solution. At this point the **policy entrepreneurs**, which is a term encompassing a variety of people who are prepared to put in their effort in return for a policy which they prefer, push their particular solutions. The motivation for this investment of resources can be varied, from the altruistic to the instrumental. Entrepreneurs can also be part of the public service or be outside the sphere of government. Interest in the policy or the solution of some problem and the resources (of all types) to actually further their interest qualifies someone or some entity as a policy entrepreneur. They could also be elected officials, academics, lobbyists and so on.

From the standpoint of problems, entrepreneurs attempt to highlight the indicators of the problems and work to shaping the definition of the problem in a manner that it stands out; they might create or cause to happen some focusing event which will illustrate some aspect of the problem which interests them such as organizing petitions, complaints or questions in parliament. They might engage in activities designed to prepare the ground

for discussions, debates and other events which will publicize the problems and once the policy window is open they are ready with material which can quickly be injected into the process of policy consideration, they also suggest coupling of solutions to problems.

2.9.3 *The application of the MSF*

Since the time Kingdon formulated these ideas the framework has been tested or utilised in a large number of contexts. His original research was done in the policy-making areas of Health and Transport in the U.S. In the latest edition of *Theories of the Policy Process* (2014) the editors provide an update of the manner and instances in which each of the theoretical frameworks have been applied; a similar list is supplied with all previous editions. The list in this edition cites examples since 2003. The original presentation of the MSF by Kingdon, and following his own research, envisaged the applicability of the framework to national level systems (and policies). The 2014 edition departs from this by presenting the list of topics to which MSF has been applied, divided into the three levels of government: sub-national, national and international. There are 12 examples of application to sub-national governments, 17 applications to national governments and 8 to international (in the latter case it would be more precise to say supra-national entities such as the EU and UN). For the national level, which this thesis is concerned with, I shall illustrate with a few examples to provide the flavour of the variety (the full list is reproduced at Appendix B).

Avery (2004), for example, uses the MSF to investigate how the health infrastructure in the U.S. attempted to use the policy window, created by a fear of bioterrorism following the September 11, 2001 attacks, to obtain the resources necessary for modernisation. This work identifies significant problems arising from a mismatch between the goals of public health policy entrepreneurs and the policy window used to address them in defining bioterrorism as a security rather than a public health issue. The bioterrorism program proves a useful case study in how the goals of policy entrepreneurs can be displaced by attaching policy preferences to the wrong policy stream.

The MSF was used to explore the roles of political streams in the processes of shaping the national strategic plan for high-speed rail development in the U.S. (Chen, 2011). The research is concerned with finding out the reasons why high-speed rail was on the President's agenda at this time, the role which high-speed rail plays in the U.S. and how such a long-term project can be developed without being subjected to the vagaries of shifts in the political tide.

The foreign policy decision by the U.S. to launch Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2003 was analysed by Mazarr (2007) utilising the concepts from Kingdon's model of policy communities, focusing events and policy windows to investigate how the agenda was set for such a decision in order to test the productivity of such an approach in foreign policy decisions.

Chow (2014) examines the policymaking process of the Moral and National Education Curriculum in Hong Kong utilising the MSF to analyse how such a policy came to be constructed as a problem and to consider the proposed policy solutions in the context of

political forces. The research aims to identify possible coupling of these elements through the notions of policy entrepreneurs and policy windows.

The list of applications extends further to such topics as emissions trading policy, welfare reforms, tobacco control policy, mergers and acquisitions policy also more applications of the framework, not cited in the 2014 edition, in areas such as family studies, education (at various levels of administration), mandatory reporting in health care, system wide policy making in government, privatization (see for example, (Ackrill, Kay, & Zahariadis, 2013; Cohen-Vogel & McLendon, 2009; Odom-Forren & Hahn, 2006; N. Zahariadis, 1995)).

2.9.4 Variations and limitations

Observations have also been made by a variety of researchers regarding what are seen as shortcomings of the framework or areas requiring some refining. Suggestions have been made about the requirement for further development in the conditions which create windows; the consideration of analysts and researchers being apolitical putting too much distance between the ‘policy’ and the ‘politics’ streams; the expansion of the framework to include the entire policy process would entail more attention to the role of bureaucracies and courts in implementation and to the intergovernmental dimension in formulation and implementation of policy (Sabatier, 1991). The ‘problem stream’ would benefit from the addition of the figure of a ‘problem broker’, performing the role of ‘problem framing’; this, it is argued, would strengthen the analytical separation between the streams and allow for a more in-depth study of policy generation by making problem framing a separate process enabling the study of actors who frame problems without making policy suggestions (Knaggård, 2015). The issue as to how useful Kingdon’s framework would be outside the U.S. context in which it was conceived has been raised by Zahariadis (1995) as has the proposal of introducing a refinement to the politics stream by combining the three elements into one, labelled the “ideology of governing parties”. Subsequent to this observation Zahariadis (2004, 2005) himself applied the framework to policy areas in a number of countries. Another issue which could be explored is the role of policy windows in the ‘coupling’ of the streams. These observations will be used as avenues of inquiry in the application of the model to the data in this thesis.

2.10 Other theoretical considerations

While the MSF will provide the framework for the analysis of the data, there are other, broader contextual theoretical positions which will come into play in my analysis the first of which relates to the interaction (or perhaps the dichotomy) between policy as intent and policy as action. Lo Bianco (2008) usefully summarised this issue in his reflections on a conference on language planning which he attended and which he applied to language policy but which I believe has a wider application to policy in general:

The Conference, and the two texts referred to, recall the claims by Ball (1993, 1994) that policy comprises both a discursive element and a textual manifestation, i.e. *policy as discourse* and *policy as text*. Although referring specifically to schooling, Ball’s argument

is relevant here: 'Policy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended ... Policies are crude and simple. Practice is sophisticated, contingent, complex and unstable,' (Ball, 1993: 10).

This notion can usefully be extended further, in particular the connection between the intentions declared in statements made by authoritative bodies on the one hand, and existing social practices and attitudes on the other (Lo Bianco, 1999; Lo Bianco & Wickert, 2001). In this way we can view policy as an ensemble of activities, some of which are *textual* (laws, reports, authorisations), others of which are *discursive* (speeches, radio debates), while still others involve the *public performance* of behaviours that powerful individuals or institutions hold up as models to be followed. In the analysis which follows each of these, text, discourse and policy performance, is applied to three levels of policy activity noted by Davis (1994), *the intended*, *the enacted* and *the experienced* ((Lo Bianco, 2008) p.157. Original references).

These distinctions will be apparent in my analysis as a useful supplementary analytical tool to follow the vagaries of a nascent policy.

The second broad area which will be used in the analysis of the data, especially in relation to the creation of NAATI and to some extent the actions of NAATI in the first five years of its existence, is the theoretical position on the role of the interpreter/translator, especially in the Australian context. This area is fraught with pitfalls as the correct approach requires a synchronic analysis of the theoretical parameters however, there are many difficulties involved in establishing the position at any point in time as the field is 'immature' and has developed in an uncoordinated fashion in different parts of the world at different times and for different reasons. At the time, pronouncements on interpreters, including assumptions driving policy, were rooted in the concept of the interpreter and/or translator as a helper of someone with a deficit – the inability to speak English; there was almost no consideration of the English speaker as a client of the interpreter, nor was the profession seen by the general public as anything other than an exercise in speaking a LOTE (see for example Australia, Dept. of Immigration Survey Section 1973a; Ellard 1969).

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In general terms, this thesis can be described as an historical qualitative case study. It consists of an analysis of primary and secondary sources relating to the period from the time there was discussion about the need for a policy on translation and interpreting and pressure was applied in the political domain for such a policy to be developed until the first period of NAATI's existence. This covers the period from 1972 to 1983. These limits cannot be taken as specific points in time as the coalescing of ideas and the discussion of possibilities certainly had taken place before 1972. I have chosen this time frame because it covers the phases of development and implementation of the policy until a major change took place (a change which had been forecast) that being that the organization changed in its administrative arrangements and ownership. This strategy appears a convenient one given the impracticability of continuing the analysis for the forty years of NAATI's existence in the space allowed for the thesis.

The methodology needs to be consonant with the research questions which the work is attempting to answer, relating to the development of a policy in a particular context and at a particular time. This policy area was a new policy area at the time and this is important to the discussion, since there were few reference points world-wide and none in a similar context. Essentially, I am interested in seeing how the policy was initiated and how it evolved. Why was the policy work initiated at a particular time and the reasons why the process of policy making took the shape and proceeded at the pace at which it did? What were the conditions inherent to its creation? How was the reason for initiating the policy perceived at the time? Who were the actors who determined the formulation of the problem and why was it that government was the body which pursued the creation of the policy? What was the perception of the figure and role of an interpreter or translator at the time? What were the factors which shaped the development of the policy and its implementation up to 1983 (the point when NAATI became a company limited by guarantee, owned by the Federal, State and Territory governments)? What were the changes effected to the initial policy in this first period of NAATI's existence? What was the fit between the policy and the practice?

In the previous chapter I examined a number of different policy models in order to select a model which would be productive as an analytical tool when applied to the policy in question. The MSF, deals with the central research questions of this work, namely those related to the development of the policy and specifically related to the time before the policy was formally adopted. As we have seen, each framework considers the process from a particular perspective, for example, the Punctuated Equilibrium Framework is focused on changes in the policy process while the Narrative Policy Framework is focused on policy longevity and the way a policy is presented. The MSF is focused on the elucidation of agenda setting and problem framing, or as Kingdon (1995, xi) put it "Why does an idea's time come when it does?" and it considers policy making in conditions of

ambiguity. This approach is consonant with the context, events and progress of the policy work to professionalise the interpreting and translation provision in Australia. The concept of ambiguity is reflected in the manner in which the policy was approached, in the way it was explored and in its fashioning. The fact that it was what would now be termed a 'greenfield' endeavour explains, in part, the role of ambiguity in the process.

3.2 Data sample

The data for this study come from two main sources, archival material and interview responses. These are the primary sources. The secondary sources consist of writings about the issues covered; on occasions, these secondary sources also supply information backed by evidence which could be regarded as primary sources.

In deciding on the potential data sample, I chose to use the criteria of comprehensiveness, reliability and accessibility in order to establish the type of data, the sites of the data and the method of accessing them. Since the institution in question was a product of government decisions, in particular federal government decisions, it was indispensable that I should follow the archival trail within that level of government. The governments of the States and Territories also played a part in the decision-making, however the administrative arrangements to arrive at those decisions originated with the federal government and followed a process set up by the federal government indicating to me that any correspondence between the States and Territories would be in the archives of the federal government and any *intra*-State discussion would be raised at the joint Federal-Stated and Territories *fora* organised by the federal government. The criterion of accessibility also played a part in deciding not to delve in the State and Territories archives given the logistical issues which would ensue. As it has transpired, I travelled to Canberra on two occasions because the National Archives and NAATI's archives are located in Canberra. It is clear from the foregoing that the NAATI archives were also part of the potential data sample. The potential data sample also extends to deliberations of bodies superordinate to the government departments which have decision-making and veto power over departments. In this case the main federal department was that of Immigration (variously named during the period in question) and the superordinate bodies are the Prime Minister's Department and the Cabinet. The data was collected at different times over a period from November 2013 to January 2015.

The potential research population of interviewees runs to some sixteen individuals. These are constituted by the initial members of the Board (11) plus personnel with relevant administrative responsibilities over the relevant years. NAATI was set up 40 years ago and the choices for obtaining data to deal with the research questions were limited to the existence of hard copy data about the events and the discussions, supplemented by interviews with any relevant protagonists available and prepared to be interviewed. Nine members of the first NAATI Board are deceased (one person passed away since my interview) and one person whom I consider important to the period of the transition of the status of NAATI in 1982-1983, has not responded to my numerous attempts at contact.

The five others are former administrative heads of NAATI, at least one of whom is deceased and three others I have not been able to trace, leaving one interviewee in this category. The sample of interviewees numbers five, out of a potential target population of 16, due to the various circumstances indicated above.

The collection of primary data served the purpose of the compilation of the data sample that would form the basis of the analysis and discussion relevant to the research questions (see sec.1.7). Choices in regard to data that were focused or drawn upon were guided by the criteria indicated above.

3.2.1 Apparatus and tools for obtaining the data

3.2.1.1 Archival searches

The corpus of data is derived from actual archival material, in the main, files of the Department of Immigration (under various names), files from the Prime Minister's papers (Mr Malcolm Fraser), material which is in one sense archival, but is available or has been published, such as the minutes of the Conference of Federal, State and Territory Ministers of Immigration and the archival material held by NAATI. Archival searches were conducted either manually or digitally utilising in-house search engines in the respective institutions. The National Library of Australia and the State Library of Victoria were also utilised for accessing Government Gazettes and Hansard. Generally available online search resources such as Trove were also utilised.

3.2.1.2 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews (recorded at the discretion of interviewees) utilising a series of prepared questions which the interviewees had not previously seen; for the questions see Appendix C. The corpus of data does not contain transcripts of the interviews for reasons outlined above. During the course of this project and after I had conducted the interviews, for reasons of feasibility, the time-frame applicable to the investigation was reduced to a period up to the end of the first term of NAATI's existence, i.e., 1983. This reduction in the span of time which I was investigating diminished the value of the interviews since many of the questions referred to a time after 1983.

3.3 Sources

National Archives: files of relevant government departments pertaining to the relevant period; searches conducted using terms including 'NAATI, interpreting, interpreters, translation, translators, policy, COPQ, National Council of Interpreters and Translators, Interpreter training, translator training, Conference of State and Federal Ministers of Immigration' and many others as the need arose or as an issue was followed up. A list of government files consulted appears in Sources and Bibliographical Resources. These sources will be referenced using the citation method recommended by the National

Archives (Appendix D). A fuller list of the data types of all of the sources from these archives is given in sec. 3.6.

All existing NAATI archival material (see Sources and Bibliographical Resources), including NAATI-commissioned internal reports, minutes of meetings of the NAATI Board and its Committees, annual reports and press releases were examined.

The primary sources extend to published Government reports, reports of inquiries, Royal Commissions and similar and to the record of parliamentary debates in the Hansard of the House of Representatives and the Senate.

3.4 Human informants

As stated in 3.2 above, the potential target group of informants is constituted by the people who were instrumental in the development of the policy. I arranged interviews and completed the necessary disclosures and agreements. The informants were NAATI personnel, especially members of the Board and the executive at the relevant time. I interviewed one person who was on the COPQWP and later became a Board Member; a person who was present at the meeting which decided to set up the COPQWP and who also later became a Board Member; two other former Board Members and a former CEO.

Ethics clearance for this project was granted by the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee on 30 October 2013 (CF13/2949-2013001592). The approval guaranteed anonymity to the interviewees and allowed each to decide whether their interview would be recorded. For the purpose of citation or quoting verbatim, the Board members who were interviewed will be referred to as M1, M2, M3 and M4 and the CEO as C.

3.5 Data collection and organisation

The collection of the primary data was carried out by me through visits to the offices of NAATI, the National Archives of Australia and the offices of the National Office for Overseas Skills Recognition to access some COPQ material, the National Library of Australia, all in Canberra and the State Library of Victoria in Melbourne. The collection of the bulk of the data was done over the period of 3 years, from 2013 to 2015.

The interviews were conducted either at the home of the interviewee or a suitable public building chosen for convenience; two interviews were conducted via Skype; the interviews' duration was between 45 and 90 minutes. Four of the five informants consented to the interview being audio recorded, and notes were taken during the interviews. The recordings have not been fully transcribed, they were listened to three times and notes made of sections where the relevance of the data and the concurrent writing process warranted it; they are securely kept by the School of Languages, Literatures, Cultures and Linguistics of Monash University. The purpose of these interviews is to supplement the written primary sources with a view to confirming certain

aspects and providing some evidence which may not have found its way into formal records and which could add a further dimension to the data or identify further lines of enquiry. The interview type chosen, namely, the semi-structured interview (Chamberlayne, 2000; Wengraf, 2001) provided a practical method of dealing with people's recollections of events and details which occurred some forty years earlier and allowed for the inevitable digressions without undue interruptions to the flow of the information (Kvale, 1983; Grele, 1998; Chamberlayne, 2000; Wengraf, 2001). Although the interviews sought to elicit information regarding the preparation for NAATI's creation the answers tended to be more expansive for the period post its setting up and reflected the longer experience of the informants within that period.

3.6 Data analysis methods

The data have been analysed chronologically and subsequently classified into document types. I developed the list *post hoc* in order to provide a record of the variety of sources used and to convey a flavour of the text types involved, as follows:

DOCUMENT TYPE
Advertisement
Annual Report
Article – Academic journal or other publication- not newspaper
Briefing Note
Conference presentation/public speech
Hansard
Information item - Data from unrelated documents providing a piece of relevant information
Leaflet
Letter
Memo
Minutes of meetings
Newspaper Article
Note for file
Notes of meetings
Press Release
Report - Either specifically commissioned or simply a review of actions/processes etc.
Researcher summaries of larger docs
Submissions - Including Cabinet submissions and submissions to inquiries

Table 1- Archival Document Type

The search of the National Archives yielded 22 files of government documents for the period under consideration and responding to search terms as indicated above at 3.1. These 22 files contained, on average, 200 folios each, making a total of approximately 4400 folios which were examined. Not every folio of each file was deemed useful for this thesis. The files utilised, in file number order, are provided in the section Sources and Bibliographical Resources.

All the folios deemed useful are presented in the following table in chronological order, with my description/summary of the contents in order to trace the government processes. The data type is reported in the second column with the number of pages where relevant.

Document description	Type
26 September 1973 article from the London Times “Interpreters need much more than languages”.	<i>Newspaper article</i>
10 October 1973 Dept. Survey of Interpreting and Translating needs in the Community tabled in Parliament.	<i>Survey 200pp</i>
9 November 1973 Report of the Meeting of Ministers of Immigration, Adelaide.	<i>Report 24pp</i>
26 November 1973 Letter from Minister Grassby to Myers, chair of COPQ (pink copy only), confirming his wish for COPQ to “establish standards” in I & T.	<i>Letter 3pp</i>
29 November 1973 letter from G.C. Watson (for Armstrong- Immi Sec.) to the Minister reporting on the 22 November meeting of the Immigration Advisory Council Committee on Interpreting Needs– the attachment is “A survey of professional interpreter services in hospitals (Mental Health in Australia)” by the standing committee for the mental health of migrants which was a standing committee of the New South Wales Association for Mental Health.	<i>Letter 3pp+ Attachment - Article 5pp</i>
File number A446 1974/75219 discussion at COPQ re job of developing a profession at the meeting of 12 December 1973 Item 6 page 6/1 and page 6/2.	<i>Minutes (extract) 2pp</i>
December 1973 Department of Foreign Affairs set up a Language Training Agency	<i>Info item</i>
2 January 1974 letter from Myers to Grassby. Response to 26/11 letter agreeing to go ahead.	<i>Letter 2pp</i>
11 February 1974 letter from Myers (COPQ) to Mr R. E. Armstrong Sec of immigration about the meeting of COPQ of 25 February 1974 plus list of attendees (item number 6 – the profession of Interpreting – was a minute of COPQ’s 49 th meeting held on 12 December 1973 in Canberra – Watson was asked to attend)	<i>Letter 2pp</i>
25 February 1974 minutes of the COPQ meeting of this date attended by 34 “guests” where the Minister’s request was discussed and the Working Party on Interpreting was formed.	<i>Minutes 17pp</i>
28 February 1974 minister answers letter of 2 January 74 saying that he commends his approach and will be examining temporary solutions along the lines indicated.	<i>Letter 2pp</i>
4 March 1974 attempts to find info re interpreters in Europe and letter by Ramsay of COPQ (8 February 74) – one answer from G. Davies delegate to UNESCO at the Australian Embassy in Paris to the Chief Migration Officer Mr M. F. Berman (presumably in Paris).	<i>Letter 1pp</i>

Suggestions to seek info from ESIT, Lille, ISIT. Mentions SFT AIIC, Pierre-François Caillé and FIT.	
18 March 1974 Ramsay also informed the 2 nd secretary (Immigration) at the Australian Embassy in Bern	<i>Info item</i>
5 April 1974 letter from COPQ to Secretary, Immigration inviting nominations to the working party (an eight-member working party). (Includes terms of reference for working party). Also says that the COPQ has accepted the recommendations of the February 25 discussions about the working party.	<i>Letter 1p</i>
19 April 1974 Armstrong nominates G. C. Watson, Garrick, Strauss, Sargent, Kiriloff, Stransky, Lewis (Victorian Interpreters Association).	<i>Letter 1p</i>
26 April 1974 letter Watson to Kiddle about representation on working party (including information about the 1 st meeting of working party on 10 May).	<i>Letter 1p</i>
29 May 1974 Kiriloff sends Mulcahy his view of levels.	<i>Letter 2p</i>
29 May 1974 Note for file by K. Kern. Summary of arguments for a national approach to testing and accreditation	<i>Note for file 1p</i>
1 st meeting of working party 10 May 1974 Melbourne	<i>Info item</i>
2 nd meeting 31 May 1974 Canberra	<i>Info item</i>
3 rd meeting 21 June 1974 Melbourne (Watson and Poberay)	<i>Info item</i>
4 th meeting 2 and 3 August 1974 Sydney (Watson and Poberay)	<i>Info item</i>
22 November 1974 (folio 5) from Federal Minister Clyde Cameron to Murray Byrne (Victorian Minister of Immigration) – sent also to the New South Wales Minister. Tells him that funds are available for 1975 full-time courses in interpreting translating at RMIT (Greek, Serbo-Croatian,), Canberra college of advanced education (Italian and Spanish), New South Wales Institute of languages (short courses in Arabic Greek Italian Serbo-Croatian Spanish and Turkish). This letter refers to the meeting of the migrant task force in Canberra on the 21 st and 22 nd of February 1974 – “in the interests of the migrants in our community”.	<i>Letter 2pp</i>
24 March 1975 (Folios 29) note to the Minister from L. H. Mead, Chief Migration Officer, Qualifications and Employment Section noting that COPQ had taken the running in setting up the Council and suggested members of the board and objectives.	<i>Letter 1p</i>
4 April 1975 (Folio 47) briefing note for the Minister for (4/4/75) Conference of Ministers for immigration. Said that the Council was recommended to be set up under Labour and Immigration but could be set up also under Education Social Security or Special Minister of state. Example of other bodies cited as using the model of being responsible to 7 ministers: Australian Council for awards in advanced education, Australian Council of Educational Research, standing committees such as the Australian Agricultural, Fisheries and Forestry Councils. Asks him to propose the Council be	<i>Briefing note 3pp</i>

responsible to the Conference of Federal and State Ministers for Immigration.	
Folio 48 (appeared to be minutes of the conference of state ministers in Perth on 4 April 1975). Agenda item 1 – the states say they want each a representative on the Council; the response from the federal government was negative, they should nominate for one of three “community representatives”	<i>Minutes 1p</i>
Folio 64- news release from Clyde Cameron IMM16/75 4/4/75 “the Conference has decided to establish the National Council on Interpreting and Translating”.	<i>Press Release 1p</i>
9 May 1975 Letter from Mead, Chief Migration Officer, to Ass. Sec. Selection and Review on discussions with the PSB re interpreting and translating.	<i>Letter 2pp</i>
29th of May 1975 Peter Wilensky (Sec Department of Immigration) writes to the regional director Adelaide and mentions the Council, in view of the Conference in Adelaide of 13 and 14 June. He notes the fact that the creation of a Council was publicly announced in Perth by the ministers on 4 April 75 and the establishment approved in January 1975.	<i>Letter 2pp</i>
13 June 1975 Leaflet announcing the Interpreter Service Action Conference in Adelaide 13 and 14 June 1975	<i>Leaflet 1p</i>
24 June 1975 Note for file by L.H. Mead Chief Migration Officer summarising the history of the actions re I & T.	<i>Note for file 1p</i>
Folios 52 to 56- 4 July 1975 George Strauss, Lorna Kempner, Leo Bramson and Mrs J Van Huffle nominated to the Council.	<i>Info item</i>
31 October 1975 letter from James McClelland, Minister for Labour and Immigration to Gough Whitlam (PM) saying he intends to establish a National Council and gives names. Opinion sought to see if it required Cabinet approval and the conclusion was in the negative since it is not a statutory office	<i>Letter 2pp</i>
24 November 75 letter from Menadue, Sec. PM’s Department to the Secretary Department of Labour and Immigration stating that due to the caretaker government the setting up of the Council would need to wait until after the election.	<i>Letter 1p</i>
16 January 1976 File note indicating steps taken as per above letter of 24 November 1975	<i>Note for file 1p</i>
28 January 1976 Premiers’ conference briefing notes received 5 February 1976 re National Council on Interpreting and Translating	<i>Briefing notes</i>
4 February 1976 (Fraser papers M1268 folio 150) news release by McKellar (IEA 8/76) “cuts within the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs will save \$854,800 this financial year”.	<i>News Release</i>
24 February 1976 Note for the Minister regarding Bland and Combs reports	<i>Info item</i>
early 1976 File A1209 1979/998 Part 1 shows a constant interest by Fraser to get the graduates of courses employed and more	<i>File- multiple PP</i>

interpreters in the public service. It involved the Ministers for Education (J. L. Carrick) Immigration (McKellar) Department of Employment and Industrial Relations and the Public Service Board even in the face of staff ceilings and public service reductions (It also states that employed translators and interpreters ought to be trained).	
18 February 1976 Hansard paper 34 House of Representatives. Question without notice by Innis to McKellar: Why have courses shut down?	<i>Hansard entry</i>
March 76 , it was said that “immediate and desirable action would be to implement proposals for the creation of a Council on interpreting and translating”	<i>Info item</i>
6 March 1976 RMIT course advertisement “The Age” Melbourne.	<i>Advertisement</i>
16 March 1976 letter from Minister Street (Employment and Industrial Relations) to Fraser (PM) states will only give NEAT allowance to I&T course students if there is a demand for the skills. Also, asks what is the demand going to be? (Including for State Governments). Gives go-ahead for NEAT but each individual will be assessed as to eligibility. Also states: Why are they training people for jobs which are “exclusively” interpreting and translating when “there is a clear preference, both in the public and private sectors, for employees having the ability to interpret and translate as incidental skills”.	<i>Letter 3pp</i>
18 March 1976 letter from G. A. Cole, Secretary DIMEA to the PM’s Secretary (Menadue) saying the Council is under consideration but it will be some time before progress is made. Also, a note on 25 th of March saying do not get the PM to write to McKellar wait for recommendation of working party recently established (Interdepartmental Working Party on Interpreters/Translators)	<i>Letter 5pp</i>
19 March 1976 Minutes of the first meeting of the above “working party to establish needs for interpreting/translating services in government employment and the community generally”. Departments involved Public Service Board, Prime Minister’s, Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Employment and Industrial Relations, Social Security, Education, Health, Attorney General’s (first met on 13 May 1976) (see comments on page 4 especially).	<i>Minutes + Attachments 17pp</i>
15 May 1976 Canberra Times article “CCAE linguists unsuitable for work: Street”. Included a statement by CCAE that did not want the course as it had caused nothing but trouble.	<i>Newspaper Article</i>
28 May 1976 Resolution of the IDWP through the Public Service Board conduct a “survey of interpreting/translating needs in the Australian public service and the Commonwealth statutory authorities”	<i>Minutes 3pp</i>
29 May 1976 Newspaper articles (SMH and Daily Telegraph) regarding restoration of TIS 24 hr service.	<i>Newspaper Articles</i>

1 June 1976 2 nd meeting of IDWP. Minutes say that “the establishment of the National Council on interpreting and translating has been affected by the change of government last year, it was currently under active consideration by its minister who was anxious that the concept of a regulatory body should not be abandoned although consideration had been deferred until the ARC has reported. The matter has also been discussed at a recent meeting of the state ministers for immigration when the need for such a body was endorsed”	<i>Minutes 3pp</i>
14 June 1976 PM writes to McKellar (Ellicott acting) regarding a response to the Administrative Review Committee (ARC) report	<i>Letter 1p</i>
1 July 1976. The working party now seems to be called “Interdepartmental Working Party on interpreting/translating”	<i>Info item</i>
5 July 1976 Cabinet Minute asks Immigration to submit proposal for NAATI – Decision #1093-5 July 1976. Also, Cabinet MOG Committee Minute 11 November 1976 (Decision # 1802) refers.	<i>Minute 2p</i>
9 July 1976 McKellar responds (to 14 June PM’s memo) and argues against the abandonment of the Council as recommended by the ARC.	<i>Letter 2pp</i>
5 August 1976. Report of a phone call from Mrs Lozzi-Cuthbertson, executive officer ethnic affairs division New South Wales Premier’s department in which she enquires of the PM’s office, in light of the IDWP (above), what had happened to the idea of a National Council. She was told that this was with the Immigration Minister and the working party was not directed at considering the Council.	<i>Info item</i>
24 August 1976 Sydney Morning Herald article re lack of I&T services (Zubrzycki)	<i>Newspaper Article</i>
23 October 1976 Melbourne Herald -Ministers’ agreement to set up Council	<i>Newspaper Article</i>
23 October 1976 Melbourne Sun- Ministers’ agreement to set up Council	<i>Newspaper Article</i>
23 October 1976 Daily Telegraph - Ministers’ agreement to set up Council	<i>Newspaper Article</i>
25 October 1976 Canberra Times - Ministers’ agreement to set up Council	<i>Newspaper Article</i>
3 November 1976 PSB letter outlining the new classification structure for translators: grades 1 to 5 (salaries distinguish between level I and levels 2 to 5)	<i>Letter 1p</i>
16 November 1976 personnel bulletin of the Department of Prime Minister and cabinet. Issue 1976/56. Asks for volunteers for a proposed departmental foreign-language scanning service whereby volunteers scan letters to the PM “to ascertain if their subject matter is of an urgent nature” – they then would be sent to Immigration for full translation, this system is necessary because Immigration translation is slow.	<i>Bulletin</i>

19 November 1976 opinion of the Department of Education regarding the cabinet decision 1812 (MOG)	<i>Letter 1p</i>
28 November 1976 Immigration Minister's press release IEA 60/76 announces establishment of "New Interpreter Authority"	<i>Press Release</i>
1 December 1976 Sydney Morning Herald "A national accrediting body for interpreters and translators will be set up early next year by the Federal Government".	<i>Newspaper Article</i>
14 December 1976 Fraser writes to the head of the Public Service Board Sir Alan Cooley saying that the Interdepartmental Working Party had not done much work and that he expected more.	<i>Info item</i>
14 December 1976 PM's department note for file at folio 33 records Cabinet's decision 1093 of 5 July 1976 where the Immigration Minister was formally advised that if he wanted to establish a National Council he should forward a submission to Cabinet for that purpose.	<i>Note for File 1p</i>
21 December 1976 at folio 39 note for file re-nominees for NAATI	<i>Note for File 1p</i>
13 January 1977 progress report of working party to Mr Taylor (?), States inter-alia: (under 'accreditation') "this matter to be left in the hands of the recently established National Council on interpreting and translating". (Signed L. V. Lisle – Public Service Board) (it appears in the Interdepartmental Working Party report).	<i>Info item</i>
24 January 1977 New South Wales government advertisement for interpreter positions for its soon to be created "community interpreter and information service"	<i>Advertisement</i>
16 February 1977 letter from the Public Service Board to the PM's department secretary attaching the report of the working party (but there is no copy of the report on the file)	<i>Letter 1p</i>
22 February 1977 Hansard House of Representatives page 265 indicates the PM tabling the report of the IDWP. Hansard Senate 22 February 1977 page 225, report presented to the Senate.	<i>Hansard</i>
6 May 1977 South Australian Premier (Corcoran) In his response to the PM on the IDWP report says he is concerned that NAATI has not come about.	<i>Letter 2p</i>
10 May 1977 Canberra Times "language body to be set up" by Ross Andrews reporting on an address by McKellar on 9 May 77 (actually says NAATI)	<i>Newspaper Article</i>
26 May 1977 response from Victoria to the IDWP report states inter-alia: "the establishment of NAATI was seen by the State working party as being essential for the successful development and operation of interpreting and translating services in Australia"	<i>Letter 3pp</i>
28 June 1977 McKellar writes to Fraser saying he is going to do it! And Fraser approves on 12 September 1977 .	<i>Letter 1p</i>
12 September 1980 states that NAATI members' appointments were extended from 14 September 1980 to 14 September 1981 (it says it applies to all members of NAATI). (Letter to M2 from Minister)	<i>Letter 1p</i>

15 November 1981 Letters re the inclusion of Deaf and Indigenous languages in NAATI (File A1209 1976/2738 Part 2)	<i>Letters 4pp</i>
31 December 1982 letter to M2 from the executive officer of NAATI – “at this stage of the devolution of NAATI has been postponed to 30 June 1983”. New body started on 1 July 1983.	<i>Letter 1p</i>

Table 2- NAA document description and type

3.7 Nature and organisation of the National Archives material

Government files during the period of time under consideration consisted of a robust, manila-type folder whose front cover contained the file number and title and a grid with spaces for the recording of the movements of the file, as well as a security classification. As Public Service files, these were generally classified as “Confidential”. The movements of the file were centrally recorded in a registry which could be consulted in order to find a file whose title was known or whose number was known. The system relied on scrupulous and meticulous record keeping by the registry and by each officer who handled the file at any given time consistently entering their name, title and last folio number on the space provided in the front of the file. Folios were numbered *seriatim* with the last folio uppermost. Some folios have also deteriorated because of the quality of the paper or of the copy on file. Copies from other files bear the file number of the original file. Annotations to folios are in handwriting which is, on occasions, difficult to decipher (the files are listed in the section Sources and Bibliographical Resources).

Access to these files at the National Archives is in person only except if one wishes to order via email, copies of the whole file. The latter option was discarded because of its expense and inefficiency as not all folios in a file were relevant. Access is by prearranged appointment in the reading room at the National Archives. Copying of individual folios or portions of a file can be organised during this period of access or permission can be sought to photograph the relevant folios. I adopted the latter approach as the cost of a photocopy of a single folio was prohibitive given the total number of folios to be copied.

The list of documents given in Table 2 above and the list of National Archives Files consulted (see Sources and Bibliographical Resources) also contain information, where available and where applicable, as to the sender and receiver of the communication, the level of authority which they commanded and the purpose of the document

3.8 Analysis of the documents

In analysing the documents, including the selection of specific documents from the files and from the archives, judgements were made in terms of their evidentiary value and the relevance of the content to the policy focus of the thesis. All data in the files and in the archives, were examined at a general level and chosen data was subjected to close examination. The classification of data was not contemporaneous with the choice of data.

The analysis focuses on the elements of the theoretical framework chosen for this purpose.

In the course of the consideration of documents and of the interviews, a variety of other methods of analysis are employed ranging from frame analysis (identifying specific boundaries of events or phases of events) to hermeneutical analysis (seeing the significance of an event in its historical, social, cultural context) and extending to discourse analysis when it becomes necessary to identify patterns in the ongoing flow of communication between several entities.

Although the methodology described above cannot guarantee absolute comprehensiveness of coverage of documentation about NAATI's creation, I have ensured that data collected represents that which is available. In one instance, the material which could be relevant to this enquiry is still subject to 'cabinet confidentiality' and not available for consultation. The sources examined for this thesis, namely the National Archives, the NAATI archives and the successor body to COPQ are central to the topic and in the case of the National Archives, possess powerful search mechanisms which provide a sufficient level of confidence that whatever might be missing from the records is minimal.

Another source of possible concern is the number of persons interviewed. I have described above, in sec.3.2.1.2, the realities governing the number and category of human informants.

An overarching framework for the analysis is provided by theoretical constructs emanating from the research on policy process, specifically the MSF. The events and activities which occurred in the relevant time-frame are submitted to analysis through the lens of a theoretical framework of the policy process in order to reveal elements which are generalizable. This provides a construct for the understanding of the nature of the process and the reasons why the particular process developed in the manner in which it did. The methodology outlined above is designed specifically to address the research questions in that the data collection and classification dovetail with the framework for analysis. The former providing precise indications of events, relationships, players, situations and relevant statistics while the latter represents a way of actually exploring how the data interact to achieve an outcome or outcomes, which in this case is at the macro level, a policy and at the micro level, a series of negotiations carried out over a lengthy period to achieve that same aim. The analysis also reveals the 'apparatus' of government processes.

3.9 Application of the MSF to the data sample and research questions

The essence of the MSF and indeed the assumption of the current theories of the policy process is that the process is an open system, not having any well-defined beginning or end. When it comes to applying the framework, which characterises the multiple streams

approach, a decision has to be made about the starting point of the considerations. I apply the framework to the more well-defined, if not formal, progress towards the setting up of NAATI.

Chronologically this spans the period from the setting up of the COPQWP to the actual announcement that NAATI had been set up. This approximates the period from November 1973 to September 1977. I say approximates because the official record of events is unable to pinpoint, by definition, the actual genesis of ideas, limiting itself to formal approvals or formal actions designed, in general, to inform the wider public. I also consider the period September 1977 to 1 July 1983, when NAATI changed its institutional status. It is necessary to discuss the first period of NAATI's existence in order to analyse the consequences of its founding. This also sheds light on the policy process which led to its status at that time.

As indicated in Chapter 2, the MSF sees the process as constituted by five elements which are necessary for the creation of some policy output. They are envisaged as three streams, a problem stream, a politics stream and a policy stream which represent the 'primeval soup' of policy and which flow somewhat independently of each other (although this aspect of the model has been criticised). The fourth element is constituted by policy entrepreneurs, who as the label implies, are tuned in to the possibility of 'policy windows' opening, whereby they are able to introduce ideas and solutions to perceived problems to the policy makers thus increasing the chances of their solutions to the problem being adopted by the latter. This is a model which is characterised by fluidity in a number of senses: fluidity in that the named elements cannot really be seen as autonomous components having well-defined and formalized interaction protocols with the other elements; fluidity in that the boundaries of these elements are not so rigid as to preclude observations and considerations finding duplicates in more than one stream; and fluidity in that the whole process is characterised by a state of 'ambiguity'. The actions, the definitions of problems and the reasons these are considered such are 'ambiguous' in the sense that they are open to different interpretations by the different actors at different points of the process.

The attractiveness of this model for the analysis of the policy on the setting up of NAATI for me, is that it does cater for these realistic ambiguities present in any endeavour where human beings are involved and each has a different world view, a different political perspective and a different professional perspective. In this instance, the added complicating factor is the fact that one was dealing with a policy which has a significant element echoing the concept of 'language rights' many decades before this epithet was coined and in a milieu of unabashed monolingualism where even exposure to any language other than English was uncommon.

In this chapter I have described the methodology used in this study and the nature of the data, its collection, sources and organisation. In the chapter which follows, the theoretical framework will be applied to that portion of the data which concerns the problem stream and the politics stream.

Chapter 4 Precursor developments: wading into the streams

4.1 Introduction

The MSF treats the three streams, the Problem Stream, the Politics Stream and the Policy Stream as the elements which precede the advent of a Policy Window and which contribute to its creation; indeed, it is when these streams ‘couple’ or coalesce that there is more likelihood that a Policy Window comes about. These terms are endogenous to the MSF and carry the connotations which are outlined below. At the same time, they are carriers of the same level of ambiguity which characterised them in general conversations, indeed they are being used in the model to illustrate the policy process under conditions of ambiguity. (see also 2.6 *et passim*).

The weaker than expected participation of migrants in the life of the nation they were helping to build presented a problem and the search for an answer to that problem led to the process which I am investigating in order to establish the nature and timing of that process.

The importance of the concept of streams, introduced by Kingdon (1995) and well examined by many including Zahariadis (2016), encompasses the flow of ideas, views, suggestions, meanderings and obstacles as time moves forward and the connections, fortuitous or planned, which occur between the ideas. The streams metaphor would also seem to suggest that each stream is totally separate from the other streams and that the ‘coupling’ of the streams is the only time when there is a connection between them. This is not the case, at least in this instance, because the whole policy process occurred in a relatively specific and circumscribed context and many ‘actors’ were protagonists in more than one stream. Thus, the streams here will be expected to interact on more than one occasion.

In this chapter I shall draw on the data sample as described in the methodology chapter to illustrate and discuss the decision to make policy resulting in the establishment of NAATI and the developments which can be considered precursors to it. The data collected from primary sources spans the period from 1973 to 1986, however, secondary sources are utilised from the late 1950s as precursor developments are retraced. The MSF includes the concept of policy output which will be dealt with in chapter 6. The discussion of policy output will deal with the first six years of NAATI’s existence. i.e. from 1977 to 1983.

As indicated above, what follows is the discussion of events applying the MSF and it is the framework with which the data will be analysed. The interpretation of the data will also lead to discussion at various points as items of data can reveal multiple nuances which are relevant to many parts of the model.

4.2 The Problem Stream

The problem stream is that flow of ideas and events which are concerned with the issues at hand, they are dubbed problems because, from a policy point of view, as such, they are issues which require some attention involving, perhaps, a new or a change in policy by the authorities responsible. The problem stream is the locus of examination of issues in order to see whether they can be defined as problems and to determine their 'weight' so that they may be discarded or otherwise regarded as possibilities or contributions to a collection of issues which may require solutions or may be candidates for incorporation in future policies. It is in this stream that the issues are defined, manipulated or otherwise rearranged in order to make them more likely to be advanced as possible policies or policy components. Kingdon (1995) also regarded the definition of problems as containing a "perceptual, interpretive element" both on the part of the proponents of the problem and of the policy makers who come to learn about them. In the definition of problems, people are influenced by their values and beliefs and these guides their decisions including the categorisation of issues as belonging to this or that problem. In other words, they see the problem as it relates to their universe. This notion of problem often crosses into the political and the issue of the 'representation of a problem' has been regarded as 'cultural product' (see for example Bacchi (2009)) where the framing of a problem is seen not only as a process within policy development, as in the MSF, but also as a facet of governance with a cultural dimension which is shaped by a specific context (Shore and Wright (1997)).

As indicated in Ch.2, it is within the specific context of migration that I am applying this particular model. This stream started as a trickle when the settlement of migrants began to impact upon more and more elements of the host society, *mutatis mutandis* with the very characteristics of each migrant group. The attitudes towards migrants and their settlement in Australia were informed by the belief that, over time, migrants would assimilate to the point of meeting the facile ideal of becoming almost indistinguishable from the Anglo-Celtic population. This was probably a view held in good faith and in concert with the, by then, long-standing White Australia policy (1901-1958) (Jupp, 2007).

But in the late 1960s and early 1970s a number of phenomena occurred which made the above attitude progressively untenable in its assumption of inevitable assimilation and unworkable, in that the intended results were not materialising. After some two decades of mass migration the people (in the main from the Anglo-Celtic community and professional occupations) who had day-to-day contact with migrants and the migrants themselves, began to document the manner in which life for migrants was, in effect, different to life in the community at large. Many members of the service industries wrote about the 'problems' of migrants: doctors, social workers, mental health practitioners, workplace representatives, teachers and others (for example, Goding, 1973; Krupinski, Schaechter and Cade (1965)).

In addition, governments themselves, either through regular monitoring of their own policies or in response to some of the issues put to them by the groups mentioned above, conducted or commissioned their own enquiries. Some of these were focused specifically on interpreters or language services, others were inquiries which intended to cover the

whole population, but which produced special mentions or particular observations on matters dealing with migrants and communication (Australian Department of Immigration Survey Section 1973).

The collected sources provide an indication of the increasing concerns over the manner in which migrants were settling in Australia. It was one thing to settle Britons in Australia but quite another to settle Poles, Greeks or Italians. Some elements of government involvement in the settlement process had been put into place early in the piece, although it can be fairly said that this was a minimalist approach consistent with the preconception that 'settlement' was a spontaneous process occurring naturally, irrespective of the degree of government involvement and in which every migrant to these shores would engage willingly and with enthusiasm. This point of view was, of course, that of the hegemonic culture and was the only point of view accepted unquestioningly at the time of the beginning of mass migration, informed by assumptions about the philosophical stance of migrants who would be grateful, accepting and fervent in their wish to settle as quickly as possible and become indistinguishable from the Anglo-Celtic cultural base of Australia. The framing of a period at the beginning of a migrant's life in Australia as 'settlement' is itself both a recognition of something which was happening and a *de facto* policy platform which implied that this phenomenon had a finite duration. These assumptions have to a great extent endured and interpreting and translation services have always been placed in the bureaucracy under 'settlement services' even when these 'services' have been moved between departments, the most recent instance of this occurred in the last administrative rearrangement of the Department of Immigration which saw it become the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (in 2013) and 'settlement services' was moved to the Department of Social Services.

The MSF analyses the problem stream by considering it as consisting of a number of elements, these being *Indicators*, *Focusing events*, *Feedback* and *Load*. The label for this stream implies a singularity which is not reflected in the manner in which the model was envisaged by Kingdon (1995) or indeed the way in which it has been applied by various scholars. The "problem" in the problem stream is not a single problem but is to be seen as a general label for that which might require a solution; the subsets of the problem are what I have called 'issues' which Kingdon referred to as 'conditions'. The contents of the problem stream thus relate to a variety of issues which come to the attention of policy-makers and may not be relevant to any single or particular 'problem' and the elements of Indicators, Focusing events, Feedback and Load are the mechanisms by which some issues receive the required attention to elevate them to the level of problems or for them to be discarded or left as possible contenders for future attention.

4.2.1 Indicators

In the case at hand the issues presented themselves as indicators of problems mainly through the work of professionals in different fields. What follows is necessarily a synthesis of the main sources of indicators which became evident in the period spanning some twenty years up to the 1970s.

It is perhaps no surprise that the areas of society which produced observations and studies (see below) on the migrant population coincide with a theme which has continued ever since in the expression of needs for interpreters and translators. These were health and welfare, as well as education. Just as the health rubric includes perinatal health, mental health, preventative medicine and so on, so does the welfare rubric include such major areas as law, civil and human rights and workforce-related issues. It is apparent that the professions in these areas were the first which were motivated to study and report on their experiences with migrants and, as a consequence, initiated broader discussions in the community and 'political' pressure was applied to tackle some of the issues. This pattern further indicates that the professions which operate by means of one-on-one personal contact between those exercising them and their clients provide a unique opportunity to discover and document people's real needs and often in situations where trust has been built up over time between the service provider and the client; these cut across politically motivated or orchestrated views of what the real issues are, which are likely to appear in the popular press.

In the education field the concerns arose in terms of the progress of non-English speaking migrant children as far back as 1958 (Wyndham, 1958). Within the context of cultural differences and attitudes to education, the participation of parents in the education of the child, not only in the ability of the parents to literally help with school work but also the ability and necessity of the parents to participate in the school community and understand the philosophies and practices of the Australian education system, Alison Goding (1973) continued her long-standing advocacy for interpreting services in the education system (in Victoria) by arguing that not only was there a requirement for interpreters but that they should be trained interpreters. Goding worked in the Psychology and Guidance Branch of the Education Department in Melbourne and had experienced firsthand the problems of school children caused by the experience of migration

The parents were not participating in the education of their children nor were they joining in school activities in their education community. It was soon realised that the parents did not know what was expected of them as any communication from the school was in a language in which their competence was either absent or rudimentary; other pressures increased this lack of participation: shift work, overtime and attention required by other facets of the settlement process, not to mention attitudes and practices in the original cultural milieu which did not necessarily entail or see as appropriate the involvement of parents in the official education system of which their children were part. Goding (1973) synthesises the issues as follows:

Because of the stress of adapting to Australian conditions, many parents are anxious, depressed, irritable and unable to give children the emotional support they need. The mother's anxiety must often be communicated to the young child when he is taken to an Australian school for the first time. The parents' ignorance of our school system and lack of language make it impossible for them to help with homework or assist the child in working through the problems he faces at school. They often compare Australian schools unfavourably with

those in their own countries, regarding them over-permissive and inefficient. (pp.68-69)

In turn, the children could not rely on the 'educational' role of their parents for the same language competence reason and their own language competence in English took some time to develop and when it did, they, in their turn, faced more pressure to become the go-betweens in their parents' relationships with the school environment and other environments. This information was introduced in the 'problem stream' by the teachers, social workers and educational psychologists themselves, as indicators that these were issues to be resolved. It is to be noted that the problem was initially seen as a lack of conformity with the expected norms of behaviour of a parent in an Australian education setting consisting of formal participation in events and meetings called by the school, following the progress of the child fairly closely and participating in volunteer activities in the school, including reading to the children, taking turns at the school canteen and accompanying teachers on school excursions; later, other reasons were added to the mix including that some of the students' behaviours were consequences of home situations where the pressure on parents to work meant that some of the children were fending for themselves after school and before the parents returned home, thus having an impact on the educational outcomes of the children.

Analogous indicators form part of this stream through the role of doctors and various health specialists who reported a higher incidence of certain mental health issues such as depression and suicide ideation by migrants in general, specific migrant groups in particular and women most often. Prevalence of health conditions arising out of occupational health and safety in particular occupational groups where migrants were in the majority; typically, in areas of heavy manual labour or where repetitive movements had to be performed during the whole shift. The clinical issues were ascribed to isolation, lack of specific support services and difficulty in finding work (ACOSS 1970). It was mental health where the multi-faceted problems arising from migration gave rise to more comprehensive analysis from professionals. Minc (1972) observed that anxiety-producing situations to which migrants were subject arose from problems from three areas, integration, lack of support groups and restricted employability. Ellard (1969) advocated the employment of interpreters as an essential element in psychiatric assessments. Language was seen as an issue in mental breakdowns, especially for women, see for example Krupinski, Schaechter and Cade (1965). Kerr (1971) found that the health problems faced by migrants were not the result of prejudice but more an issue with provision of services which was lagging behind reality.

The unions identified a number of issues which had arisen in relation to the adaptation of migrants to a unionised industrial relations system and to workforce settings in general; persons coming from non-unionised and sometimes quasi feudal employer-employee relations could not readily take in the historical traditions of Anglo-Saxon unionism, especially in its detail and its values, resulting in low participation rates by migrants or participation without commitment stemming from this lack of understanding. All this accompanied by some exploitation of this lack of understanding by some employers in

terms of wages and conditions. Interest in the migrant in the workforce was also sustained during this period and specific conferences were held to discuss the issue, see for example Brennan (1973); the place of migrant workers in the work place and especially their relationship with unions had been canvassed in a number of *fora*, see for example Zangalis (1967) and Tsounis (1967).

The legal system documented indicators around the issue of contravention of the law through ignorance and assumptions made about in-existent similarities between the legal system in the countries of origin and the Australian legal system, leading to offences with concomitant litigation, expense and stigma. Jakubowicz and Buckley (1975) were the contributors of a report in the same family of reports for the Poverty Inquiry (see below), they looked at migrants and the legal system. Here the references to communication issues, interpreters and the effects of shortcomings in these on the migrant appear throughout the work.

In the area of welfare, there had been a general dearth of data about the welfare needs of the Australian population and of the migrant population within it. The social welfare professionals discovered instances of poverty and hardship in people unaware of the existence of a social welfare system and a host of other issues related to the lack of knowledge of structures to alleviate these hardships.

The work of Ronald Henderson, begun in the sixties, developed to the point that in August 1972 he was asked to head the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty. This Commission was initiated by the then Liberal Government of McMahon and the government which followed it, the Labor Government of Whitlam, expanded its scope asking it to look at specific areas of disadvantage such as educational disadvantage and specific aspects of poverty such as social/medical aspects and legal aspects. The Commission carried out and commissioned a number of research projects in the area and reported first in April 1975. (Commission of Enquiry into Poverty, 1975). The data from this Commission is vast and included specially commissioned pieces of research which fed into the totality of the Commission's work. Some of these were published separately. Alongside the report by Jakubowicz and Buckley (1975) it is relevant to mention the work by Cox and Martin (1975) which were two research reports published together, the first by Cox dealing with the role of the ethnic groups in migrant welfare and the second by Martin on the economic condition of migrants. Within this comprehensive picture of welfare needs the authors advocated the setting up of appropriate training courses for interpreters.

In the main body of the Henderson report (Henderson 1975), in the chapter dealing with migrants, observations are made about matters related to interpreting. In the section dealing with the need for information and communication Henderson indicated that:

All the submissions relating to migrants mentioned the problems and poverty that language difficulties caused such as isolated mothers, under-employed fathers, accidents in factories, educational problems for children, and difficulty in getting help when needed. Difficulties in communicating do not force migrants to learn English nor improve

integration, and the use of children and domestics as interpreters is not satisfactory in many cases. Migrants find the language barrier very real and there needs to be more than token recognition of this fact when providing for the special needs of migrants. (p.273)

He cited a submission by The Australian Council of Social Service (ACOSS) which pointed out that:

The key issue really behind the whole question of provision of interpreters is acknowledgment by the community at large that language is a complicated problem, people do not overcome it quickly, and ad hoc measures of meeting communication difficulties really are not adequate in most instances. (p.273)

In the section relating to Interpreters he acknowledged that

Teaching the English language and how Australian society works, however, will be only a part answer to the total problem of communication. Many migrants are non-English-speaking, and not all will be able to learn English. Many will prefer to deal with personal problems, or read, in a language other than English. While a program of immigration continues and for at least a generation thereafter, foreign language literature and interpreters will be an essential part of Australian society. The telephone interpreter services, operating in Sydney, Melbourne and Perth, indicate the level of demand. The Melbourne service received over 21 000 calls in its first year of operation. Migrant groups reported highly unsatisfactory interpreter facilities in relation to health, mental health, marriage guidance, family welfare, legal services, the police, the courts and employment. The need for interpreter services seems in little doubt. The main question is who should be responsible for providing them, and how. The evidence of this Commission supports the recommendations of the Victorian Migrant Task Force Committee, which suggested the establishment of interpreter pools. (p.274)

Henderson (1975) also agreed with the submission of The Australian Council of Social Service and the Australian Council for Overseas Aid to the inquiry which recommended training for interpreters both for top level conferences and for community work. Similar proposals had also been submitted by The Victorian Migrant Task Force Committee, which advocated a career structure for language officers within the Australian and State Government Public Services

The few observations and recommendations included in the excerpts above, illustrate not only the status of the debate about migrant services but are also a clear indication of the involvement and interest of many other organisations, in the main, community organisations, not-for-profit organisations, which had clearly captured the needs through their day-to-day work and which were intent on doing something about them. The ones

mentioned here are the Australian Council of Social Service and the Victorian Migrant Task Force Committee, but at the time others, such as the Good Neighbour Council, the Citizens' Advice Bureaux, the Centre for Urban Research and Action, the Clearing House on Migration Issues, were also contributing with their own research capacity to inform the debate on these topics.

All the institutions mentioned above and in others, the issues were not only presented as I have done above, in professional practice-related terms; each of the areas above also came to the conclusion that the issues they were highlighting were often an expression of a more generalised problem to do with communication. This was not a speculative *addendum* to their work but a conclusion reached after recognising that, for example, some issues in health were due to a lack of information available to migrants in a language they could comprehend and a lack of ability of doctors and patients, in this instance, to communicate adequately with each other. The professional groups often expressed their assessment of the inadequacy of the interpreting which was taking place and advocated for qualified and trained interpreters to be provided.

In the problem stream this 'activism' by professional groups did not initially concern itself with system-wide issues but each presented the problem in their own field, more as a matter of professional research into the issue. The professionals emphasised their clinical findings, indicating how this state of affairs made their work difficult if not impossible and how the outcomes of their interventions were not always optimal because of this. They then ventured to ascribe the causes of these issues to factors beyond their professional responsibilities but to systemic issues which related to the ability of the parties to communicate with each other.

It is worthy of note that, as Martin (1978) points out, the early writings on these issues tended to ascribe a reason for the 'problems' to the migrants themselves, but as time went on into the early 70s the cause of these problems was sheeted home to the society as a whole as is exemplified by this statement in the Jakubowicz and Buckley (1975) report for the Poverty Inquiry:

In the body of this report we are dealing with serious problems. They have often been labelled 'migrant problems', but this they are not. They are problems which are generated by Australian society and its consistent refusal to accept responsibility for certain results of an immigration program that was the basis of Australia's post-war affluence.

These professionals and others who wrote and spoke about the issues were also providing feedback to the system about its state, it therefore appears that alongside problem formulation and problem framing or perhaps as part of the latter, solutions were also proffered by those who wished the issues to be considered at a policy level. Evidence that the overall performance of the settlement policy was not up to requirements is also to be found in the fact that certain measures were taken either at the early stages of the emergence of the indicators or concurrently with them; I refer particularly to such

initiatives as the setting up of the Translation Unit in 1960, the COPQ in 1969 and the ETIS in 1973.

In considering the above as indicators in the MSF, the issue of multiple or overlapping classification of phenomena in terms of the framework becomes evident. It could be fairly argued that there are elements which could be considered *feedback* and that the sheer volume of attention created by the representations, inquiries and interest in these issues would certainly affect the total *load* produced by the problem stream (later sections of this chapter will discuss these two concepts). This observation points up the characteristics of this and all models as being able to illuminate a problem but with limitations.

4.2.2 *Focusing events*

In this particular instance, it may first appear that there were no particular *focusing events* as postulated by Kingdon (1995). The dramatic events and crises which can call attention to a problem, as focusing events are seen in the MSF, do not particularly bring to mind personal or even private crises. In this case, there was a succession of focusing events more related to individual tragedies and traumas suffered by the clients of the professional groups mentioned above and documented by the latter, rather than public events and crises. Nevertheless, when knowledge of these personal events and traumas was brought to the attention of the public they had a marked effect, to the extent that these were cited by the Minister himself as evidence for the line which the government was taking in relation to interpreters and translators. One example of this is in a press release dated 28 November 1976 by the then Minister, Michael MacKellar, titled “Minister welcomes the establishment of new interpreter authority” where he said *inter alia*:

Because lack of English prevented a deserted migrant mother from proving that she was a fit and proper person to care for her own child, he was taken from her and placed in a home. The woman suffered months of heartbreaking anguish before a social worker heard of her plight, secured an interpreter, and succeeded in having the child returned to her.

and further,

According to the Greek Welfare society, violent patients have been discharged from mental institutions to the extreme danger of the community because doctors have been unable to communicate with them (NAA A1209/1976/2738 Pt 1)

The characteristics of this phenomenon, specifically of a constant and sustained sequence of examples of the issues in the settlement of migrants, constituted a *focusing event* in terms of the MSF, in that it was system-wide and it could be construed as a crisis which was emotionally powerful and emblematic. Furthermore, the communication to the general public of these issues provided *feedback* to the policy makers that the issue was still a live one.

4.2.3 Feedback

Feedback in the MSF's problem stream has a number of facets. It is seen as a source of information on current programs as well as a confirmatory phenomenon about the issues raised being and remaining live issues, as indicated above under *focusing events*. Feedback in this instance encompasses both these facets. Feedback on current programs refers to the reactions to initiatives or policies extant during the period in question. These initiatives may or may not be perceived to be 'programs', in other words, from the perspective of those providing the feedback, they may be construed as individual actions by the policy makers and may not be seen as part of a bigger picture which a program would deal with: here the actions taken which impinge on the settlement of migrants. We have already considered above the incidental feedback provided by the indicators and the authors of that feedback. There are two more sources of feedback which were in operation at the relevant time, one being feedback from the migrants themselves, especially with the concomitant development of what were then called 'ethnic' organizations (a combination of social and welfare organizations) whose role was explored by Cox and Martin (1975) for the Henderson Poverty Inquiry. The role of these organisations as a channel of communication between the migrants and the policy-makers became more formalised with the creation of the Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia (FECCA) in 1978.

The second source of feedback in this stream was being provided by the gathering of information by government departments in the normal course of their activities, some of these were targeted data gathering operations others, whose genesis and scope was different, produced incidental, nevertheless valuable, feedback to the issue of settlement and interpreters and translators. Most interactions with migrants by the government departments and instrumentalities presented problems similar to those being experienced by other service providers outside the governments context (see the three instances cited below). Officers at the Taxation Department and at the Department of Social security, at the Motor Registration Branch and at Local Council Offices were aware of the same difficulties being experienced by the migrants; their feedback did not take the public form which was adopted by doctors, for example, but it followed a different definitional path governed by the bureaucracies in which these issues were observed. The formulation of the problem was, in these cases, characterised by much more specific concerns related to the particular organisation; the issues were thus investigated in this context. For instance, surveys were conducted in their own areas of responsibility, as the survey carried out by the Immigration Advisory Council (1973) on the departure of settlers from Australia, the survey of interpreting and translating needs in the community by the Immigration Department Survey Section (1973) or the report of the Migrant Task Force Committee of NSW (1973) into the immediate problems of migrants. In these types of cases it may be difficult to make categorical statements about the characterisation of these activities as belonging to the problem stream or the politics stream (this point will resurface in the discussion of the politics stream) as it is not possible in many cases to pinpoint the genesis of the activities of the bureaucracy which could determine whether the timing and interest in an issue precedes or follows indicators and feedback from the problem stream which prompts action in the politics stream. Furthermore, the actions of the bureaucracy should not necessarily be precluded from forming part of the problem

stream because this interest could be seen as an assessment (independent or otherwise) of the perceived problem or issue and an attempt to deal with the issue as relevant to the mission of the government service. This facet is also related to the concept of *load* which is central to the problem stream and can also serve as an indicator of whether they accepted it as a 'problem' (see also sec. 4.2.4 below). By way of illustration of the phenomenon of feedback from a body whose stated aim was not specifically settlement policy, the Inquiry into the Departure of Settlers from Australia by the Immigration Advisory Council (1973), for example, found that:

Communication problems still rank high as causes of departures and evidence suggests that the scarcity of translation and interpreter services, particularly in hospitals and courts of law, places a migrant at a considerable disadvantage and often contributes to his disillusionment, or even mental breakdown. Urgent remedial action is required. Apart from a need for more qualified interpreters in all fields, a particular need exists for medical interpreters to assist doctors in private practice and hospitals. Doctors and other medical staff should have the opportunity to learn more about the cultural backgrounds of migrants. In the case of medical students, this should take the form of an elective subject offered as part of their pre-clinical year. (p.9)

That an inquiry was initiated into the departure of settlers is a clear indication that this was concerning the policy-makers as Australia had instituted a number of schemes to attract migrants, at some cost to the government. The number of settlers leaving did not reflect positively on aspects of the program, including and especially settlement.

In its summary of recommendations, the report includes the need for translators so that material "in principal foreign languages" might be provided. The report's conclusion begins with a paragraph which provides an interesting insight into the manner in which migration was seen at the time:

Australia's immigration program was conceived and carried on with the agreement of all political parties as a vigorous policy of nation-building which later took into account the humanitarian needs of war-torn Europe. The introduction of new skills and the expansion of Australia's manpower resources have resulted in the development of our industrial base and potential, whilst the cultural variety and diverse social traditions of migrants have helped to build a new, stronger and culturally richer society. It has been an historic achievement, resulting from one of the greatest planned movements of population in modern times. Its benefits to Australia have been incalculable. (*ibid.* p.15)

4.2.4 Load

The manner in which the whole question of migrant settlement evolved constituted an element of *load* on the policy makers. For Kingdon (1995), the element of *load* in the

MSF, in the sense of the overall proportion of attention of the policy makers which the communication issues of migrants were commanding at the time, refers to a government-wide load. In this case, it would be easy to underestimate the total load because of its dispersion over a number of policy/government areas, the most common of which have been enumerated above. The fact that the migrant issue impinged on so many facets of government and so many departments, is a significant difference from other issues and even though this issue would not have been overwhelming in each relevant department, overall it imposed a significant load on the government as a whole. This goes some way to accounting for the effort, as a reaction to Kingdon's (1995) load, which the policy makers, especially Immigration, made to involve Education, The Prime Minister's department, the Attorney General's department, the Social Security department, the State governments and other instrumentalities such as COPQ in consultations and decision-making around the issue of the ability and necessity of migrants and the broader Australian community to be able to communicate with each other. It must be said that this was most often seen as a one directional process, 'helping' the migrants communicate with the rest. In the preceding sections examples have been provided of instances where communication breakdown and inability to access government services prompted calls to enable migrants to communicate with the rest of the community. This particular attitude has left indelible imprints on the consideration and nature of language services to this day.

The issue of interpreting and translating thus came to find itself in the problem stream, not simply as an issue, with all the characteristics which the MSF model ascribes to an issue, (Kingdon 1995) but as a policy solution since there was little discussion about the nature of interpreting or translation upon its appearance in the problem stream. Its mention by a great number of the actors, such as welfare services, courts, schools, limited itself to statements about the desirability of quality interpreting and translation but all made assumptions about what it was to interpret or translate. Thus, this issue was atypical in the sense that rather than competing for the attention of policy makers and being evaluated as an issue or a problem, it was regularly presented as a solution to other issues whose place in this stream seems to have been accepted automatically. For example, even from the first writings by doctors, having identified the problem as one of inability to communicate, they immediately proposed the employment of interpreters or the employment of better interpreters as a way of dealing with the problem. The usual or expected competition of one problem over another did not seem to materialise because interpreting and translating was embedded in a number of issues which met with little resistance in their acceptance as problems given that their nature was obvious and their frequency high; in fact, it was a solution applicable across the board.

The size and continuing nature of the migration program and the increasing number of source countries and cultures also rendered this load significant. The cultural mix of migrants was changing and making the issue before policy-makers more complex requiring more nuanced solutions. The fact that a sizeable portion of the population was having difficulty accessing and benefiting from the health, the legal, the social security systems and in general becoming part of the Australian community, constituted the problem. In the next section, I look at the politics stream to examine what part politics played in determining the nature and approaches to issue.

4.3 The Politics Stream

The MSF postulates a *politics stream* alongside the *problem stream* and the *policy stream*. This stream represents the political elements which become relevant to the formation of policy. The policy, it will be recalled, is public policy, hence the importance of underlying political considerations, influences and constraints relating to policy creation and policy implementation. The fact that we are dealing with public policy does not preclude the ‘contamination’ of the stream with small ‘p’ politics stemming from personal likes or dislikes and even personal feuds within the political establishment or between the political establishment and individuals or organisations outside it.

There are three elements of the politics stream which determine its nature and which interact to create a medium for the consideration of policies in relation to the political environment. The first is *party ideology* which uses its peculiar yardstick to admit or reject policy proposals. The second is the *national mood* which is a kind of feedback mechanism which politics will ignore at its peril. The national mood is a rather diaphanous concept and includes any event or anything that will create an impression in the minds of the politicians and guide them to choose one option over another. The national mood is created by a number of things including pressure group campaigns, administrative, legislative or other changes which are detected and analysed by a number of the public instruments including opinion polls. In a sense the national mood is a perception of what the population is thinking or feeling. As imprecise and woolly as this concept is, it is in fact instrumental in promoting certain items on the agenda and retarding the progress of others, even eliminating some from consideration. There are also instances where the national mood is changed by virtue of a number of events, for example, a general election, a natural disaster or a number of similar events occurring in close proximity. The idea of national mood relies upon the existence of certain mechanisms with which to discern it. Therefore, it relies not only on opinion polls but also on feedback mechanisms instituted by the political establishment which are apt to provide at least some data to back up the perception of the nature of this mood. The national mood can also be considered as an expression of collective ‘feelings’. The collective nature of these feelings can often be questioned, that is, the basis upon which politicians and others make pronouncements about the nature of the national mood is open to criticism especially from groups who feel that, whatever the national mood is, it does not reflect their point of view. The third element in the politics stream is the *balance of interests test* which essentially is a methodology for deciding which issues will advance in the policy-making environment. This element is another which presents difficulties for policymakers in that the interests themselves are often difficult to determine as is the notion of where the balance in these interests actually lies.

4.3.1 Party Ideology

In examining the issue of *party ideology* in the present case, one cannot simply refer to the situation as it was, either when a policy on interpreting and translating was contemplated or when it actually was enacted. Politics in Australia has been characterised by the existence of two main parties both of which are centrist parties one to the right of centre, the Liberals and the other to the left of centre, Labor. This situation persisted

throughout the period with which we are concerned in this thesis. The differences in ideology which may exist between these two parties have not necessarily been reflected by the manner in which they have approached the issue of migration and as a consequence the issue of interpreting and translating. That is not to say that their policies in this area have been exactly the same, there have been some considerable differences over the years, however, on the fundamental point that migration is for Australia a nation building issue, there has been no difference between the political forces. This bipartisan approach is reflected in the creation of certain policies and institutions by one political force and the continuation of them by the other one when there has been a change of government. The creation of the Good Neighbour Council the Emergency Telephone Interpreter Service and the Council on Overseas Professional Qualifications are cases in point. It is important to note that this confluence in what might be called party ideology did not necessarily extend to total agreement about funding levels, migrant quotas and more recently issues about asylum seekers. Each of these parties when they have come to power have made changes of their own and it can be argued that these were along ideological lines, nevertheless, there has been a general concurrence in terms of broad migration policy.

During the period between the late nineteen sixties and the early nineteen eighties, a number of significant events would have a lasting effect on the Australian political landscape with inevitable shifts in political ideology. The coming to power of the Labor party in December 1972, after 23 years of conservative (Liberal) governments, brought with it not only a raft of new policies but created a new national mood which was derived from the enthusiasm and willingness to challenge the *status quo* which the new government embarked upon. Changes in policy about conscription and the Vietnam war which had increased divisiveness in the population, opening a direct dialogue with China, providing free tertiary education, among the many initiatives, sanctioned the exploration of new possibilities. Other parts of the world were undergoing similar cultural and ideological change with the emancipation of minority groups, counter-culture movements, post-colonialism and a general groundswell of participatory fervour. In this context, shifting of the immigration policy towards multiculturalism was reflected in greater value being put on the contribution of the migration program and the recognition that 'community' need not equate with uniformity of cultural behaviours, this occurred despite a cut in the migration intake as a result of economic recession. Notwithstanding one of the most momentous events in the political history of Australia, specifically the dismissal of the Whitlam Labor government in November 1975, the new Liberal government continued along the path to multiculturalism and contributed specifically to considerations of migrant services by instituting the Galbally review among other initiatives. In 1978 the Liberal government established the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) which provides radio and television programs in many languages. By the late 1970s a quarter of the population of Australia was born overseas and the country had become a culturally diverse nation. The 1980s were characterised by Australia's change in outlook, embarking on the removal of tariffs on trade, the consequent deregulation of markets and the beginnings of globalization. The migration program peaked at 254,000 in 1988 and the range of source regions for migrants now included Asia, the Middle East,

Europe, South America and Africa – a result in part due to the non-discriminatory migration policy instituted in the 1970s.

In this quite complex and active period, the elements of political ideology which were present in the *politics stream* as far as the issue of interpreting and translating was concerned, can be gleaned from the available data.

The report of the Conference of Ministers of Immigration in Adelaide on 9 November 1973, relays part of the opening remarks by Mr Grassby, the Federal Minister for Immigration, as follows:

speaking personally and for the Australian government, he would like to emphasise the importance attached to the Conference of Ministers. He said that the agenda for the conference illustrates the wide range of responsibilities which come within the immigration portfolio. Immigration is not concerned simply with the entry to Australia of migrants but, rather, it covers a broad responsibility for the entire economic, social and personal well-being of all who have settled in this country and, indirectly for the well-being of the entire nation which they are helping to build. (Department of Immigration Australia, 1973)

This statement encapsulates one of the most significant differences between the approach to migration by Australia and many other countries which persists to this day. Until recently and only once before (around the time of Federation) Australia did not have a concept of 'guest worker'. Migration therefore has been seen as a commitment by the migrant and by the host country which is permanent. The structures of government and indeed the community in general has not regarded the figure of a migrant as that of an itinerant who happens to be in Australia at a particular time, therefore immigration does not become simply an issue of movement and settlement but a national characteristic and one of the building blocks of a nation (as indeed it has been called on numerous occasions). The community has, in general, and especially around this time, not reacted negatively to the government's initiatives to facilitate the settlement of migrants.

After the same meeting, in a letter addressed to Dr Myers, the then chair of COPQ, the Minister stated *inter alia*:

The Conference of Ministers for Immigration in Adelaide on 9 November discussed, amongst other matters, the problem of meeting interpreting and translating needs in the community.

Because of the wide dispersal of migrants throughout the community and the range of countries from which

they come, this is a problem that affects all levels of government in most industries. While the government's policy is directed towards encouraging migrants to learn English and providing facilities for them to do so in a variety of ways designed to meet their needs and learning capacities, the fact remains that difficulties in communication continue to be one of the major causes of misunderstanding between migrants and the community and hence one of the most serious obstacles to integration. The difficulties are probably most critical in health and legal areas but we have also all seen many instances of needless distress being caused to migrants in matters which would have seemed to be relatively unimportant if there had been no communication problem.

and further:

There has been widespread community interest in resolving the problem of meeting interpreting and translating needs in the community but to some extent this has been unco-ordinated. (NAA: A446 1974/75219) (the copy of this letter on file did not have the date on which it was sent, the context reveals that it would have been between the 9th and the 22nd of November 1973 -see also below)

At the COPQ meeting of 12/12/73 the Minister's request in the above letter was discussed at Item 6 - "The Profession of Interpreting" and Mr G.C. Watson, the First Assistant Secretary, Citizenship and Settlement Division of the Immigration Department reported that there was a great demand for "high standard consecutive interpreters in hospitals, police, courts and administration" among many other areas and that there was an urgency that steps should be taken immediately to begin training.

Mr G.C. Watson (usually referred to as Andy Watson) was a member of a number of key committees among which COPQ, the Immigration Advisory Council, its Committee on Community Relations; his role as a 'policy entrepreneur' will be taken up later. In this instance he was the person who conveyed the government's (and the Minister of Immigration's) ideology through his work on a number of bodies. The above documents also show the interest in training and quality of interpreters which forms part of the ideological elements of this issue.

An illustration of the resilience of the project which in turn is an indication of the political belief in it, is the fact that it survived a number of ministers, a change of government of unprecedented nature in the history of Australia and the deliberations of an expenditure review committee.

4.3.2 *National Mood*

Alongside and indeed intertwined with party ideology is a question of *national mood*. As indicated above, the effect of a change of government after 23 years provided a fertile environment for the blossoming of a national mood which would be utterly receptive to but also vocal about issues such as interpreting and translating services and more broadly about the problems of migrants. The concept of egalitarianism which has characterised Australian society since its colonial incarnation coupled with a growing concept of what it meant to be an Australian and an increasing distancing of the society from its British roots brought about not only by changes in political outlook but also by the changed demographics of Australia. If successive governments had any doubts about the reality of communication problems between migrants and the institutions of the country this was confirmed by two surveys carried out by the Immigration Department itself which attempted to identify and categorise needs in interpreting and translating (Australia Dept. of Immigration Survey, 1973a). The national mood then, after the election of the Whitlam government in 1972, was buoyant in the sense that there was a more acute realisation of an Australia more independent, more confident in making its way in the world. At the same time the voice of migrants was becoming more pronounced with a number of entities speaking on their behalf and also with a number of ethno-specific institutions making their own mark in presenting information to the governments about long-standing issues which required responses, if not solutions, these included the Greek Welfare Society and the Comitato Assistenza Italiani (CO.AS.IT). The Labor Government itself had created a number of entities for its own consultation with migrants. These included the state Migration Task Forces. Thus, taken together, all these events and structures provided the policymakers with clear indications of the national mood.

4.3.3 *Balance of interests*

In terms of the *balance of interests* test, the salient elements which might be called interests which had to be considered in the creation of a policy were represented by the urgency and persistence of the problems of communication which migrants were experiencing and had experienced, and a broader view of the issue related to the settlement of migrants and the desirability, indeed the policy, of their learning English versus the provision of interpreting and translating services. Other interests to be balanced were the electoral ‘weight’ of the votes of those most affected versus the voices of those who regarded migrant services as pandering to minorities and taking away resources from the majority.

The policy makers also had to contend with the balancing of interests of a policy which was system-wide. The provision of interpreting and translating services touched every department in the bureaucracy of government. Some were more interested than others in having a closer association with the policy in order to influence its development and implementation.

Even though there were never any doubts expressed by the Immigration Department about the need of this policy, when the idea was submitted, either on purpose or tangentially, to other departments or other instrumentalities, the results were not as linear.

Different organisations including Migrant Task Forces had made recommendations not so much about the setting up of an interpreter service, which was something they took for granted, but on its nature. At this point it attracted some comment from different sources. Within the bureaucracy of the Department of Immigration, even though the idea was supported, when it came to looking more closely at the persona of the interpreter and translator, some thought that there would never be a person working full-time as an interpreter but that this occupation would be grafted onto other duties which that person was performing. It is not clear whether this observation was dictated by fear of the financial resources which would be required for such a system to be taken from somewhere else, or whether it was a total underestimation of the need. Even when other suggestions were put forward such as to provide interpreting pools which could be shared across agencies which would undermine the previous argument, there was an inability to conceive of a service in a fully professional mode. This is rather surprising given that the ETIS had already been set up and all reports were positive about its operations and its usefulness. If there were fears or misgivings about the electoral popularity or otherwise of taking this step, this was not very obvious in the documents available. Once the government did announce its intention to set up a system of accreditation for interpreters and translators the reports in the newspapers tended to take a matter of fact approach, for example the headlines were as follows:

“Move to improve migrant services’ Canberra Times 25/10/76

“Migrants’ new deal planned” Melbourne Herald 23/10/76

Some included the news of the setting up of an accrediting body in reports about migrant intakes, for example:

“Migrant jobs may widen” Melbourne Sun 23/10/76

“Migrant intake to be increased this year” Daily Telegraph 23/10/76

Overall the attention given to this issue by the public seem to be minimal and only aroused if some particular event attracted the attention of the populace at large, for example when there was a cut back to the ETIS in Sydney, when it was restored, the Sydney Morning Herald carried the story that it had been reopened on a 24-hr basis (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 May 1976). At a conference at the University of New England titled Australia 2000: The Ethnic Impact, an eminent sociologist, Professor J. Zubrzycki had been vocal against the election pledges not fulfilled in the area of migration, including for interpreter and translator services (‘Migrants attack Govt over election pledge’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 August 1976). The debate about doing something about the quality of interpreters and translators seems to have been restricted to those who were either advocating for it and those who would have to make decisions about it and did not involve the general community. The question of balancing the interests of different sections of the community did not express itself in any overt manner as an ‘us against them’ affair but it was always couched in the terms of having discovered a gross disadvantage, the government was setting about to remedy the particular situation. Press releases from the various ministers about this topic continuously or consistently

stressed appalling situations which had arisen because of a lack of interpreters or a lack of competent interpreters who had done the particular job. The move to involve the community at large in a debate about interpreting and translating would, in my estimation, not have happened given that the general attitudes to government processes and decisions was quite different to what occurs in the present. I would go so far as to say that the general community was less engaged in individual issues than it is now and hence was prepared to let the government carry on. The interests of the States were clearly maintained as the letters sent to the Prime Minister in May 1977 indicate; in them the premiers expressed impatience at the fact that NAATI had not yet been created. In a political sense the issue of the balance of interests was never a prominent one because at this particular time 3 successive governments beginning with a Liberal one then a Labor one and then back to a Liberal one, had taken steps which were internally consistent and could be placed on a policy continuum which was based on similar assumptions about the role of the migration program, its nature and the necessity to have the population gaining equal access to government information and services.

4.4 The Policy Stream

The third stream in the MSF model is the *Policy Stream*, this was likened by Kingdon (1995) to a large number of policy ideas floating in a 'policy primeval soup'. The selection of ideas from the available possibilities is effected by using the criteria of *Technical Feasibility* and *Value Acceptability* in order to establish whether such ideas can actually be developed and whether they are of sufficient worth to pursue and there are adequate *Resources* to do it. Further, the ideas are sorted to establish whether these ideas are congruent with the values of the policy-makers and could be *Integrated* into existing policies. The ideas are generated by groups, networks, communities, researchers and others and are subjected to varying degrees of scrutiny or even trialled by means of papers, hearings and conversations. Of the large number of extant policy ideas only a few receive serious consideration and those that do are selected using the criteria. In this instance, it was assumed at the beginning of the policy considerations that a policy to provide high-quality interpreting and translating services to facilitate the connection of the migrant community to Australia's public institutions would be developed.

In terms of *value acceptability*, the ideas floating in the above 'primeval soup' were not so much whether interpreting or translating service provision was an option for policy development but whether *improved* (in all senses) interpreting and translating services were warranted. While the altruistic motive of full participation in the Australian society by all migrants, consistent with the values of the migration program, was the explicit and overarching reason for pursuing consideration of this issue, and there is no evidence to question this, it is quite likely that other motives were also operating. Among these, the value of removal of a source of complaints, the consolidation of existing efforts in this same area and an increased cooperation (and cost sharing) with States who had constitutional responsibility for law, health and education, the very areas in which there was greatest need of and discussion about interpreting and translating services.

In this case three broad approaches were adopted: the first was to engage community organisations to provide input into the perceived issues and solutions. Secondly a

reputable body (COPQ) was commissioned to provide a report on standards determination and setting and thirdly, the policy makers commissioned work utilising their own research resources to explore some aspects of the issue in order to inform the detail of the policy and provide data useful for the technical feasibility and resources required for the policy implementation. In what follows I shall use the collected data to discuss how these initiatives unfolded and the role they played in the policy stream.

4.4.1 Engaging community organisations for input.

The considerable number of instances where the difficulties in communication occurred when migrants interfaced with the broader Australian community and government services in particular, had been raised by a variety of actors and has been discussed under the section on the Problem Stream (sec 4.1). As far as the Policy Stream is concerned, the government was interested and open to receiving more up-to-date information the closer it apparently got to making decisions about solving some of these difficulties. To achieve this objective and as indicated earlier, the Whitlam government, and more specifically the then Immigration Minister, Al Grassby, in 1973 created Migrant Task Force Committees in each State which were expressly tasked with identifying the issues faced by migrants and covered such diverse areas as community education, interpreting and translating needs, migrant education and welfare, health, housing and legal services. The membership of these was drawn (as this example from the State of Victoria shows) from welfare bodies such as the Brotherhood of St. Lawrence, migrant organisations such as the Greek Welfare Society and CO.AS.IT, the director of State Immigration and was chaired by a State parliamentarian with a person from the Federal Immigration Department as an *ex officio* member. Even though these committees lasted a relatively short time given that Al Grassby was defeated in the May 1974 double-dissolution election, they took to their task with enthusiasm and vigour as the following excerpt from the report of the NSW Migrant Task Force Committee illustrates:

The Task Force holds strongly to the belief, expressed in Government Policy, that the role of Government is to raise “the quality of life” for all Australians. It sees social security as a right, not a privilege and access to the economic, social, educational and political life of the community as a major concern of Government. The Task Force is aware of structural imperfections in Australian society that generate situations of discrimination, poverty and neglect in some migrant communities. The Task Force feels that only by calmly identifying the problems, and recommending responses, and methods for these responses can the commitment to a better society be realised” (Migrant Task Force Committee New South Wales, 1973)

Other sources of information, mainly government entities and organisations regarded as further removed from the issues were providing relevant assessments of the situation. As early as 1968 a report on future immigration prospects to the Government by the Immigration Planning Council urged measures to be taken to reduce immigrants' disadvantages in social areas such as housing requirements, health services and social security benefits as a means of reducing departure rates. (Immigration Planning, 1968)

Alongside these reports, other more wide-ranging data collection efforts, not specifically targeting migrants, provided material relevant to the consideration of their situation, for example the National Survey of Income conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 1973 for the Inquiry into Poverty (Australian Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, 1976). The difference between receiving unsolicited complaints and suggested solutions from people with at least a measure of vested interests in what they were proposing and commissioning particular research or fact finding to inform policy development was evident in the manner in which the whole issue of settlement services and interpreting and translating provision was handled. The data presented earlier on various professional group highlighting the perceived problems is, in a sense, placed in the background by policy makers or advisers of policy makers and more value is placed on more ostensibly independent data gathering which is also closer to the decision point on the policy. This is a mechanism which also intersects with the political stream in that it protects somewhat the decisions of the policy makers when they can point to recent effort to investigate that the problem actually exists and what its nature is. It is also a method of subtly controlling, at least in part, the information which will be used to formulate a policy by being in control of the terms of reference and the appointment of persons to do the investigating. This interconnected web of actions fit clearly within the elements which are part of the MSF's Policy Stream; that is, they are directed to determining and substantiating the value acceptability, the technical feasibility, the resource adequacy and the integration of the 'new' policy into the network of extant policies, without however, an overt labelling of these fact finding efforts in MSF's terms, which might draw too much attention politically to various shortcomings of the projected solutions and might derail the whole project. This methodology gains in importance when controversial matters are being examined. In the case at hand, there was no controversy about the proposition that in order to improve communication and allow migrants to fully access the community services available within a stage of settlement in a new country, better interpreting and translating arrangements were necessary. Nevertheless, the well-trodden path of public policy development being a complex series of interactions between the public, the politicians and the bureaucracy advising the politicians was not abandoned in this case.

4.4.2 The Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications (COPQ)

The commissioning of COPQ to provide government with a report on the future structure of the translation and interpreting profession in Australia represents, in terms of the MSF, a first concrete indication that the government had actually elevated the issue to one of a recognised problem and this might be considered the first step into the policy stream. It is an implicit recognition that the indicators hitherto presented were considered relevant and telling and that the focusing events, in terms of individual instances of gross disadvantage for migrants had made some impact. In order to discern the implications of the

commissioning of the report, it is necessary to outline the nature of COPQ as an organisation.

On 27 March 1969, the then Minister for Immigration, Billy Snedden (Liberal Party), announced the establishment of COPQ to the House of Representatives (Australia. Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications, 1969). Its terms of reference were as follows:

1. To seek out, assemble and collate information relevant to the recognition of overseas professional qualifications;
2. To make evaluations, on its own authority, of the comparability of professional qualifications obtained in overseas countries to the standards required in Australia;
3. To supply information on these matters to government statutory bodies, professional associations, and other responsible inquirers;
4. For the purposes of 1. and 2. To establish as necessary expert panels whose task would be to undertake detailed investigations and assessment in specific professional areas; to co-ordinate the work of these panels;
5. To undertake, or to authorise, such first-hand investigations as may be necessary for the proper discharge of its task. (1st Annual report Dec.1969 p.1)

It is instructive to examine the Minister's statement to the House of Representatives on the establishment of COPQ. He acknowledged that a country's most valuable and important resources are its people and he indicated that among the 2 million settlers since the war, there had been many whose professional qualifications had been recognised, others, however, "for reasons not related to their personal competence" had been unable to practise their professions. He and his State counterparts had been discussing the problem for the previous twelve months and had agreed, on 12 February [1969], to establish the Committee. He stressed that the Committee would not have an executive function but would be an "authoritative source of information for those with whom the power of decision" would continue. (1st Annual report Dec.69 pp. 6-8). In the statement, there is more than a hint of implied criticism of the restrictive practices of some professional bodies in this regard.

The Committee consisted of a chair and three members; the first Chair was Dr D. Myers, then Vice-Chancellor of LaTrobe University, his colleagues were two CEOs of large industrial companies and a dean of a medical faculty. Successive annual reports outline the efforts put in to establishing Expert Panels for a number of professions. The fourth report of December 1973 acknowledged Mr Grassby's interest and support for the work of the Committee but makes no mention of the request by the Minister in relation to the profession of translation and interpreting, even though the meeting when this was discussed had been held on 9 November 1973, within the reporting window. The only

mention of the work in translation and interpreting done by COPQ was in its sixth report of December 1974. By this time, the Minister for Immigration was Clive Cameron. The paragraphs devoted to this were as follows:

Interpreting

At the request of the Conference of Federal and State Ministers for Immigration, the Committee inquired into the development and establishment of professional standards for interpreters and translators in Australia. In agreeing to undertake the task the Committee noted the impossibility of assessing overseas qualifications in interpreting and translating until Australian standards had been defined. It therefore established a working party to study the problems and to produce recommendations designed to resolve them. The members of the working party were: [... the list follows; this is reproduced at Appendix E]

The Working Party's report was presented to the Committee in August and was submitted with the strong support of the Committee, to the Minister for Labour and Immigration for consideration by the Conference of Ministers for Immigration. The principal recommendation was establishment[sic] of a National Council on Interpreting and Translating which would define standards for the profession, issue nationally-valid certificates to competent practitioners, monitor changing needs and accredit appropriate training courses. (6th Annual Report Dec. 1974 pp. 13-14)

This is a rather cursory treatment of something in which COPQ had invested considerable resources for some nine months. The reasons for this go back to the original request by the Conference of Ministers for Immigration on 9 November 1973 in Adelaide. What follows highlights the manner in which this issue was handled by the Minister and the COPQ.

4.4.3 The Meeting of the Federal and State Ministers of Immigration in Adelaide (9 Nov 1973)

The State and Territory Ministers with responsibility for migrants and the Federal Minister for Immigration had regular meetings (at least annually) to discuss matters of mutual interest. Sometimes these were called 'Ministers' Conferences'. At one such Ministers' Conference in Adelaide on 9 November of 1973 (Department of Immigration Australia, 1973), item 4 on the agenda was a progress report on the ordinary work of COPQ. COPQ reported to this body as it was within the Immigration portfolio. Mr Justice Jacobs, who at that time was a member of COPQ, had been invited to address the

Ministers on the progress 'which had been made by COPQ in seeking the extension of recognition of migrant qualifications'. The minutes report that Mr Justice Jacobs (who was also at the time the President of the NSW Court of Appeal) stated that COPQ had developed a set of principles which it recommended the various registration authorities apply. These were as follows:

1. That the registering authority should have discretionary power sufficient to enable it to consider the holders of all qualifications on their merits;
2. That the registering body should have the authority to assess applicants by means of examination, either conducted by itself or by a suitable body;
3. That provisional registration should be provided for as a means of facilitating the integration of a person into his profession in Australia and to permit practice under supervision where this is a necessary adjunct to the assessment process;
4. That qualifications accepted for registration by any Australian State or Territory body be regarded as sufficient for registration in other States and Territories; (pp.9-10)

These principles obviously refer to promoting the recognition of overseas professional qualifications, however, some of these principles were evident in the approach that COPQ took to translating and interpreting, specifically the idea of a national system and the concept that a registering body should have authority to assess applicants by means of examinations.

The Ministers asked COPQ "to examine and make recommendations upon the establishment of appropriate professional standards for interpreters and translators in Australia." (Department of Immigration Australia, 1973:19)

After the ministers' meeting in Adelaide on 9 November 1973, COPQ took up discussion of this issue at its meeting of the 12th December 1973 and the minutes show that item no. 6 on the agenda was devoted to "The Profession of Interpreting" (NAA: A446, 1974/75219). The meeting had invited Mr. G.C. Watson, First Assistant Secretary, Citizenship and Settlement Division of the Department of Immigration, who had been present at the Ministers' meeting of 9 November 1973, to set out the position (the Government's position) regarding the development of the profession of interpreting and translating. The three main points which Mr. Watson made are summarized in the minutes as follows:

1. Need: the Advisory Council's Committee on Community Relations has found that communication difficulties exist for migrants particularly in their dealings with public officials. There

is a great demand for high standard consecutive interpreters in hospitals, police, courts, administration etc.

2.Training: it was generally accepted that as well as being proficient in languages, interpreters should be familiar with the cultural background of people speaking the languages. This was essential in conveying meaning, rather than merely translating words.

3.Urgency: it was the Department's view and that of the Advisory Council, that steps should be taken immediately to begin training people to satisfy the need.

The chairman of COPQ, Dr Myers, responded that 'the Committee was not in a position to set up a profession, but it was interested in pressing for national agreement on a single standard within a profession'. He added that the Committee generally worked through existing professional bodies in an advisory capacity.

The meeting agreed that a seminar of interested parties should be held and that from this seminar a panel might be nominated. It saw the seminar achieving a clear and documented definition of needs, a broad specification of desirable training programs, a resolution of the problem of communication within the profession and a panel to set down standards for the profession. The meeting also agreed that a position paper should be prepared for the subsequent meeting and that qualified persons such as Con Kiriloff and Toby Garrick would be asked to assist in preparing such a paper. The meeting agreed to communicate to the Minister the decisions of this meeting and that this letter should mention the question of emergency funds for courses. (NAA: A446, 1974/75219)

This response from the Chairman of COPQ is revealing in that it betrays a certain reluctance by COPQ to become involved in the creation of a profession rather than pursuing its designated role of encouraging the professions to work towards a consistent approach to the recognition of overseas professional qualifications in Australia. Indeed this reluctance must have been identified by the people around the Minister, because sometime between 9 November and 22 November (the available documentation does not have a date) the Minister [Grassby] felt it necessary to write to Dr Myers, summarising the discussion of the 9 November meeting of Ministers in relation to translation and interpreting, reiterating the concerns of the Ministers and acknowledging that "although it may not be within its [COPQ's] terms of reference as originally drafted, your Committee did seem to be admirably situated to deal with the question of establishing standards of professional interpreter and translator skills..." (NAA: A446, 1974/7529). The letter, in fact, formally requests COPQ "to direct its attention to the establishment of and recognition of professional standards for interpreters and translators". This goes some way to explaining the comment by Dr Myers at the COPQ meeting of 12 December 1973 reported above. Excerpts of this letter would later be quoted in the report of the Working Party.

4.4.4 COPQ's Working Party on Interpreting

The seminar, which the 12 December 1973 meeting of COPQ had decided to organise, took place on 25 February 1974 (Interpreting, 1974). As it happened, the meeting was not set up as a seminar but formed part of an ordinary COPQ meeting at which representatives of translators and interpreters, current and potential employers, educational authorities with a possible interest in developing courses for translators and interpreters and bodies with a community or migrant interest were invited for a discussion on interpreting (NAA: A446, 1974/75219). The 'guests' as they were referred to in the notes, are listed at Appendix F. There was a full day of discussion and the conversation was wide-ranging. The COPQ chair presided over the morning session and he, with the other member of COPQ present, left to their own meeting in the afternoon. The directions to the group provided by Dr Myers by way of introduction determined the areas into which the discussion evolved. There was emphasis on the urgency of the task, the encouragement to see the work as having immediate and beneficial effect given a number of government policies mentioned throughout. The meeting, chaired in the afternoon by Group Captain Zantuk a Principal Education Officer of the Department of Defence, Air Office, culminated in an agreement to form a Working Party and agreement on its composition (its membership is shown in Appendix E) as well as agreement on its terms of reference (see below). An analysis of the discussion and the outcome, including of the actors, indicates to me that the groundwork was well prepared for the success of this discussion and the outcomes were in large measure predetermined by the work done prior to the meeting by the chair of COPQ, Dr Myers, the executive officer for the meeting, Mr Mulcahy and Mr G.C. (Andy) Watson of the Immigration Department. The prior correspondence between these persons and others in the Immigration department was aimed at ensuring that what was possible and what would be in all probability sanctioned by the Minister, was what actually transpired (NAA A446, 1974/75219). This also involved work by Mulcahy to obtain information about courses of training in France and being directed to refer to the Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence (AIIC) and the Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs (FIT). There is no information on the file which would indicate the extent or the results of these contacts, nor indeed if they were followed through. In the context of COPQ's expert panels, successive Annual Reports of COPQ (1974, 1975 etc.) in recording the visits to different countries of the various professional panels shows the 'panel' (not the working party) on interpreting as having visited Italy and France; this was in all probability in conjunction with visits for other professional panels. This meeting was pivotal to the success and the time-line of the endeavour and illustrates behind-the-scenes cooperation between the Minister's Office and COPQ. The importance of this meeting extends to setting the tone as to how the issue was to be pursued, indeed the context of COPQ being its mission about professional qualifications proved to be very useful in focusing the discussion on to the work of interpreters away from the immediate difficulties of their clients. Contacts with well-known centres of interpreter and translator training overseas by COPQ is an example of this broader, professionally-focused view of their task.

4.4.5 The COPQ Report

The COPQ Working Party on Interpreting (hereinafter COPQWP), as it was formally known, provided a report in a remarkably short time, in August 1974, to COPQ. It is this report, consisting of 35 pages of single sided typing, which is commonly referred to as the “COPQ report” by the profession in Australia. This report was eventually published in 1977 with the title of: *The Language Barrier* (Australia. Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications. Working Party on Interpreting, 1977).

In its annual report of December 1974, COPQ noted that the report of its Working Party had been submitted to the Minister for Immigration with its strong support. Before proceeding to discuss the recommendations made in the report, there are a number of aspects which merit comment.

The first of these is a question mark on the desirability of COPQ dealing with this matter. The timing of the appearance of a member of COPQ, Mr Justice Jacobs, for the purpose of reporting, at the Minister’s meeting of 9 November 1973, cannot be discounted as being a factor which had some considerable influence on the Ministers’ decision to ask COPQ to take on this task. The presentation of Justice Jacobs to the Ministers’ meeting, at Item 4 of the agenda, deals *inter alia* with the principles (cited in sec 4.3.2 above) which had been developed by COPQ since its inception in 1969 and which it wished the various registration authorities to apply. There is an interesting shift in the language used by Dr Myers and that used by the Minister. Predictably, Dr Myers wished to confine the work of COPQ to that which he saw as legitimately within its terms of reference, thus his view that COPQ was interested in pursuing a single standard for the profession was a way of trying to distance COPQ from the task of creating a profession and a professional body since COPQ was and had been doing its work through existing professional bodies; indeed most of this work was concerned with creating a situation where disparate professional bodies in different states, together with State Governments, would work to achieve consistent Australia-wide ‘overseas skills recognition’ policies and practices. The ministers, at their 9 November 1973 meeting had been more ambitious in their deliberations and had agreed to the establishment of acceptable standards for interpreters, the provision of appropriate training courses, the setting up of a body to evaluate the qualifications of individuals *vis-à-vis* the standards, the determination of appropriate rates of pay and the establishment of a professional organisation for interpreters and translators.

On 2 January 1974, the chair of COPQ wrote to the Minister outlining how COPQ intended to proceed in order to fulfil the Minister’s request and it outlined the idea of forming a Working Party to examine the issue. In addition, and quite outside its remit, (a point which itself declared to the Minister) COPQ made two suggestions, in view of the Minister’s recognition of the urgency of the problem, as short-term measures to address the problem: the first being the utilisation of linguistic skills of the “migrant population in Australia” by conducting short courses in English and in Australian Institutions for individuals who could then “make a contribution”; the second would be “to provide funds to selected institutions to begin immediate planning of tertiary level courses in interpreting to be introduced in February 1975” (NAA: A446, 1974/75219). In terms of

the MSF the actions of COPQ and particularly of its Chair, indicates an attempt at redefining the problem, broadening its definition to include the element of training for interpreters and at the same time more comprehensively responding to the wishes of the Ministers who had added more ambitious objectives to the question of developing professional standards which involved utilising supposedly existing skills in the community and the training of interpreters and translators.

An examination of correspondence about this issue is not determinative of a conclusion that Dr Myers acted on his own and without information provided to him by the Department, specifically by those close to the Minister, including Andy Watson. The reasons why COPQ moved from expressed reticence to an almost overhelpful stance are not to be found in the data available in the files, however, I view these actions as indicative of an effort on the part of COPQ to deal with this issue, which it still regarded outside its remit, as quickly as possible in order not to disturb the manner in which it was perceived by the professional associations with whom it was in constant and often difficult, discussion about overseas qualifications.

The terms of reference of the COPQWP were as follows:

1. to define the terms ‘interpreter’ and ‘translator’ and their relationship with one another and the relationship between “interpreting” and linguistic skill;
2. to define the range of tasks for which interpreters and translators are needed in Australia;
3. to establish the level of skills, education and/or experience required for each of these tasks;
4. to recommend ways of testing and accrediting/certificating interpreters and translators competent for each of the tasks identified;
5. to identify appropriate means of providing training for future interpreters and translators;
6. to identify appropriate ways of up-grading the skills of existing practitioners where needed.

It can be immediately seen that these terms of reference omit the last three aspects decided upon by the ministers, namely the setting up of a body, the determination of rates of pay and the establishment of a professional organisation. Their absence in the terms of reference did not, however, preclude their consideration by the committee which devoted six recommendations of the nine which it made, to a “National Council on Interpreting and Translating”, dealing with its creation, composition, functions and tasks that it should undertake. Similarly, it made several observations on salary provision for interpreters/translators and, on the matter of a professional organisation, it remarked that the Council “would serve as an accreditation authority in the same way as the statutory registration boards or professional associations do in other professions” (Interpreting, 1974:25). It also deemed impracticable a system of legislated registration of interpreters/translators with a regulatory body. The latter represents a realistic assessment of the implausibility of a registration system at the time, given the then state of training

and the uncharted waters of the application of a testing system in a context of multiple, widely differing, expectations about the role of interpreters and translators.

The most important recommendation and the one from which the others ensued, was that of basing the classification standards for interpreters and translators in Australia on a five-skill level model and the implementation of these standards by a National Council on Interpreting and Translating to be established by the Australian and State governments.

The body of the report provides the rationale for the creation of such a five-level system with detailed argument not only in relation to the number of levels but also to the tasks that interpreters and translators at each level would be expected to perform and the skills required to perform them. It recommends the setting up of training courses (at Level II and Level III), a testing program to be implemented by regional panels, the priority employment of 'certificated' interpreters and translators by the Australian and State governments to begin with and the employment of exclusively certificated persons after a specific time. It advocated a system of scholarships for teaching staff for the proposed courses to be trained overseas and for top students to eventually be trained overseas. It recommended a publicity campaign on the advantages of certification for practising interpreters and the value to employers of using only certificated interpreters and translators. It advocated that a study be undertaken on the feasibility and desirability of establishing Government Interpreting and Translating Services at both Federal and State levels which would be available to the public and employers as needed on a fee-paying basis.

It is useful now to examine the basis upon which the COPQWP built its recommendations and what significance can be attached to it in terms of policy development. The first discernible plank of the argument, which is supported by statistics and other official publications related to the number of persons in Australia who at the time were "non-English-speaking migrants". Using the 1971 census figures the working party indicated that it was estimated that there were over one million people in Australia who were non-English-speakers or only marginally fluent in English. It gave the example of a city like Melbourne where 11.5% of the population at the time was in this category, representing some 300,000 people. The report noted:

Over a million of Australia's inhabitants are hindered or prevented by a language barrier from availing themselves fully of the benefits, services and even rights available to the English-speaking population, and many of them will at one time or another and in one way or another be exploited or misunderstood because of this disability (p.1)

The second element of the rationale was that access to interpreting and translating facilities remained a serious problem for those unable to learn English or for those who are in the process of acquiring it, notwithstanding efforts by the government in increasing funding for the teaching of English. It cited Sweden as an example of a country with a large foreign-language migrant community which had begun to deal with the issue by setting up a Royal Commission in 1968. The latter had found the country's interpreting services inadequate and had recommended remedies such as a Committee

for the Authorizations of Interpreters and compulsory registration and training *inter alia*. [This report is not available in English but photocopied pages found in Departmental files on the question of NAATI (NAA: A446, 1974/75218 folios 3-4) were found to be an English language summary at the end of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Social Adjustment of Migrants (pp.117-118) (SOU, 1972) which is the source of the COPQWP observations above].

Significantly, the Working Party's report also uses as part of its rationale for the system 'factors other than the need to make adequate provision for the migrant community' such as its contacts with neighbouring countries, non-English-speaking world powers and trading partners and its increasing involvement in international bodies. In the system itself, it must be said, the aspect of international communication needs did not receive the attention that the needs arising out of migration did, in part because the COPWP was well aware of systems for the training and employment of conference interpreters already in place in bodies such as the UN and tended to view the demand for this kind of interpreting in Australia as more distant and not of the same entity as the demand for national needs. A further feature of the approach of the Committee was that it was planning for the long term and it made that specific by including in its recommendations insistence that the report be considered as a whole if the effectiveness of its mutually supportive proposals was to be achieved.

In its consideration of the issue set before it, the COPQWP made some ground-breaking observations and identification of nuances which have stood the test of time and form part of current debates about policy and service delivery in this area. One of these was the unequivocal distinction between an interpreter who is a person "who assists two or more people" and someone who is "a person who assists another simply by conversing with him in a foreign language". This formed the basis of the distinction which the report makes in its recommendations between Language Aides and Interpreters (and Translators). The fact that this distinction still needs to be made explicit so many years after the report speaks to the manner in which the policy was seen and implemented which will be considered in other parts of this study.

The difference between need and demand in this area was an aspect of service delivery which had not received much attention and which the report sought to clarify; it bemoaned the dearth of precise information about this, even though it acknowledged the work of various bodies since around 1972 who had carried out surveys to establish needs; these included the 1972 Department of Immigration Survey (Australia. Dept. of Immigration Survey Section, 1973a), the ACOSS Working Party on Interpreter Needs, the NSW Association of Mental Health (Standing Committee for the Mental Health of Migrants, 1972). The essence of the argument was that the demand for interpreters and translators in terms of unfilled positions could not be considered an expression of need by the community as designated positions of 'interpreter', for example, were few but the needs as shown by the surveys were much greater than the number of positions available. It was a matter of the lack of mandated use of interpreters and translators even in critical contexts such as courts and hospitals and/or the use of unqualified and untrained persons. The report also recognised the growing needs in areas not related to migration, specifically tourism, business and commerce.

The most innovative and at the same time problematic, aspect which the report introduced was the concept of levels. It stipulated that “the classification of standards for interpreters and translators in Australia be based on five levels of skill” (p.5). Briefly the first two levels (then designated Level I and II) were two grades of Language Aide, to cater for situations where the persons in question were called upon to use their language skills from time to time as part of their usual occupation. The matters dealt with by someone at Level I were less complex than those which would be dealt with by someone at Level II. Three grades of interpreter/translator followed: Level III was seen as the skill level where a person could be employed as a full-time interpreter. Levels IV and V represented more advanced skills such as those relevant to conference interpreters working in international settings. For each level a profile was devised which dealt with the elements of a) language proficiency, b) communication and human relations skills, c) general education prerequisites for training, d) training in interpreter/translator techniques, e) background knowledge of task or subject, f) certification, g) experience required for certification, h) tasks appropriate for each level of skill.

The report states that the classification paralleled that recommended by the Bureau of International Language Co-ordination, a NATO body still extant which is NATO’s “advisory body on language training and testing issues” (Bureau of International Language Co-ordination, 2015). The rationale for the decision to create a skill levels classification which paralleled that of BILC was framed in terms that if the system were adopted it would ensure that Australia “followed international usage” (p.15) and that this was “particularly important for a profession as internationally oriented as interpreting/translating” (p.15). The said Bureau developed a Language Proficiency Scale in 1976, known as STANAG6001 which has had a number of editions since then (Campaign Military English, 2015). There is no further information available as to what exactly was followed which emanated from BILC at the time. It is probable that, judging by the fact that the proposed system was a levels-based system, the working party may have had access to drafts or prototypes of the BILC scales. It is also to be noted that Garrick, who was tasked with preparing a position paper for the working party did have a military background; he had graduated from the first course of the RAAF Language School in 1944-45 under the name of Gavriloff (Funch, 2003). In addition, an education officer from the Department of Defence had participated in the meeting of COPQ which led to the setting up of the working party but there is no firm evidence that their interventions were determinative of the adoption of this element.

It appears that the presence of persons on the COPQWP who were very much aware of the nature of interpreting and translating did not prevent a language proficiency scale being used as a model for the levels of interpreting and translating. It must be reiterated that, unlike what occurred later, neither the COPQ Level I or Level II were considered by the working party to be ‘Interpreter/translator’ levels; in addition, the discussion which took place at the COPQ meeting of 25 February 1974, leaves no doubt that there was a difference of opinion amongst the participants on the fundamental issues of whether one could actually train an interpreter or a translator (this argument is periodically repeated by the uninitiated, especially if they have some bilingual competence) and on whether any training was needed of those currently working as an interpreter/translator, further, whether there would ever be persons who would be working as full time interpreters

rather than persons in other professions on whom this role would be ‘grafted’ (NAA: A1209, 1979/988).

At this point, in the space of nine months, the Ministers who had met with Mr Grassby, the Minister for Immigration, in Adelaide in November 1973, had a report which dealt with all the issues which they had requested. The matters relating to the formation of a professional body and the creation of positions for interpreters and translators were discussed but were not given prominence by specific recommendations in the report. It would not be until September 1977 that NAATI would be actually set up.

It would be incorrect to suggest that this hiatus indicates a waning of interest by government in actually going through with the project, rather it was a combination of events and circumstances which delayed the formal setting up of the institution and if, as I am suggesting, the bureaucracy and the politicians did not lose interest, the stakeholders (for example, social welfare bodies, training institutions) in this endeavour certainly did not let up on their advocacy of it.

Although the concept of value acceptability was not addressed by the COPQWP directly, the underlying assumptions upon which the report was built contained a number of elements going to the question. One of them was that the system to be set up would only be viable and desirable if it were an Australia-wide system rather than a state-by-state system. This is evidenced by the very act of making a request to COPQ which was itself created with the express requirement to harmonize the response to overseas qualifications into a national system and the principles developed by COPQ were presented at the very meeting when the task was given to it with the concurrence of the State representatives. The presence of the ministers of immigration from each state and territory at the meeting in November 73 not only served the purpose of floating the idea of action in terms of interpreting and translating services but it also secured agreement by the states as to the value of having it as a national effort. This policy idea, as a characteristic of a future policy was of value to both the State governments as a collective and the Commonwealth government since it enabled the former to press the latter about the progress of the project which, after the COPQ report was tabled, became slow and unbearably slow for some State governments. Evidence of the impatience of some state governments was the documentation in the records which indicated frequent enquiries by the government of South Australia and New South Wales, for example, about the progress of the endeavour (NAA: A1209, 1979/998 Part 3). At the same time at various points in the consideration of action, the government minister responsible for this issue in the Commonwealth was able to cite that there was full agreement by the States to the proposals and also to indicate that some States would go it alone if they did not step in. The records show that both South Australia and New South Wales either set up or advertised for the setting up of their own services (NAA: A1209, 1979/998 Part 3), this prompted the Commonwealth Minister to encourage his colleagues in government to come to a decision with the realisation that the appearance of different methods of employment of interpreters and different statements about standards by each State would have been a likely outcome had not the Commonwealth taken the lead on this point. A similar issue arose in relation to training where the initiation of the training was made before real decisions were made on standards and before NAATI was instituted. The above events and discussions underscore

the efforts on network integration which were prominent in the consideration of the policy, even in this stream and is an example of the overlapping nature of the streams.

Another element or indication of the consideration of value acceptability was the steadfast belief that the provision of interpreting and translating services was indeed the solution to the problems which had been highlighted not only to the Minister but to the government and community at large through reports tabled in Parliament, some of which were the direct result of action by government to inquire into the matter. This includes the work done by the Henderson inquiry (Commission of Enquiry into Poverty, 1975). The fact that the policy idea persevered through a number of difficulties which would have proved fatal to many other policy ideas is testament to the acceptance of the entity of the value ascribed to this project. From the time of its inception to the time that NAATI was set up, it weathered the dismissal of a government, the shifting of responsibility for the area from one department to another and the process of an expenditure review committee (this was known as the Bland Committee and its text was not made public) which was renowned for its deep cuts into government expenditure and was referred to as “the razor gang”. Whether measured in terms of politics or policy, the value acceptability of this project was not really questioned.

The issue of resource adequacy was treated as a secondary issue during the period of consideration of policy ideas within the policy stream. The records do not contain any appreciable financial assessment of the project nor of the implications for future resource requirements. I consider that the reason for this relates to a number of factors. Even from the initial discussions, the full involvement of governments in the financing of the endeavour was considered to be a temporary arrangement which would either be taken over directly by a ‘user pays’ system or would, as a minimum, be shared by contributions by the users. In moves which I consider to be strategies on the part of the Commonwealth government not to scuttle consideration of these policy ideas but to put off firm decisions about resources until the broad character of the policy had been accepted by the other players (the State and Territory governments). The ‘user pays’ principle was never ruled out, in fact, it was partially implemented in the late eighties. The reluctance to introduce it during the initial consideration of the policy would have probably, at the very least, delayed the process considerably, given the involvement of the States and the lack of a coherent Australia-wide approach. In general, the Commonwealth government provided what might be called the ‘meta-resources’ to continue discussions. This included the cost of committee meetings, the time the public servants were putting into this issue, the activities of the research section of the immigration Department and many other operational costs required to enable the consideration of the policy ideas.

The COPQWP did in fact make some financial and resource implication statements in its consideration of term of reference number 3, when it recommended a salary range for an interpreter or translator and one for an interpreter and translator.

The technical feasibility of developing a policy which would require the observation of standards, developed by government, by interpreters and translators and by users alike, was an aspect which attracted much attention in the deliberations on policy ideas. A number of factors contributed to this. Firstly, at this level of policy-making it was

probably unnecessary for ministers and top public servants to concern themselves with elements which were best left to the experts in the field. Indeed, they did consult the experts who produced the COPQ report, although by and large for them the technical feasibility boiled down to questions of raising the standards by training and accreditation and encouraging the various governments to give priority to accredited individuals. For the people considering the policy ideas, a one step removed approach was supported by the fact that in broad terms, interpreting and translating was already occurring and that the technical issue which had been brought to the attention of the policymakers was simply that the quality of the work was not of a standard which allowed for the solution of the problems deemed to be able to be solved by introducing the figure of the interpreter and translator. Technical feasibility issues certainly arose after the setting up of NAATI and during its first period of existence, fuelled by the unwillingness of a number of practitioners to be tested and difficulties created by the lack of immediate supply of accredited professionals in disseminating and advocating for an increase in standards by testing and training (corroborated by informants M1, M2 and M4). Furthermore, a translation unit within the government had existed for over a decade and the newly-established ETIS had proved popular with users, both non-English speakers and English speakers (Australia Department of Immigration Survey Section, 1973). Thus, the existence of successful structures which were seen to be similar to the ones about to be set up, did not encourage the policymakers to delve deeply into this aspect.

There were two elements though, which were mentioned and discussed, these related to the issue of 'rare languages' and the issue of provision of services in country areas. What is meant by 'rare languages' in this context is languages where the supply of interpreters is very low and the demand for them high. This phenomenon occurs specifically with the arrival of a new migrant group where the system has not readied itself or planned to provide interpreters and translators in that particular language resulting in a considerable time lag before sufficient numbers of interpreters and translators can be trained or qualify or gain experience in order to be able to function at a level approaching acceptable. It is perhaps not surprising that these two elements are the subject of vigorous debate and insurmountable difficulty 40 years later. The COPQWP had indeed provided a way into these issues by a careful distinction of the concepts of "need" and "demand". It was argued that demand for interpreters was minimal as there were few unfilled vacancies for interpreters and translators whereas the need for improved interpreting /translation services was felt by the community. If governments were to recognize the need, the demand would follow. Estimations of demand could be made by making certain assumptions about the then current experience within certain areas such as health and law. Considerations of demand brought with it the issue of the geographical location of that service and the adequacy of the competence of interpreter and translator supply and availability across all languages, including 'rare languages' and across cities and country areas. Notwithstanding advances in technology which have to a certain extent reduced the entity of the problem, where face-to-face interaction is paramount, the problem persists.

Issues of integration of the current policy ideas into the network of other policies were considered at different times and changed over time because of delays in the finalisation of the policy and the intrusion of other considerations such as the above-mentioned Bland expenditure review. The main elements of network integration as seen by the MSF

involve the manner in which the policy is able to fit into existing policy directions and policy implementations. The major government administrative areas which needed to be taken into account when considering integration of policy ideas included education, migration and Commonwealth-State relations. Attention was paid to the latter element and as we have seen above, the concern stemmed from a desire to avoid duplication in each state and allow for the ability of the professions of interpreting and translating to be national in scope; indeed, part of the work of COPQ was to harmonise the approach to other professions throughout Australia in its quest to provide a national approach to professionals with overseas qualifications. It did not prove to be difficult to achieve a common approach by the Commonwealth and the states especially given that the proposed system was eminently more efficient than each state developing its own accreditation system and because the services of interpreters might be required throughout the Commonwealth; furthermore, although this was not specifically stated, the expenditure for analogous work, especially at the development stage, was better left to the Commonwealth government: something which the states were always pleased about.

Integration at a more detailed level would entail more difficult negotiations; these surfaced quickly, especially when a decision about the members of the first NAATI board needed to be made. The latter were not really specific to interpreting and translating accreditation as all nominations to Commonwealth-State boards and committees were subject to the same issues.

In the context of the move to multiculturalism, accompanying a more realistic approach to the needs of migrants and supported by reports and surveys as indicated previously, the elements already present which needed to be considered in this context were the issue of language services and the fit of the National Accreditation Authority into existing government services including State government services. Existing Commonwealth government services at the time were the translation unit and the Emergency Telephone Interpreter Service of the Commonwealth government. The COPQWP had recommended that preference in employment should be given to those interpreters and translators who would become accredited. This is a clear measure of integrating the work of NAATI with the service provision, therefore a logical and useful manner with which to justify the work of the whole policy of accreditation for the improvement of the end product, which was the quality of interpreting and translation. Although the government claimed that it accepted all the recommendations of the COPQWP, it did not make any pronouncements regarding giving preference to accredited personnel at any time. It was not necessary for it to make such statements during the consideration of the policy ideas, nevertheless the approach to the issue of integration showed a lack of interest in the way these ideas were to be implemented. One explanation for this is that the body which was to be set up was in fact a regulatory body itself and therefore would concern itself with such matters. In addition, as an employer, the Commonwealth government was at that time, focusing on setting up full-time public service positions of interpreter and translator and therefore did not foresee the difficulties in service provision related to the changes in demand for different languages, the addition of languages as well as a diminution of demand in some languages over time.

The issue of integration of the promised policy into the network was also used to influence the pace of policy making as evidenced by some states keeping up the pressure on the Commonwealth government in terms of coming to a decision on the setting up of NAATI. They made a number of requests about the fate of the then Council and also advertised the setting up of their own services as indicated above in sec. 4.3.5

4.4.6 Data gathering by the Department of Immigration

The third approach to data gathering for the purpose of assessing the policy ideas was direct commissioning of research by the Department itself. Two relevant examples will be examined, the first is a survey on interpreting and translating needs and the second a progress report on the ETIS.

4.4.6.1 The Departmental Survey on interpreting and translating needs 1971-1972

In 1971 the Department of Immigration, through its Survey Section, conducted an Australia-wide survey of interpreting and translating needs; the results were published in October 1973 (Australia. Dept. of Immigration Survey Section, 1973a). I note that this survey was commissioned by the Department before the change of government in 1972; this survey was different to others carried out in this area during the same period in that it attempted to take a snapshot of interpreting and translating needs at a national level utilising data obtained through a mailed questionnaire to "a carefully selected representative cross-section of organisations and individuals throughout Australia who could be expected to have dealings with immigrants in the course of their daily activities"; these organisations and individuals were not only government or government instrumentalities. The report notes that a total of 2515 questionnaires were sent to 34 different types of organisations and persons and 2183 replies were received, this is a response rate of about 87%. The surveyed sample was carefully constructed to cover areas where there were significant numbers of migrants and the organisations surveyed were then selected at random. The questionnaire explored needs in nine 'fields of activity' which were as follows: Employment, Accommodation, Welfare, Health, Education, Legal and Law Enforcement, Finance and Insurance, Local government, Transport. In turn, these were divided into sub-groups, for example, in the field of activity labelled "Accommodation" the sub-groups were Migrant Hostels, Real Estate Agents and Government housing authorities and in the field labelled "Legal and Law Enforcement", the sub-groups were Solicitors and Barristers, Attorney-General and Justice Departments, Worker's Compensation Authorities, Police and Department of Customs and Excise. It is remarkable that the response rate for this survey was 87%, it represents a clear and unambiguous indication that the identified 'problem' was a real one which had an effect on the running of the organisations of those respondents surveyed. It was also remarkable that respondents were across the government and the non-government sector giving an indication of the obviously universal manner in which the issue of inability to communicate was impacting on the community. It is also an indication of the assessment of the value acceptability of the endeavour where a great number of professional groups deemed it worthwhile to respond to the survey.

The survey identified major deficiencies in the interpreting and translating services. These related to the availability of interpreters in a range of languages, difficulty in obtaining an interpreter, and difficulty in obtaining an interpreter or a translator "in areas of activity in which accuracy and precision were vital". The detailed findings of this survey produced a large amount of specific data for each of the fields of activity. It is not, for my purposes, useful to relay such data since its impact has well and truly passed. It is relevant, however, to comment on some of the methodology and the questions asked as these can be regarded as evidence of the manner in which the issue was seen at the time, both in its importance and in its nature. It is to be noted that a sample of the questionnaire used was not included in the report and is not available to me.

In terms of methodology, this survey made an attempt to quantify needs in interpreting and translation separately. The advance on previous attempts was that the approach was Australia-wide, systematic and covered all relevant areas of interaction between migrants and the society at large which had been determined by preliminary work, including a pilot of the questionnaire. Hitherto information had come from or had been sought from individuals about their interaction with migrants; in this survey it was much more the institutions and their interactions with migrants. This can be regarded as an exploration of policy ideas which is more methodical than the reception of information at the whim of the provider and it attempts to be comprehensive in terms of the range of sources. This aspect gives an implied degree of legitimacy to the proposition that it was desirable for the community and good practice, in the interaction by these institutions with migrants, if the latter's inability to communicate in English was a factor, then the issue had to be dealt with by introducing the figure of the interpreter (and translator). This survey was also an attempt to quantify how often an organisation was interacting with migrants as a percentage of their total time spent providing whatever service they were providing. This enabled a picture to emerge which also fed into the discussions which were happening at the time, or soon after, about the desirability or efficacy of services, especially welfare services, being provided by institutions within the ethnic groups (Cox & Martin, 1975).

This survey also broke new ground in its attempt to identify, and in some senses, quantify, the difficulties in meeting demands in particular languages; in fact, it also explored the quantification of unmet demand as it asked its respondents to indicate the number of occurrences when a service could not be provided to a client because of the inability to obtain, or unavailability of, an interpreter. This represents an important early recognition that in order to assess demand, the services which cannot be provided furnish a necessary and more accurate element in the consideration of total demand as they are not estimates but recorded instances.

The survey, as its title indicates, was a survey about needs, its context, specifically outlined in the Preface and consistent with other government pronouncements on the matter, was that "the responsibility for the provision of interpreting facilities should not rest with government alone, but that it should be accepted and shared by all sectors of the community whose economic progress has been assisted and whose personal lives have been enriched by the contribution immigrants are making." (p.2). It is worthy of note that this sharing of the burden did not happen until much later and governments still bear the bulk of the cost. The ETIS (Emergency Telephone Interpreter Service) was already in

operation by the time this Survey was published and the appointment of 48 additional multi-lingual welfare officers in the Department of Immigration had been effected; these two elements were mentioned in the Preface. This context goes some way to explaining the reason why the questionnaire would ask respondents to indicate whether, in some areas of their work, "accuracy and precision" were vital and to report on whether the needs in these areas were being adequately met. Discussions on interpreting services in Australia have invariably, with an eye to their cost, been spoken of in terms of their temporary nature, e.g. 'until the migrants learn English' or in acceptance of the fact that not all needs could ever be met 100% of the time, there have been persistent attempts to an *a priori* classification of interpreted interactions in terms of the perceived difficulty or of a kind of risk assessment of the consequences of either poor interpreting or the absence of it. This approach in 1971 used the terminology of "areas where accuracy and precision are vital" falls into this 'risk assessment' category and is typical of a 'political' approach to policy making. From a professional point of view such distinctions are anathema. The notion of accuracy and precision in interpreting or translating (as much as it has been debated within the profession for centuries) being relative to the situation or context does not enter into the consideration of accepted practice. The risk from inaccurate interpreting or translation exists in every interpreted situation or translation; granted that there are situations where the risk is greater or diminished, but this does not solely depend on the interpreter or translator. It is the idea that this risk can be determined *a priori* which poses a problem; in addition, it is a risk that the survey asks non-interpreters or translators to assess. This kind of idea persists and also informed the idea of 'accreditation levels' adopted by NAATI and still operating, albeit in a different guise.

Finally on this survey, it is salutary and positive to cite the final paragraph of the section on findings as far as interpreting was concerned:

An important aspect emerging from the survey was that persons undertaking interpreting were quite often temperamentally and in other ways unsuited to the nature of the role required by the respondent, and it was often stated that in addition to linguistic competence, competence in the subject matter of their area was also important. Groups of respondents who stressed these aspects included psychiatric centres, C.E.S. offices, and certain welfare respondents. (Australia. Dept. of Immigration Survey Section, 1973a)

Although the main thrust of this survey might appear to be the establishment of resource needs and by extension the resource requirements for the system, the fact that cost sharing at that time was only an aspiration, made the achievement of this objective incidental. More importantly, the survey was a way of alerting the 'laggards' in the area to consider their role in service provisions and delineate the core elements of this service, thus the survey contributed significantly to predicting the value acceptability and technical feasibility of the policy.

4.4.6.2 *The Emergency Telephone Interpreting report 1973*

While the above report had collected its data in 1971-72, another report published also in October 1973 by the same Survey Section of the Department of Immigration (Australia. Dept. of Immigration. Survey Section, 1973b) looked at the operation of the Emergency Telephone Interpreter Service, which had been set up on 19 February 1973; the report was for the period February to the end of May 1973; the report was completed in August and published in October of the same year. The publication is limited to an overall summary of the findings and general conclusions, there is no section on methodology other than what can be gleaned from the matters on which it reports. Essentially it appears that the first three months of operation of the ETIS was evaluated by an examination of the calls received, their frequency, their originators and the subject matter of the calls. It can be deduced that all the data for the three months was analysed. The report runs to six pages. The presumed existence of a mooted fuller report has been investigated but I have been unable to find any such document or been able to conclude that it ever existed. A close reading of the available report raises the question of why such a survey was carried out on the first three months of operation of ETIS, which would have included a period of settling in of staff and equipment. Putting together the nature and timing of this report with the fact that ETIS was specifically mentioned in the report on interpreting and translating needs considered above, it is reasonable to conclude that the Department (or the Minister) wished to have some hard data either to confirm the decision to set up ETIS as a worthwhile enterprise or to lay the groundwork for further initiatives in this area. These two possibilities are not mutually exclusive, especially when one considers that the ETIS report states in its concluding statement that "ETIS is helping to meet the needs for interpreting and communication assistance in the Australian community- including emergencies whenever they may arise" and further "The contribution of ETIS to the welfare and integration of the migrant community and facilitating communication in the community generally seems established. Action is required now to give permanence to the service in Melbourne and Sydney, and to establish a similar service in the other capitals".

It appears from the last sentence that the report goes beyond the 'survey' and provides recommendations about what should happen next straying into the political dimension. Nothing was said in the report about this initiative being a world-first and how it was breaking new ground both technologically and as a service. It is difficult to account for both the relatively early commissioning of an evaluation for three months of a service's operation and the *ultra vires* recommendation which it makes. It supports the view that this was a made to order report, which, while not necessarily inaccurate in the data collected was serving a political purpose which is not immediately clear. The timing of the report does however, suggest that, in view of the intention to soon tackle the issue of interpreting (which occurred in November 1973) the existence of the ETIS was being considered as a useful mechanism with which to bolster the case for action on interpreting and translating and a positive report would have suited this purpose admirably. It is an instance of the role of party ideology being used as the driver for certain decisions as Kingdon (1995) included in the MSF.

The above material illustrates some broad approaches involved in the movement of policy ideas forward within the policy stream, it also highlights that the elements ascribed by the MSF to each of the streams are not necessarily reflected in the actual occurrence and each element occupies a different degree of importance in that stream, so that there is no uniform distribution of these elements throughout the streams. For example, in the stream just considered, the resource adequacy aspect has not attracted the same level of attention by the policy makers as has the issue of value acceptability.

In the next chapter I shall examine the role of the policy entrepreneurs and discuss the policy window.

Chapter 5 Entrepreneurs, policy window and decisions: the establishment of NAATI

5.1 Introduction

In the examination of the process of policy-making, while the problem and the politics certainly involve the human factor, in the policy stream the role of the policy entrepreneurs comes into its own in order to bring the process to some conclusion, which may include abandoning the policy idea altogether. In this chapter I shall look at the role of the entrepreneurs envisaged by the MSF and apply it to the policy under consideration in order to explore what this role means for the creation of NAATI. I shall then follow the model in a discussion the policy window and the actual output of the policy which was the establishment of NAATI.

5.2 Policy Entrepreneurs

Policy entrepreneurs were described by Kingdon (2003:204) as ‘people who are willing to invest their resources in pushing their pet proposals or problems’. This definition, although it encapsulates the concept of entrepreneurs, does not fully illustrate the actual purpose of the creation of this label within the MSF. The role of the entrepreneur is essentially to bring together the 3 streams at an opportune point, called a window, in order to facilitate or maximise the likelihood of a policy being initiated. This role includes the ‘packaging’ of problems, policy proposals and politics in a manner conducive to this package being taken up by the policymakers. It is the entrepreneurs’ role to couple or bring together the problems and the solutions so that they can be firmly put on the agenda and are more likely to then be considered.

Since Kingdon proposed the figure of the entrepreneur, research by a number of other scholars has refined aspects of the role and provided observations relevant to this study. Investigations by Mintrom and Vergari (1998), Mintrom (1997) and Mintrom and Norman (2009) identified that the entrepreneur’s success is not to be defined by their ability to make things happen in terms of policy but by what they do to achieve that goal. Mintrom (2013) summarises the work of entrepreneurs thus:

Policy entrepreneurs tend to work hard at (1) defining and framing problems, (2) building powerful teams that tap relevant knowledge networks, (3) amassing evidence to show the workability of their proposals; and (4) creating strong coalitions of diverse supporters.
(p.442)

In the synthesis of the work done on entrepreneurs by Petridou (2014), an article by Ackrill and Kay (2011) is cited whose findings resonate with some observations in the current study. Ackrill and Kay explicitly consider the entrepreneurs not only as “sell[ers] of solutions, but also as actors having the power to implement them.” (Petridou, 2014: S22)

Knaggård (2015) posits that the applications of the MSF have hitherto conferred on the entrepreneurs adequate and justified importance but that the importance of the problem stream has been underestimated, specifically in the aspect of problem framing. He suggests, therefore, the addition of another figure to the model whom he calls the 'problem broker' which he sees as "a role in which actors frame conditions ['issues'] as public problems and work to make policy makers accept these frames" (*ibid.* p.6). In both the problem stream and the policy stream, these roles are somewhat parallel even if their objectives may be different. In one sense the problem broker (which I consider a useful addition to the model) is concerned with sub-objectives of the eventual policy output and by framing the problem judiciously, facilitates the elevation of the problem to an item worthy of a decision agenda; in an analogous manner, the entrepreneur is able to take the problem thus framed and combine with it the political element to present a policy solution at an opportune time. There is no impediment to 'problem brokers' being or becoming, at a suitable time, entrepreneurs. This possibility provides another level of 'ambiguity' which the model accommodates

The success of the entrepreneurs depends on three elements, the first being their access to the policymakers, the second is their command of resources and third the strategies which they employ to achieve their objectives. The model discusses these entrepreneurs as figures very much influenced by an American concept of people who attempt to have an impact on decisions in order to serve their objectives. In the literature, they assume the figure of a lobbyist with personal interest in the matters at hand. Even though the fundamental task of people who could be placed in this category in the present work can be subsumed under the title of entrepreneur, the character of this figure is different, specifically because of the context in which the policy under consideration was developed. There are cultural differences in the approach taken in the Australian context by persons involved as "entrepreneurs" in a policy directed at a social good and originating from previous policy decisions of the government. In considering the term for my purposes, I have adopted the view that it is synonymous with a description of someone who, believing in the philosophical basis of a prospective policy, is able to take the initiative, irrespective of status and without a commercial motive.

Entrepreneurs include persons who initiated different kinds of actions including research, seminars, public meetings, submissions to committees, participation on committees, direct lobbying of politicians and mobilisation of different types of resources. In this section I choose some representative figures from the relevant time to illustrate the manner in which the model treats them and its applicability to policy development. The persons indicated, therefore, do not constitute a definitive list of entrepreneurs, however, they are persons who have come to the fore in this research by the fact that their name and role appears with a high frequency across the records examined and, in some cases, was highlighted by the informants in the interviews; for example, informant M4 mentioned the role of Mr Andy Watson and Mr J. Mulcahy. These representatives are sufficient to anchor a valid discussion about the nature and operation of entrepreneurs in this particular policy.

It bears repeating that the genesis of most of the action, rather than discussion, in relation to the issue of the communication problems of migrants, came with the advent of the

Labor Government 1972. The societal context in which this occurred was one of a desire for change. A number of people working in the broad area of services to migrants saw the change of government as an event which boosted their own confidence and indicated that this was a propitious time for an increased likelihood of success of efforts in this area. This particular issue will be taken up later in the discussion of policy windows.

The collected data provides a view of entrepreneurs which is more complex than the model depicts. In the first instance, the role of entrepreneur is not necessarily adopted or ascribed in an organisational context, it rather emerges from circumstances and is adopted by different people or organisations as its necessity is perceived. It does not follow that the entrepreneurs need to belong to a rigid 'class' of persons but, may at times be drawn from different players involved in the consideration of issues relevant to a policy area. Their approach and point of view may be concentrated on one aspect of the issue at a certain time and devote itself to another aspect at another time. It is for this reason that this element of the model cannot be discussed in its neat components of access (to policy makers), resources and strategies, although these components inform and dictate the progress or the work of entrepreneurs. This observation reflects the realities of consideration and promotion of issues which do not emerge under neat categories of access, resources and strategies; the entrepreneur takes these elements and considers them in a holistic fashion, allocating attention to each as required and as the circumstances require, furthermore the closer the policy process comes to a decision point, the more likely it is that the three elements are melded. In the discussion below these three elements will be highlighted when they become central to the activities taking place at the time.

One group of entrepreneurs were academics who had already been involved in thinking about the need and the methodology for training interpreters and translators. Con Kiriloff, Toby Garrick and George Strauss, all three academics and former refugees with direct experience in multilingual societies and polyglots themselves and with experience in interpreting and translating, were the ones who readied and also put forward ideas about training courses for interpreters and translators even before the COPQ report was prepared. They were members of the COPQWP. Others with direct contact with the problems related to communication which the migrants were experiencing such as Alison Goding (a psychologist), Loula Rodopoulos (a social worker), Dame Phyllis Frost (charitable organisation) made representations to governments and participated on action committees. Persons in positions of responsibility in migrant organisations such as Walter Lippman and Vladimir Menart, who went beyond their role in their individual organisations to bring forward the issues on a national scale. Finally, public servants who, while operating within the bounds of their official roles, stood out for their tireless efforts which in my view, indicated a belief in the endeavour which went beyond the strict requirements of their job and revealed a devotion not usually associated with bureaucratic behaviour. In this category G. Watson, K Mead, J. Mulcahy stand out (Informants M2, M4). The first two were from the Immigration Department and the third from COPQ. These persons were motivated by different aspects of the problem as they saw it: some such as Dame Phyllis Frost, had a long-standing concern for social justice; Alison Goding and Loula Rodopoulos who experienced the problems in their daily work were guided by their professional imperatives and a degree of activism coupled with professional

integrity, as well as the urgency dictated by the Minister's approach, influenced Watson and Mulcahy.

All the persons mentioned above were in situations which predisposed them to contact with policy makers and they often worked with these policy makers on other problems or in other capacities. Most possessed a network of contacts which arose out of their professional work and through which they provided and obtained first-hand and sometimes insider, knowledge about the field they were working in. For example, as an academic Dr George Strauss was involved in the teaching of languages and had been invited on a number of committees and boards dealing broadly with this area on which other similar status individuals with comparable expertise would exchange and gain knowledge of the policy directions in which the government(s) was heading. These networks would be comprised of individuals from a variety of institutional backgrounds who would in turn interact with their own institutions armed with the knowledge obtained. This experience provided a vehicle of access to a much broader range of individuals. The process I have illustrated which describes someone in academia was repeated in parallel in other fields such as social work, where, for example, Loula Rodopoulos operated. In this case, the access to policy makers was achieved with a somewhat different strategy arising from the professional culture of social work as a politically active profession which was adept at making policy makers respond in a much more public way to issues which required consideration. Through the practice of social work, Loula began collaborating with social welfare bodies such as ACOSS and contributing to discussion papers, seminars and public events examining these issues. Walter Lippman was the president of the Australian Jewish Welfare Society between 1961 and 1972 and subsequently was member of many organisations such as ACOSS and was chosen by governments for many consultancies related to the settlement and welfare of migrants. This is an example where achievements over a long period of time in a relevant field attracted policy makers and in turn he had the opportunity to influence outcomes.

The importance of organisations, mainly NGOs, in this process of facilitation of action on the part of entrepreneurs cannot be underestimated. In fact, in some cases, the organisations themselves were the entrepreneurs. For example, ACOSS with whom two of the entrepreneurs mentioned above were involved, was at times providing the resources necessary for these entrepreneurs to access the policy makers out of its own budget while utilising its own expertise in strategic advocacy by acting autonomously in the role of entrepreneur through its charter. Other organisations operating in a similar fashion were the Good Neighbour Council (GNC), the Greek Welfare Society (GWS), the Australian Jewish Welfare Society (AJWS), the Comitato Assistenza Italiani (CO.AS.IT) and later the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia (FECCA). The strategies utilised by these bodies to advance a policy idea and bring together the problem and the politics were those that formed part of their everyday work on the variety of problems which they were interest in or were mandated to consider by their constitution. This aspect is important especially for the so-called 'ethnic organisations' which had to develop these complex strategies from amateur beginnings as emergency welfare-dispensing groups. In addition, it must also be pointed out that many of these organisations were using resources for these 'entrepreneurial' activities which they had

obtained from the government itself as parts of grants or other subsidies. This is another aspect of the conditions of ambiguity under which the policy process operates.

As alluded to earlier, some persons employed in the bureaucracy acted as entrepreneurs in this particular instance. Public servants of certain seniority have specific roles in providing advice to the relevant minister and preparing papers and policy statements at different points in the policy process. They have a gate-keeping function as well as a facilitation function by being liaison people with their counterparts in other departments to enable the process of policy approval and the parliamentary processes, where applicable, to proceed in an efficient manner. In this role, they also ensure that the views and ideas of the relevant minister are tested in a politically 'safe' environment and are supported where necessary. In the Westminster system, public servants are expected to provide advice to the minister which is 'technical', that being on the basis of the facts as they can be established at the time and not on the basis of what would be politically palatable to the minister; this role is not to be confused with the role of 'ministerial advisers' who are party-political appointments to a minister's staff. As will be shown below, the role of entrepreneur which was performed by these public servants is impacted by the inevitable vagaries in the part which human nature plays in these complex relationships.

I shall take G. C. (Andy) Watson as an example. Watson was a career public servant who, at 31, had been the youngest ever Assistant Secretary in the Australian Public Service. The data shows that he used his considerable experience and knowledge of the workings of the Public Service to steer through this particular policy about interpreters and translators. It may be argued that his role as a public servant required him to do this, however, the manner in which he organised things, in my view, goes beyond the traditional 'faceless bureaucrat' doing his designated job and nothing more. As an Assistant Secretary and later a First Assistant Secretary he displayed an interest in the issue at hand to the point of becoming an ever-present figure by personally participating in all the relevant committees, including those one step removed from the issue of interpreters and translators. None of these committees required his membership *ex officio*. It is instructive to list these: The Immigration Planning Council, the COPQ working Party on Interpreting, the Immigration Advisory Council (Committee on Community Relations), the Federal and State Ministers' meetings in addition to the departmental and interdepartmental committees which were part of his duties. He was invited to the COPQ meeting of 12 Dec. 1973 for its discussion of the Minister's request following the 9 November Ministers meeting in Adelaide (NAA A446 1974/75219). The entrepreneurial role which he played most effectively was that he provided cross fertilisation of ideas and solutions between these numerous bodies which were discussing the same topic from different perspectives; for instance, when he was invited by the Chair of COPQ to speak at their meeting of 12/12/73, he discussed the aspects of Need, Training and Urgency (see above in Sec 4.3.3 where his intervention has been reproduced *verbatim*) which encapsulated not only what the Ministers meeting of November 1973 had decided but provided a rationale for COPQ to be involved.

It will be noted that he is at this meeting in the first place to clarify the Minister's request; this was subsequent to COPQ's expressed reluctance to take on the task of 'creating a

profession'. He brings into the knowledge base of the listeners the deliberations and express wishes of other bodies (in this case the Advisory Council and the Department) and he provides some knowledge input about the nature of interpreting crucial to the forthcoming deliberations of the COPQ. The entrepreneur in this case is clearly 'framing' the problem for people who have been given the task of policy ideas development and injects a political dimension in terms of the urgency. He demonstrates that he has access to the policy makers by citing the sources and motivations of his request. He repeats this strategy with each committee he attends, summarising, simplifying and informing. This has the effect of 'coupling' the problem with the politics and presents a number of pathways to each player. It includes an effective method of bringing the disparate groups working on different aspects of the problem up to speed with what the thinking is and increases the efficiency of the system (the time during which this occurred preceded email, electronic file transfer and contemporaneous editing capabilities by many authors). These activities are consonant with the figure of the entrepreneur in the model particularly on the task of bringing together the streams in preparation for a policy consideration. It is clear from the organisational status of this particular entrepreneur that the question of access to policy makers was not an issue and neither were resources as his activities were integrated into his organisational role.

Mead and Mulcahy were similar to Watson in their work. Mulcahy who was the Project Officer of COPQ, in addition, was responsible for the drafting of iterations of the COPQWP report and was singled out for thanks in the report for not only having facilitated the work of the Working Party but having also contributed "from his own knowledge and experience". The latter has not been specified nor have I been able to find this information.

The work of the entrepreneurs in the model has taken the problem to a point where it can be considered by the policy makers. In the next section I shall discuss the manner in which the policy window eventuated and the inordinate time that it took for the actual policy to begin to be implemented.

5.3 The Policy window

Thus far I have analysed the data in terms of the three streams of the MSF model and I have discussed the element of 'entrepreneurs' and the roles they play. To keep with the 'biological' metaphor of the model, I shall now discuss the 'digestion' of the first four elements as it occurs during the time in which the 'policy window' is open. In the MSF the policy window is the opportunity which becomes available when the three streams of the model are brought together. The policy window is the opportunity to produce a policy output. The nature of the policy window is, according to the MSF, determined by four elements, those being Problem Politics, Coupling Logic, Decision Style and Institutional Context (see Fig. 1). The characterisation of this phenomenon as a window indicates its treatment by the model as a fleeting opportunity. Nevertheless, there is no stipulated duration of this opportunity. Kingdon (1995) postulates that the appearance of a policy window is preceded or accompanied by the coupling of the streams and that there is a logic in this coupling derived not only from the work of entrepreneurs but also from the institutional context in which the streams are flowing and the style of the decision-making

which accompanies the taking advantage of the policy window. Work on the MSF subsequent to Kingdon has found that the short duration of the windows is not necessarily applicable to all instances and some windows are of longer duration (Sharp, 1994). In addition, Dudley (2013) found that windows are not necessarily fleeting occurrences but can also influence later events by acting as precedents and establishing narratives about paths to be followed in certain circumstances. During the time in which the policy window is open, competing solutions are offered by entrepreneurs which may lead to hitherto unexplored interpretations of the problem or the problem may be adjusted to fit the proposed solution.

In the sections which follow I shall discuss the events which unfolded in terms of the four elements of the policy window in the model. It must be reiterated that the boundaries between these constructs are not impermeable, nor does every event fit neatly into each category. I shall alert the reader to this issue as the discussion progresses.

5.3.1 Problem politics

The concept of the policy window refers to the manner in which public policy is seen, essentially as one of problem politics. In essence, the political elements which attend the idea of a problem. Since the formulation of the problem or problems and the consideration of various solutions are both fluid concepts which are subject to the vagaries of the political process, the actors cannot waste any time in taking advantage of the opportunity which presents itself. The impetus behind this approach is the fact that in the definition of a problem there is a consequential urgency to act. Problems by their very nature are conceptual entities requiring a solution as quickly as possible. In this particular instance, there is no doubt about the urgency of the problem, or rather the urgency with which the problem was seen. Even from the November 73 meeting of the Commonwealth and State Ministers of Immigration, there were clear statements that the solution to this problem needed to be found in short order (Department of Immigration Australia, 1973). The urgency of the issue was communicated to the people who were entrusted with either providing information or taking action about the problem. Hence even COPQ, which had no brief regarding the urgency at all, was moved to make suggestions to the Minister about how an interim solution could be found in order to accelerate at least a partial solution of the problem. In a letter to the Minister, Mr Grassby, dated 2 January 1974, in response to the Minister's letter of 26 November 1973, Dr Myers, the then Chair of COPQ, ventured the following:

It will however, be apparent to you that while any recommendations arising from the Committee's activities may help produce long-term solutions to the problems referred to in your letter, it may be necessary to take immediate action if a short-term and perhaps temporary solution is to be found. While it is well outside the terms of reference originally given to this Committee to offer comments of this sort we feel we should draw your attention to two short-term possibilities.

The first is to further utilise the linguistic skills of the migrant population in Australia by selecting and training individuals who, with short courses in English and in Australian institutions and customs, might be able to make a valuable contribution. The second course of action would be to take steps to provide funds to selected institutions which would be prepared to begin immediate planning of tertiary level courses in interpreting to be introduced in February 1975. While the committee would not wish to support any particular course proposal at this stage, the urgency of the situation may justify special financial arrangements which would result in at least one or two courses being available in 1975. (NAA A446 1974/75219)

The particular events which surrounded the policy output occurred some four years after the first formal consideration of the problem. This raises the question of the length of time during which this policy window is considered to be open. It also highlights the fact that the model, as flexible and as nimble as it is, does not really deal with this kind of situation where, even though a decision was taken to set up NAATI for the first time in 1975, it was not until 1977 when it actually occurred.

The politics aspect of this element of the policy window operates at a number of levels: there are the actual 'party political' forces which are at play in the background and there are the politics of bureaucracies with stances and power plays, including territory-marking and territory-seeking. The MSF postulates that windows are opened by compelling problems or by events in the political stream (Zahariadis 2014:40). In the case in point, I have made frequent reference to events in the political stream, especially the change of government in 1972 and the mounting pressure from many quarters about action on the communication problems of migrants. However, the length of time during which this particular window remained open created its own political repercussions both within the government itself and from other governments as will be seen below.

5.3.2 Coupling logic

The idea of the coupling logic asks the question of the reasons why the three MSF streams could be brought or could come together at this particular time and not at other times. It is related to the state of considerations proceeding in each of the streams and their compatibility with each other and also with the role of the entrepreneurs and the latter's ability to bring together ideas which were sufficiently mature to be considered. This aspect is related to Kingdon's (1995) idea whose time has come and a research question of this study.

The problem stream had been contributing to the issues even from the early 60s and by the early 70s it had become clear that certain elements of the settlement of migrants needed to be improved. It had also become clear that communication problems (generally

inability to speak English or acquire sufficient English) were responsible for a number of social, medical, legal and personal difficulties faced by migrants. This state of affairs was documented by a number of surveys and other evidence collected by professionals working with migrants and government reporting mechanisms.

The policy stream had produced a number of initiatives which were already contributing to the solutions of the problems from the problem stream: a translation unit had been instituted in 1960 and in 1973 the ETIS had been set up. At the same time a program of volunteer interpreters had been set up under the Good Neighbour Council. In this context, the justification for services in interpreting and translation was not something which was sought but the issue of quality and the administrative aspects of the service were investigated by surveys initiated in the main by governments. Within the realm of policy alternatives, it may be expected that a debate would have arisen seeking to evaluate policy alternatives to interpreting services. This did not eventuate to any discernible extent precisely because the context was always one of settlement of migrants and it continued to be assumed that this was a phase, a temporary and finite period when migrants would require this kind of 'assistance'. The parameters affecting the nature and duration of this phase have much to do with individual circumstances, characteristics and predispositions, such that, for all intents and purposes there has never been an approach which limits or curtails interpreting and translation services to a putative period of settlement. The only partial exception was the stipulation that translation of personal documents would be provided free of charge by the government only for immediate post-arrival requirements.

The politics stream was, in my estimation, where the greatest contribution to the 'coupling' of the streams was made. The coming together of a number of aspects of Australian political life and a distinct shift in the national mood in an era of openness to change allowed for the willingness to deal with disadvantage (not only in the migrant population), backed by inquiries and research to be considered by the politicians. It revealed difficulties which were serious and manifested themselves at multiple *foci*; they were well packaged and presented by those working in the problem stream. In addition, the actual changes in the political landscape brought about first by a change of government then by the dismissal of that government, creating a constitutional crisis, in a sense helped to normalise the idea of change and despite this upheaval, the fundamental argument for providing better quality interpreting and translating services was not challenged, indeed it was adopted and advanced by the Fraser government which emerged, notwithstanding further hurdles created by economic imperatives and expenditure cuts by government (see also Ch. 4).

5.3.3 Decision style

The decision style which determined the policy window in this case is unremarkable because it followed a well-established pattern of decision making by Australian governments and many others using a Westminster type system of government. Having identified an issue, a group is formed to provide a report on a set of terms of reference provided by the decision-makers. A careful process of identifying and appointing persons to such a group is then undertaken to provide a composition of the group which meets

political objectives in terms of representation and inclusion of persons with particular expertise as well as ensuring that some entrepreneurs (or advocates in the particular matter) become members of the group. A deadline is set for the receipt of the report by the group and the policy-makers operate at arms-length from the workings of the group reserving the right to accept or not accept the recommendations made by the group. The latter's report is then analysed by the policy-makers and generally synthesised for presentation and approval by the relevant government structure, generally at ministerial or Cabinet level. Periods of prolonged inaction on reports are not uncommon and at times no action whatsoever follows as a method of rejection of the substance of the report for reasons ranging from inadequacy of the work itself or recommendations contrary to the prevailing political agenda and possibilities. The vicissitudes of the decision process in this particular case are discussed in sec. 5.4.

5.3.4 Institutional context

The institutional context is invariably connected to the decision style; indeed, the latter is often a product of the former. In this particular case, one can see two kinds of institutions working together, the political institutions and the bureaucratic institutions. The commonality of the context was the product of almost thirty years of immigration policymaking, not able to be ascribed to any particular government or person, but a function of the beginnings of the program as a purposeful mechanism for increasing the population and providing labour. The nation-building aspect on which the migration program was premised persisted through this period and provided a kind of decision-making context which, in a sense, prioritised outcomes over politics. There were certainly differences of opinion about some details of the migration program but overall the bipartisanship of the main political parties allowed for more of a 'technical' approach to problems. On the matter of interpreting and translating the element of institutional context extended to the State governments who, from the very beginning, saw and supported a national approach to the creation of a profession in interpreting and translating and even though they at certain points grew tired of the delays, continued to espouse this policy line and participated materially in its development.

For its part, the bureaucracy showed itself to be proactive rather than reactive by anticipating the questions that would be asked in the process of policy development and setting about getting solid and verified information to answer them. This was done mainly through the Immigration Department's Survey Section which carried out the research on interpreting and translating needs in the community (Australia. Dept. of Immigration Survey Section, 1973a) and the IWPIT which established needs within the Federal Public Service (Australia. Interdepartmental Working Party on Interpreters and Translators, 1978).

5.4 Decisions and indecision

At the 18 May 1974 federal election, the Hon. Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration and Member for the electorate of Riverina, lost his parliamentary seat. On 13 June 1974 when the COPQWP was drafting its report, the Labor government (which had remained in

power) decided to abolish the Department of Immigration and create the Department of Labour and Immigration (Administrative Arrangements Order 153A, 13 June 1974). This was not a simple amalgamation of two government departments but a distribution of the Immigration functions to the new department and also to the Departments of Social Security and Education. The Department of Education was given responsibility for ‘migrant education’ and the Department of Social Security was given responsibility for “post arrival arrangements for migrants other than migrant education and accommodation”. A note to the Minister for Labour and Immigration (who was by now Clyde Cameron) by departmental staff from about November 1974 (NAA: A446, 1974/77967 folios 26-28) indicates to him the state of play of the COPQWP report. This note was sent to the Minister in preparation for the Conference of Ministers for Immigration meeting in April 1975. It states, *inter alia*, that the report had been submitted by COPQ to him in September and had been circulated to State Ministers for discussion at the next Conference of Ministers on 4 April 1975. The note focuses on the establishment of what, at that stage was still referred to as the “National Council on Interpreting and Translating”. The note is distinctly bureaucratic in tone and is mainly concerned with the question, not of whether to set up such a body, but to whom the body should be responsible. It took the COPQWP’s recommendation that it should be responsible to the Minister of Labour and Immigration (when the report was completed the changes in the department’s arrangements had already taken place) and provided some five reasons as to why this should be the case; it then considered the alternatives such as responsibility being vested in the Minister for Education, the Minister for Social Security or the Special Minister of State. It assessed that the proposed Council would be of interest to a number of Federal and State Ministers and suggested that the proposal would attract most support if the Council were made responsible to the Conference of Federal and State Ministers for Immigration. It went on to provide several examples of arrangements for other bodies which could be seen as precedents to the suggestion made, for example, the Australian Council for Awards in Advanced Education, the Australian Council for Educational Research and other organisations. The note concludes with a recommendation to the Minister to seek the agreement of the State Ministers at the meeting the following April to establish the Council with responsibility to the Conference of Ministers. I regard this as a significant aspect of the policy process since it is an implicit evaluation of the external factors which were likely to scupper the whole idea if the sensitivities and territorial ambitions of a number of parties were not taken into account. Of course, the contents of this note are to be seen as a culmination of substantial efforts by a number of people, especially departmental staff and COPQ staff who prepared the context in which the whole report was conceived and brought it into being. Two people in this category were instrumental in this endeavour and I have already mentioned them in the discussion of entrepreneurs earlier in this chapter. Here I give further information as it related to these particular activities. The persons in question are Mr G.C. (Andy) Watson, the then First Assistant Secretary of the Immigration Department and Mr J.S. Mulcahy, initially Project Officer, then Executive Director of COPQ. Both people were mentioned by a number of those whom I interviewed. They did this spontaneously. Mr Watson’s activities appear to be those of a consummate Public

Servant who had the added advantage of longevity in the job, sufficient authority and participation on boards, committees and working parties which gave him an invaluable overview of the situation and allowed him to coordinate action in many quarters which culminated in changes or creation of policy. In this case we find him in the Department with relevant responsibilities for this whole area, participation as an official in the Conference of Ministers, he was asked to attend the first COPQ Committee meeting after the November 1973 Ministers' Conference in Adelaide (12/12/1973), member of the COPQWP, attended the 25/2/74 meeting on the discussion of setting up the COPQW, in short he had the finger on the pulse of this project and was able to facilitate cross-flow of information between his many committees. He was also involved in the Immigration Advisory Council's Committee on Community Relations and the Interdepartmental Working Party on Interpreters and Translators (which reported in 1977). He retired in 1978 after 33 years with the Department and, at 31, he had been the youngest Assistant Secretary in the Public Service (*The Canberra Times* Monday 10 July 1978, p.7).

Mr Mulcahy's contribution to the COPQWP report was explicitly mentioned therein. He had displayed particular foresight in providing the Working Party with information and drafts which enabled it to complete its task in such a short time and after only four formal meetings. He had begun his work as a Project Officer in COPQ in 1971 and became its Executive Director during 1976.

In August 1974 the Committee on Community Relations of the Immigration Advisory Council presented its Interim report (Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council . Committee on Community Relations, 1975). As stated above in this section, Mr Watson was a member of this committee representing the Department of Immigration and among the members was Dr S.S. Richardson C.B.E., the Principal of the Canberra College of Advanced Education. This Committee, which began its work as the Committee on Discrimination, reinforced and supported a number of initiatives regarding Interpreting and Translating which made their way into the COPQWP report. These included a series of recommendations regarding the deficient state of affairs as far as provision of interpreting services in the community, further recommendations about the provision of multilingual written material and others relating to the direct provision of interpreters including specific training for them. This report was significant in that it brought together the views of the State Migration Task Force Committees whose information it collected and used in the comprehensive national picture which it derived. This represents input from the migrants themselves through the existing 'ethnic' organizations. Mr Watson had already provided a summary of the discussions of this Committee to the COPQ meeting of 12 December 1973 (see quoted excerpt in Ch 4). This is a further example of the cross-fertilisation work undertaken by Mr. Watson.

During 1975, COPQ continued to have responsibility for its Working Party Report and continued to provide the necessary administrative support for the follow up. The Department of Labour and Immigration itself began work on the recommendations of the COPQWP report, specifically in the areas of developing designations and classifications

for the positions of translator and interpreter in the Federal Public Service (NAA: A446, 1974/75218) and the area of financing training courses. A number of developments occurred during this year, namely: in March 1975 the Telephone Interpreter Service was transferred to the Department of Social Security; on 4 April the Minister announced the approval of the establishment of the National Council on Interpreting and Translating publicly in Perth (on the occasion of the Conference of Ministers of Immigration meeting); COPQ was working on recommendations to the Minister on the membership of the Council; the COPQWP report was tabled in Parliament on 21 May 1975; the Department, around May 1975, provided funds (\$197,000) to cover the cost of full-time one-year courses for interpreters and translators at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology – Advanced College (RMIT) and the Canberra College of Advanced Education (CCAEC) and part-time courses at the Institute of Languages of the University of New South Wales; the Department carried out a survey of all Federal Departments to seek their views on the development of a central translating and interpreting resource within the Department; on 13 and 14 June 1975 an “Interpreter Action Conference” was held at the Trades Hall in Adelaide and organised by a coalition of migrant organizations and the South Australian Council of Social Service, among others. It demanded action on a ‘comprehensive interpreter/translator service’. (The above data has been obtained from a number of items of correspondence in the Departmental file NAA: A446, 1974/75218).

On 11 November 1975, following the dismissal of the Prime Minister by the Governor-General, the Whitlam government ended and Malcolm Fraser was installed as the care-taker Prime Minister. The care-taker status of the government between 11 November and 13 December 1975, when it was duly elected, caused consequential delays in the processes of government and the interpreting and translating issue was not only subject to inevitable delays but, to some extent, a reconsideration of the whole idea of a national council for interpreting and translating to set standards and accredit practitioners. This came about not because the relevant minister had misgivings about it but more for broader political reasons which led to the setting up of the Expenditure Review Committee (ERC), headed by Sir Henry Bland “to cut the fat from the Commonwealth Public Service and set it on course to meet the demands of the '70s and '80s” (Farquharson, 1997).

The ERC was appointed in December 1975 to examine the programs, services and other activities of federal government departments and agencies. It was given the task of achieving savings and this was widely interpreted as the Fraser government’s attempt to cut back many of the reforms and new programs introduced by the Whitlam Government. The ERC reports were not published. The comments and considerations pertaining to the ERC in the correspondence were the result of direct contact between the Department of Immigration and the ERC at the time. Already in January 1976 notes were prepared for the minister for the forthcoming (April 1976) meeting of immigration ministers, noting that the matter of the institution of the Council had gone as far as the former Prime Minister’s approval of a proposed membership (which had not been conveyed to Minister McClelland before the dissolution of the parliament), that the States had supported the

setting up of the Council (NAA: A1209, 1976/2738) and that further actions had been suspended pending a decision on whether the establishment of the Council should now proceed because the recommendations of the Bland committee would need to be taken into account (NAA: A446, 1974/75218). It must be added that Mr. McClelland was replaced as Minister for Labour and Immigration on 11 November 1975 by Tony Street whose tenure lasted until 22 December 1975 when the name of the Department changed to the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIEA) and Mr. Michael MacKellar became the Minister. On 7 April 1976, the Deputy Secretary of DIEA was writing to the Secretary about his discussions with the Minister on the previous day. He made reference to the Bland Committee's negative view on the formation of a National Council. In later correspondence from Mr. MacKellar responding to the Prime Minister's request for comment on the ARC report on the matter, it transpired that the objection of the ARC seemed to have been focused on the perception that the National Council would be setting salary classifications which was the prerogative of Federal and State Public Service Boards and not a Council as proposed. (NAA: M1287, 91 Part 2). On 12 April 1976, the Federal and State Ministers of Immigration had met and the need for the National Council had been endorsed. This was the fourth occasion since November 1973 on which the Conference of Ministers had pronounced in favour of the Council being set up. The desire of the Minister that the formation of a regulatory body not be abandoned was recorded in memos between the Deputy Secretary and the Secretary and is reflected in the decisions of the Conference of Ministers.

Contemporaneously, different departments were working on the elements more clearly belonging to government operations, such as the development of classifications and salary scales for the employment of interpreters and translators and the possibility of setting up interpreting and translating services for the Federal Government. In order to coordinate this work across the departments and in general provide suggestions for the improvement of interpreting and translating services, the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet established the Interdepartmental Working Party on Interpreters and Translators (IWPIT) on 19 March 1976. (Australia. Interdepartmental Working Party on Interpreters and Translators, 1978). The IWPIT had representatives from the Public Service Board and the Departments of: Education, Employment and Industrial Relations, Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Social Security and observers from Aboriginal Affairs, Health and Attorney-General – it first met on 13 May 1976. It decided to survey all departments and instrumentalities via a written questionnaire which contained comprehensive instructions and definitions to help the respondents. By December 1976 Prime Minister Fraser was growing impatient with the paucity of output by the IWPIT and wrote to the head of the Public Service Board expressing his disappointment. The report, with its 18 recommendations was tabled in Parliament on 22 February 1977 as Parliamentary paper 48/1977. Its recommendations can be considered a compendium of what had been discussed in the time since the change of government in 1975. It took a number of elements further by providing more detail and included some costings. Its recommendations covered the areas of provision of services by the Commonwealth Government and by State governments, improvement of the services provided by the

Commonwealth, training and accreditation proposals and employment opportunities. The published report takes it for granted and supports the setting up of the standards body. In fact it refers to it as the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters and notes that it has been recently endorsed by Cabinet.

During the life of this working party a number of other pronouncements had been made on the fate of the COPQWP report, and specifically the setting up of the National Council. The South Australian Government had announced that it would set up a Translation and Interpreting Service and the NSW government was working towards the establishment of a similar service; both South Australia and Victoria, in writing to the Prime Minister were expressing their concern at the delay in establishing the Council given it was seen as “essential to the development and operation of interpreting and translating services in Australia” (NAA: A1209, 1977/998 Part 3).

5.5 NAATI is created

The formal approval process for setting up the National Council cannot be described as linear. At the outset Minister McClelland in October 1975 in his correspondence with the Prime Minister on the composition of the Board had also asked whether the establishment of the Council required Cabinet approval. The consensus was that it did not as it was not a statutory body (NAA: A1209, 1976/2738 Part 1). Following the change of government and the coming into play of the ERC, the Minister was presented with a problem in that the ERC was not in favour of the establishment of the body for reasons outlined above. On 5 July 1976 Cabinet considered a submission (no. 366) which was curiously titled “Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs: Report of the Administrative Review Committee – National Council on Interpreting and Translating” (NAA: A10756 LC837 Part 1) (This appears to be a clerical error in the nomenclature of the ERC, possibly confused with The Administrative Review Committee of earlier date and also chaired by H. Bland). The decision which the Cabinet made on that date (no. 1093) was as follows: “The Cabinet noted that in the event that the Minister wished to establish a National Council on Interpreting and Translating he would bring forward a Submission to Cabinet”. What this indicates is that the arguments about the objection by the ERC were heard, however, there was still sufficient support for the idea in Cabinet. The arguments which led to the above decision are not open to public scrutiny, however, what, in political terms, would have been obvious was that the government had said and reiterated on a number of occasions, publicly and to the Premiers of the States and the respective relevant Ministers in the States, that the Council would be set up. Reference to an undertaking by government to “make available adequate numbers of bilingual staff in public hospitals and government departments” had also been included in the Governor General’s speech at the opening of parliament on 17 February 1976 and was often cited in support of the commitment in the correspondence (NAA: A1209/1976/2738 part 1). The invitation entailed in the Cabinet decision of 5 July 1976, led to a submission being put to the Machinery of Government Committee (MOG) of Cabinet (No.801) on 11 November 1976. The correspondence surrounding the preparation of this submission reignited

differences of opinion regarding whether there was a need for a Council and, if it were to be set up, to whom it should be responsible; the Department of Education made a spirited effort to have it as part of its operations. The MOG Committee's decision (no.1812) also raises more questions than it answers; it said the following:

1. The Committee approved the concept that there should be national standards for translators and interpreters, but was not satisfied that there was need for a separate body to administer these standards.

2. The Committee agreed that:

- (a) the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs discuss with the Minister for Education whether standards for translators and interpreters could be applied by existing bodies such as the Australian Council for Awards in Advanced Education [ACAAE]; and

- (b) in the event that the Ministers could not reach agreement, the matter referred to in sub-paragraph 2(a) above would be discussed with the Prime Minister and, if necessary, referred to the Committee.

Even before these considerations were being tabled in a formal forum, the Immigration Ministers of the Commonwealth and the States had one of their regular meetings on 23 October 1976. On the same day and in the days immediately following this meeting, the major daily newspapers in Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra, were reporting on it and their reporting included, in the context of improved migrant services, the agreement of the meeting to set up a national body to co-ordinate the testing and accreditation of interpreters and translators. In addition, on 19 November 1976 the Minister of Education, J. L. Carrick wrote to MacKellar arguing that the ACAAE would not be an appropriate body to deal with standards for interpreters and translators and that he could not see any suitable alternative, but a national body as proposed, to carry this out. He asked that the membership of the body be determined in consultation with him (NAA: A1209, 1976/2738 part 1). This written documentation of an accommodation being reached between the Education and Immigration Ministers fulfilled the requirements of the Cabinet's MOG committee's decision of 11 November and paved the way for a direct discussion on the matter between the Prime Minister and the Immigration Minister. It is also confirmatory of an underlying disagreement about which government department would take responsibility for the new body. This 'territorial' squabble cannot simply be dismissed as political game-playing as it is a reflection of how the whole matter of interpreting and translating services was perceived. The mere words of the correspondence, being urbane and syllogistic, do not reveal the actual reasons why this occurred. Looking at the panorama of events and discussions, I view the outcome as being

influenced by the Prime Minister who was particularly single-minded on achieving an outcome in this area. It will be noted that during the same year the issues of training courses had been dealt with by direct funding from the Immigration Department; this indicates a solidarity of view between MacKellar and Fraser. It is understandable for the Minister of Immigration to have vigorously defended the placement of NAATI in his department because the needs had arisen there, the work to produce a proposal had been done there and the problem was seen as a 'migrant' problem, in other words the MSF's three streams were aspects which his department had dealt with for some four years and expectations had been created not only in the migrant communities but also in the State governments who had worked on these issues independently but had agreed on a number of occasions to a single arrangement for the country as a whole. On the other hand, the Education Department's claims to relevance in this area reflects the primary and persistent thread in the reasoning in favour of establishing an accreditation body, that being a much-needed improvement in the quality of interpreting and translating service provision anchored to education and training.

On 26 November 1976 through a press release (IEA 59/76) headed "National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters", Minister MacKellar declared that the Authority would be established by the Federal Government with the full support of the States. The correspondence also indicates that on 3 December during a meeting with MacKellar, the Prime Minister decided that action to establish the national body should proceed (NAA: A1209, 1976/2738 part 1). On 28 June 1977 Minister MacKellar wrote to the Prime Minister with a proposal for membership of the Authority including the rationale for the slight modification of criteria for the choice of members. He was at pains to indicate that he had consulted with the Ministers of Education and Social Security on the membership as well as with State Governments. He later requested the addition of a further member. On 12 September 1977, the Prime Minister wrote to MacKellar formally approving the establishment of the Authority and the membership (as well as the terms of reference) for a period of three years in the first instance. On 14 September 1977, with a press release (IEA60/77 – Appendix G) Minister MacKellar announced the creation of NAATI and named the first Board.

The above discussion highlights the fact that the strength of the MSF reaches its limit when the policy making process goes beyond the policy window. The model's strengths have been documented by various studies as being focused more on the agenda-setting element of the process and the current example has confirmed this. It can be argued that until the final approval of the Prime Minister for the setting up of NAATI the policy window was open, however, the actions and strategies in the intervening period since the opening of the policy window cannot simply be divorced from the model. During this period, we have seen the policy-makers at work and the actions of some of them could be regarded as those of entrepreneurs. Indeed, the consultation processes and expert panels of various kinds which worked on the model for NAATI or contributed to it cannot be divorced from the actors in each of the three streams. There appears thus to be a continuing relationship between the actors in the streams, the entrepreneurs and the policy

makers which can be accounted for by a series of observations, one being that the possibility that the roles played by various protagonists can change over time and they are more or less invested in the process as time progresses; the second being that the proponents of the policy are often conscripted in its development and implementation as people with sufficient knowledge to be useful. This approach is consistent with the logic that those with experience will provide better outcomes and it is reflected in the appointments to the first NAATI board, which consisted mostly of persons who were familiar with the subject matter and had a large stake in the success of the enterprise given their involvement in educations and more specifically their stated intention or experience in the setting up training courses for interpreters and as practitioners, as well as the fact that three of them had been members of the COPQWP.

This leads to the observation that the aspect of the condition of ambiguity in the policy process postulated by the model is a significant characteristic in the development of this policy, aided and abetted by the paucity of available skills in the area at the time. More generally it indicates that policy-making could be considered to be a process where it is more likely that the definers of problems go through the process illustrated by the model and they themselves are those who eventually implement the solutions.

In the next chapter I shall discuss how the actual policy was implemented and if it did indeed provide solutions to the problems presented.

Chapter 6 Reality bites: implementing the policy

6.1 Introduction

As was indicated in the previous chapter, after the lengthy and at times difficult progress of the discussions regarding the creation of NAATI, its birth was relatively low-key. In a simple response to the request for approval by the Minister for Immigration, MacKellar (dated 28 June 1977), the Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, on 12 September 1977, formally approved “the establishment of the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters”, the proposed membership of the Authority (except for one member about whom further correspondence with the Premier of NSW was in train), and the terms of reference. He also specified the period of approval as “three years in the first instance” (NAA A1209 1976/2738 Part 1). On 14 September 1977 with News Release IEA60/77 the Minister announced the setting up of the Authority (see Appendix G)

In this chapter, I shall examine the organisational structure which was set up, follow the developments of the new body and outline the work which was done. This represents an exploration of the policy output in terms of the MSF and attempts to identify elements relevant to the research question concerned with the factors which shaped the policy and its implementation.

The expected life of the organisation as indicated above, was three years; when the Terms of Reference for the Authority were published in its first annual report NAATI’s objectives were specified as follows:

- (i) Establish the standards and conditions leading to professional status, and in so doing develop translating and interpreting in Australia to meet community needs.
- (ii) Develop the basic infrastructure for the emergence of a national self-regulatory professional body in the expectation that this body would, within five years, assume responsibility for the profession, including accreditation.

The full text of the Terms of Reference forms Appendix H.

From the above file (NAA A1209 1976/2738 Part 1) it is clear that what should have been a term of three years was extended to almost six, lasting until 30 June 1983. I shall be exploring some of the reasons and implications in terms of policy of this situation in the sections which follow.

6.2 Institutional structure

What was to have been the National Council on Interpreting and Translating was called that until about nine months before it was launched as the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters. I have not been able to find any direct reference to the change in the nomenclature, however the term ‘Authority’ seems to have been used for the first time in the meeting of the Machinery of Government (MOG)

Committee of Cabinet on 11 November 1976 where it appeared as the title of the agenda item which was up for discussion. A note from Mr E. L. Charles, the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Education to Mr T. H. McClelland, of the Community Affairs Branch of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet dated 7 December 1976 indicates that there was discussion prior to that Cabinet Committee meeting about the title because he notes:

“Prior to the Cabinet Committee meeting on 11 November I had made the point in a briefing note to Senator Carrick [Minister of Education] as well as to the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs that I thought the acronym NAATI not particularly well chosen as it gave undue emphasis to translators whilst what we are concerned with is the development of an interpreting (and translating) profession. This point appears not to have been taken up (Senator Carrick was not party to the Committee discussion)” (NAA A1209 1976/2738 Part 1 folio 34) (square brackets added for clarification)

The reasons for calling the new body an ‘Authority’ rather than a Council are not unequivocally determinable, however, the mere fact that there was discussion between persons preparing or contributing to the Cabinet submission such as Charles (see sec 6.3 below) about this prior to a meeting of a Cabinet Committee indicates that it cannot be taken simply as a desire for some stylistic improvement. The persons appointed to the Authority were appointed as Members and the versions of the tasks for the new body always emphasised the fact that this body would accredit individuals. It appears that the term Authority was more suited to this particular function. Furthermore, as early as October 1975 the then Labor Minister for Immigration, McClelland, had asked the then Prime Minister, Whitlam, in presenting him with a list of nominees to the ‘Council’, whether the setting up of the Council needed Cabinet approval. The response given to the minister was that it did not need Cabinet approval since it was not a Statutory Office.

Subsequently, and specifically, when Minister MacKellar was cognizant of the Bland Committee’s (ERC) opposition to the setting up of a Council, the Cabinet, while considering the ERC’s report, with decision No 1093 of 5 July 1976, noted that “in the event that the Minister wanted to establish a National Council on Interpreting and Translating, he would bring forward a submission to Cabinet”. This apparently contradictory advice to that which Whitlam had proffered is less about the processes of Cabinet and more about the political difficulties which had arisen with the ERC Report and the inherent delays caused by the change of government in November 1975.

The insistence of many States that something be done about the setting up of the Council also provided a pressure point for the Minister. It can be fairly concluded that the term ‘Authority’ served the purpose of avoiding arguments as to whether it was a matter for Cabinet and also supported the view of the Minister for Education that the Australian Council on Awards in Advanced Education (ACAAE) was not an appropriate body to administer the accreditation of interpreters and translators (a formal declaration by the Minister, J.L. Carrick, following the MOG decision of 11 November 1976 that the

Ministers of Immigration and Education discuss whether the standards for interpreters and translators could be applied by existing bodies such as the ACAAE (NAA: A1209 1976/2738 Part 1)). The nomenclature was clearly important to navigate, if not to circumvent, government/cabinet procedural requirements.

At this point in time and until September 1977 when NAATI was finally launched, there had been a certain amount of friction about whether there should be a NAATI, this surfaced mainly after the setting up of the ERC (it is no accident that the latter was known as the ‘razor gang’). It will be recalled that the ERC was set by Prime Minister Fraser to review government expenditure. It is important to add that the main argument advanced by the ERC against having a Council was strictly on the basis of the administrative necessity for a Council and not as an organisational model for the setting of standards for interpreters and translators. The ERC was also under the apparently mistaken assumption that the Council would be setting salary classifications for interpreters and translators and it gave this as another reason for their conclusion. (Report on the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs by the ERC para. 24 cited in NAA: A12909/1407).

Even from the Ministers’ meeting of 9 November 1973, the Ministers had concluded that “the terms and conditions of employment of interpreters should be sufficiently attractive to ensure that sufficient numbers of people with the necessary linguistic skills will make their services available” (Department of Immigration Australia 1973). On 18 December 1974, Andy Watson, annotated a letter of comments on the COPQ Report by the Survey Section of the Department of Immigration by indicating on the margin of the following paragraph:

“As to remuneration, this could be determined by an authority other than the Council, but I think adequate machinery for the setting of salary or fee standards for both full-time and casual interpreters should be well conceived before accreditation becomes operative. This would be in the best interests of both interpreters/translators, employers, and the general public.”

that

“a start will need to be made with the PSB (further letter to Mr Cooley is required)” (NAA: A466, 1974/79219). Sir Alan Cooley was the Chairman of the Public Service Board (PSB) at the time.

A letter from the PSB dated 3 November 1976 outlined a new Classification Structure for Translators with concomitant salaries having five levels from the equivalent of a Clerical/Admin Class 2/3 Clerk (\$9000 p.a.) up to a Class 8 (\$15000 p.a.) (NAA: A1209, 1979/988 Part 1). This particular information confirms that the job of determining salaries was carried out by the PSB, thus they were salaries of public servants working as Translators. When the IDWP discussed this issue, there was some bickering over the fact that they had used only the term ‘translator’ in the job title. The information also indicates that there was a clear intention of employing interpreters and translators in the Public Service. This is consistent with all discussions about interpreters and translators since the

November 1973 Ministers' meeting, notwithstanding that longer-term plans had discussed the involvement of private companies. By this stage the State governments had embarked on setting up their own services and the whole endeavour was premised on cooperation with the States, for example, the NSW Government on 24 January 1977, advertised for positions in its 'soon to be created Community Interpreter and Information Service' (NAA: A1209, 1979/998 Part 3)

In addition, the context of these protracted discussions was impacted upon by the Prime Minister's changes of departmental arrangements on 5 October 1976, as discussed earlier, which had included specifically the stipulation that the advancing of "policies designed to secure integration of migrants" was to be for implementation by functional Departments, they being those departments whose responsibilities it was to carry out that function. Thus, the Telephone Interpreting Service was moved to the Department of Social Security, the latter being tasked with providing post-arrival services. This helped to fuel the difference of opinion between the Ministers of Immigration and Education about which department should have responsibility for the Council, where the 'education' function was regarded to be the overriding element by the Education Department and the 'migration' element was thought to be the relevant issue by the Department of Immigration.

There had also been consistent and vocal support for the Council from most States since November 1973, not only for the concept of regulating the profession but specifically to have a national approach to accreditation rather than one 'State by State' which had characterised a number of other professions. Moreover, after the COPQWP report was made public, the imminent setting up of the Council had been the subject of *communiqués* by successive meetings of Commonwealth, State and Territory Ministers of Immigration, it had been announced by the Governor-General in the customary programmatic speech at the opening of Parliament in February 1976, it had been the subject of a number of newspaper articles in the main capitals and individual Premiers had written to the Prime Minister asking about the fate of the Council and suggesting that it was overdue. The federal bureaucracy was also supportive of the Council and, as an example, in the Report of the IWPIT which was tabled in Parliament by the Prime Minister on 22 February 1977, it is stated in passing that the National Accreditation Authority's establishment is expected shortly (Australia. Interdepartmental Working Party on Interpreters and Translators, 1978).

I have not been able to locate any records of any further discussion or dissension about the name or the concept of the Council, which, in the final analysis, was created by Prime Ministerial approval following Cabinet decisions over a period of almost a year.

The papers of the inaugural meeting of NAATI contain the objectives and terms of reference of the Authority (see Appendix H) as well as the names of the Members (see Appendix I). At the same meeting, the Chairman indicated that "the administrative aspects of the operation of the Authority will be the responsibility of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and that, in practice, administrative support will be provided by the Secretariat of the Ethnic Affairs Branch" (NAATI Inaugural meeting –

Report). This support consisted initially of two staff members, an Executive Officer and one other.

The involvement of the States in decisions to set up NAATI and the intention by the Federal Government that the States should financially contribute to it, does not sit easily with the seemingly one-sided administrative arrangements (this included funding) for NAATI at its establishment. This particular aspect was to form the basis of the changes to NAATI's governance which took effect on 1 July 1983. These will be dealt with in sec. 6.8, however, it is relevant to note that during the whole process of consideration of whether and when to establish NAATI, the bureaucracy, as a result of an assessment of the reasons for the establishment of NAATI which had been formalised and documented since 1973, examined the possible administrative location of it, including the Department of Social Security, which housed the Telephone Interpreter Service, the Department of Education for its interest regarding the training of interpreters and translators, the Immigration Department for its obvious application to migration and the Special Minister of State because of NAATI's reach into multiple areas above plus the diplomacy applications and the possible inclusion of Indigenous languages which required interpreting services. The inclusion of the latter may appear at first incongruous as the languages in question are not languages of migration, however as the COPQ report had indicated, the view of interpreting and translating services was always a broad one and included statements regarding interpreters for international trade and diplomacy, in any event the terms of reference did not preclude the consideration of Aboriginal languages as part of NAATI's obligations towards the community (see earlier in this section).

NAATI's initial nature and scope was also influenced by the broader discussion of migrant services and the role of government in their provision. Alongside discussions of NAATI by successive meetings of Ministers of Immigration from all over Australia were discussions of provision, not only of interpreting services but other services for migrants by governments. Further, during the period of incubation of the NAATI idea, in 1975, South Australia announced that it was setting up a Translation and Interpreting Service and on 24 January 1977 NSW advertised interpreter positions for its soon to be created "Community Interpreter and Information Service" (NAA: A1209, 1979/998 Part 3). In 1977, the Federal Government commissioned the Galbally Review (Galbally, 1978) to examine the effectiveness of programs specifically directed at migrants. In 1982 the effects of the Galbally report were reviewed by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) (Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, 1982). Its observations about NAATI led to a major disagreement with NAATI which will be discussed in sec. 6.8.

The first NAATI Board was an 11-person Board, whose Chair was the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Tasmania, Sir George Cartland (see Appendix I for the names and positions of the Board members). There were two professors of literature, six people who were academics who taught foreign languages or interpreting and translating, an educational administrator and a representative of the 'ethnic community' who was also a lawyer. The process of appointment was lengthy and tortuous given that nominations from each State were obtained.

6.3 Interpreting the COPQWP recommendations

Sir George Cartland's experience in what we would now call 'green field' activities came to the fore from the very first meeting of the Authority which took place on 2 November 1977. He had been at the forefront of post-colonial West African policy-making and the first and last deputy-governor of Uganda (Obituary- *New Vision* Archive 2008)

The inaugural meeting was also attended by a number of people from relevant Departments and the Secretary of the Immigration Department, Mr L.W.B. Engledow, gave a formal welcome to the Board on behalf of the Minister, Michael MacKellar. Among those present, it is important to mention an officer who was a member of the Secretariat of the Review Group of Post-Arrival Programmes and Services for Migrants (the Galbally Review) and the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Education, Mr E.L. Charles. The former because of later disagreements with the Galbally Review and its aftermath and the latter for his close involvement with the previous four years 1973-1977 of discussions about NAATI.

In his opening remarks, Sir George Cartland laid out an impressive program of activities and priorities which the agenda of the very first meeting began to address. He saw the academic and professional matters in the terms of reference, being the determination of the appropriate levels of skills for interpreters and translators, the provision of advice on the content of the courses and the development of tests, as being first priorities and the other terms of reference, which were more of a general and administrative kind, being less urgent.

He also noted that the matter of professional ethics which had not been covered by the COPQWP should be given some attention and he proposed the setting up of three working parties, on tests, ethics and training. NAATI accepted all the COPQ recommendations relevant to it except for a departure from those recommendations which concerned the levels. The general tenor of the opening remarks are not, as one would expect, consonant with the genre, where platitudes are interspersed with the odd glimpse of a promise of some future action; in this case the approach was concrete and realistic, both in political terms and in technical terms since there was more than one reference to the final objective of handing over the institutional function to a future professional body (this issue will be taken up in sec. 6.8) and the requirement that some action by NAATI had to be taken in short order so as not to dash the expectations of the community and in order to create a positive impression. In summary, he stressed that in his view, NAATI's function was essentially "practical"- "to analyse the issues, to decide on solutions and to put them into effect or to prevail on others to do so." (NAATI: inaugural meeting report)

The matter of the levels was discussed at the first meeting as agenda item 4, "Examination of the Levels Recommended in the Report by COPQ". The papers for this item on the agenda consisted of the COPQ Report, the language levels skills descriptions of the BILC and reference to those of the United States Department of State (it is stated that a pro-forma used by the DIEA to assess the language abilities of its own staff was based on rating scales devised by the U.S. Dept. of State for "characterising" the language skills of members of the U.S. Foreign service). The BILC descriptions in the meeting

papers are clearly defined as a work in progress not having any official recognition. As far as I have been able to establish, such Foreign Language Proficiency Levels as were presented at the first NAATI meeting, were first aired at the 1973 BILC conference in a paper presented by Cmdt F. Horekens (Belgium) who was then the Chair of the working group on proficiency levels. (Horekens, 1974:42) This version of the BILC levels is reproduced verbatim in the NAATI meeting papers. As far as the U.S. Department of State language scales are concerned, there was no paper for discussion about this source of information for the meeting. The available material on language proficiency levels and testing in the U.S. Department of State relates to the recent past. Language matters are now centralized in an Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR) with the Foreign Service Institute providing training and testing. I have examined the ILR material but what is available does not deal with the relevant period of time, it is nevertheless clear that the scale which is used now by the ILR reflects the 5-level structure of BILC and this congruity is not surprising as BILC is a NATO organisation where U.S. involvement is material.

The fact that BILC scales and the U.S. State Department scales were scales of *language competence*, not interpreting or translating competence (ILR now has these) is indicative of the lack of distinction and confusion between interpreting and translating skills on one hand and language proficiency on the other and it begs the question as to why these would have been submitted for consideration for this agenda item when it was clear that the newly-created body was concerned with interpreting and translating; the minutes of this meeting do not indicate that this point was raised. In addition, the meeting deemed that the BILC levels “appeared to be aimed more directly at ‘levels of competence’, while the COPQ levels referred more specifically to ‘needs’. Members agreed that NAATI levels should be aimed at levels of competence more than needs.” (NAATI: inaugural meeting report) They further agreed that the levels should be five (citing the fact that this would follow international usage as per BILC) and that perhaps Level III (i.e. COPQ Level III) might be divided into two groups while Levels I and II might be amalgamated. It also foreshadowed that the COPQ levels might need to be re-examined in light of translation/interpreting courses available in Australia (for clarity I shall be using Arabic numerals for the NAATI levels and roman numerals for the COPQ levels even though NAATI persisted for some time with roman numerals).

The COPQ had recommended the following structure:

Five levels sequentially named Level I to V

The more descriptive names for the levels were as follows:

I - Language Aide Grade 1

II- Language Aide Grade 2

III - Interpreter/Translator Grade 1

IV - Interpreter/Translator Grade 2

V - Interpreter/Translator Grade 3

In 1978 NAATI settled on the following 5 tier system:

Level 1 - Language Aide

Level 2- Interpreting for general purposes and as part of one's duties. (level at which existing practitioners would be recognised without assessment)

Level 3 -First Professional Level

Level 4 - Advanced Professional Level

Level 5 – Senior Advanced Level

(A detailed description of these levels can be found in Appendix J)

The reasons for departure from the COPQ levels are specifically enunciated in NAATI's booklet "Levels of Accreditation for translators and interpreters" as follows:

The Authority has examined the descriptions of the five levels prepared by the COPQ Working Party on Interpreting as well as those adopted by other authorities and has found some differences. In preparing its own definitions the Authority has paid close attention to the COPQ descriptions. However, the Authority has felt it desirable to vary them in order to take account both of the special needs of non-English-speaking people in Australia and of the need for interpreters and translators of internationally accepted standards for international meetings and conferences. It has also been guided by the general need to establish professional standards rather than by the special needs of particular employers.

...

The Authority believes that Level I must remain essentially an elementary level. It also believes that the standard of Level II should, without altering its basic purpose, be strengthened by requiring of new candidates for this level a higher standard of general education and of education in both the first and second languages than has been expected at the equivalent level in the past.

The Authority is looking to the time when Level III will be regarded as the general professional standard, Level IV as advanced professional and Level V as senior advanced professional. ((NAATI, 1978) p. v)

This justification for the departure from the COPQ levels is indicative of a much broader view of interpreting and translating and even at this early stage of NAATI's work, the concept was applied with the world in mind and favoured professional standards over what might be construed as narrower interests. In this manner NAATI established that the standard of performance would be the measure adopted; this is consonant with the development of a public policy as

opposed to responding to a variety of demands about needs which certainly would have embroiled NAATI in more difficult negotiations in promoting the adoption of its levels. In addition, this first statement about NAATI's approach was made alongside a recognition that the COPQ report had not devoted sufficient attention to the issue of professional ethics and thus it moved to create a committee on ethics.

6.4 Defining the parameters of the work

The issue of levels (unless otherwise specified, the discussion of levels henceforth will refer to the NAATI levels and not to the COPQ levels) discussed above was relevant to the mandate to establish standards and NAATI's quick response to this element was allied to its urgent need for data in terms of how large a task it was embarking upon. Again, even in the opening remarks of the Chairman at the first meeting, he mooted a survey in order to assess the numbers and the range of experience and ability already available.

The carrying out of the survey was delayed as the questionnaire could not be circulated without the booklet on levels. The latter had been completed in mid-1978 but only became available in the last week of December 1978 because of printing issues. (NAATI first Annual report (1979:3) The questionnaire (with the booklet) was distributed early in 1979. The survey was designed to elicit two classes of data. It asked respondents to indicate the languages and levels for which they intended to seek accreditation; in addition, it was designed to allow for a profile of practising and potential interpreters and translators to be derived, based on such parameters as the background, level of education and experience of the respondents. The data provided the first comprehensive data base on the profession in Australia and would assist in planning training needs and testing procedures. By the end of 1979, 1701 questionnaires had been returned, representing requests for 3404 accreditations in approximately 60 languages. (NAATI, 1980).

Part of the work of NAATI was done by three working parties later referred to as committees, set up from among its members, the Committee on Courses, the Committee on Tests and the Overseas Qualifications Assessment Committee. The latter did not meet formally during 1979 but the others met five and nine times respectively. In addition, the Authority as a whole had six meetings. This sustained level of activity produced the basis for what were to become enduring decisions regarding testing and courses. These will be considered below.

6.5 Structural obstacles to NAATI's work

The fundamental reason for having a national body to accredit interpreters and translators was to provide for a single accreditation system for Australia as had been envisaged and confirmed by numerous meetings of the State, Commonwealth and Territory Ministers of Immigration. It became quickly apparent that the elements of testing, courses and connection with the profession would best be done by delegating the

administration of the testing function to groups in each State. It was for this reason that the State Assessment Panels for Translators and Interpreters (SAPTI) were established. Their formation was delayed by the predictable party-political, bureaucratic processes of nomination and appointment which goes along with any panel set up by the government, for indeed it was the federal Minister who had to approve not only the concept of State panels but also their composition. In this instance, the added complication was that the States were also involved, as the interest in NAATI from this quarter continued unabated since a lot of the States had or were in the process of setting up what later became known as 'language services'. As one of the informants (M2) put it "they wanted their oar in".

By the end of 1979 only the membership of the SAPTIs for Western Australia and Tasmania had been finalized. In the meantime, at the insistence of some States, NAATI was asked to conduct tests during 1979 and to make direct arrangements to do so while the process of establishing the SAPTIs continued. In the Annual report for 1979 (NAATI, 1980), NAATI was able to report that it had accredited 27 persons, 10 at the Language Aide level, 8 at Level 2 and 9 at Level 3, all as Translators except one who was accredited as an Interpreter and Translator on the basis of overseas qualifications. The remaining SAPTIs were duly appointed in 1980. In one way, this paucity of accreditations after two years of operations could be regarded as a failure to meet objectives and well it might be. On the other hand, even though decentralization of the administration of testing regimes had been mooted from the start, the issues of validity and reliability of the testing regime across all languages and all States weighed heavily on NAATI, in an environment where it was difficult to source expertise not only in interpreting and translating but also in testing of these skills at a single point, let alone in such varied contexts as Melbourne and Darwin. This is even before particular languages are considered. The availability of and access to these types of resources is an issue which has persisted to this day in relation to what are now dubbed as 'emerging languages'. This element, as well as the issue of the global innovation which NAATI was, will be considered later in this thesis.

6.6 Setting up systems for testing and course approval

By the end of 1979 the Authority had produced a number of papers for the guidance of SAPTIs for use in implementing the testing program, these were: a) Guidelines for tests at Levels 1, 2 and 3; b) model tests at Levels 1, 2 and 3; c) marking guidelines for examiners; d) a list of examiners approved by NAATI for various languages. The inability to finalize appointments to the Panels meant that testing could not begin in the way intended.

In terms of course approvals, the authority completed a further set of papers to assist institutions which wanted to set up new courses. These included: a) guidelines for courses at Levels 1, 2 and 3; b) a paper outlining the information required for an application for course approval; c) a paper on the procedure to be followed in the submission of applications for course approval. During that year it approved a Level 2 course at the Sydney Technical College and a Level 1 course at the Casuarina High School in Darwin. It had two other applications under consideration.

Although initially NAATI concentrated on tests at level 2 and level 3, it also conducted tests at level 1. Keeping in mind the novelty of this whole adventure, it bears outlining the complexity with which the new authority was faced. Firstly, there was the process of administering the recognition of those who had claimed to be practitioners; secondly the question of the setting of tests across a number of languages and across the levels meant that for each language there were at least 4 types of tests to be set and for some tests, for example interpreting tests, different elements of each required different expertise and approaches. Moreover, all candidates for testing needed to pass a hurdle English competence test. The question of who set and who marked the test was also an issue occupying a great deal of energy, given that the expertise was hard to find and, in some cases, non-existent.

In terms of courses the situation was quite different. Even before NAATI was set up, at least three of the people, who had been part of the COPQWP, had firm ideas about setting up courses, in some cases they had run pilot programs before their involvement with the COPQWP. Since the meeting of Ministers in Nov 1973 the desirability of training for interpreters and translators and the setting up of courses for this purpose had been discussed and indeed suggestions had been made that they proceed without delay; the idea had been endorsed by the Ministers in November 1973 and pursued by Immigration Department staff, including Watson, and the chair of COPQ had made suggestions that to accede to the wishes of the Minister about the urgency of the whole question of interpreting and translating services, it would be possible to train some personnel in the improvement of their English skills in order to allow them to proceed more easily to interpreter training and indeed into the field itself. This sense of urgency and been taken up by other organisations such as ACOSS, who according to one informant (M4), had used their contacts to pave the way.

It was thus that the Department of Immigration provided an interim funding arrangement (\$197,000) to enable one-year full-time courses at COPQ level III to be introduced in 1975 at the Canberra CAE and the RMIT(CAE), a part-time 12-week certificate extension courses at COPQ level II at the Institute of Languages, University of New South Wales (Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs) were tertiary education institutions placed between vocational education and universities; most of these later became universities) (NAA: A12909/1407). The expectation was that these courses would continue under Commission funding from the commencement of the 76-78 a triennium (this was the normal mechanism for funding of academic programs through the education bureaucracies). The Immigration Department funded the courses for 1976 as well, because the education triennium was deferred. The Prime Minister intervened further into this issue by writing to the Minister for Education asking him to inform the Chairs of the Tertiary Education Commissions to ensure that adequate provision be made in the 1977 to 1979 triennium for courses for interpreters and translators (above data from Appendix 11 of the IWPIT report (Australia. Interdepartmental Working Party on Interpreters and Translators, 1978). In addition, in 1975, by ACOSS initiative, a COPQ Level I or II course

was instituted at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) Technical College.

6.7 Planning versus reality

Despite the considerable and detailed work done in the first couple of years by the members of NAATI with modest administrative support, even from the first forays into the realities of the situation on the ground, a number of issues began to emerge which presented problems which required a more long-term view of the whole endeavour of ensuring standards in interpreting and translating. In the realm of courses, for example, it considered that its experience to date of Level 2 courses had indicated that the level of competence in English for entry into these courses had been insufficient to reach the required NAATI standard and it advocated that the courses be lengthened to include some remedial language work. It remarked that it would be difficult to institute courses in all 60 languages identified by the NAATI survey and at all levels; some courses for some languages would need to be conducted once every three years. This would suggest the setting up of a major centre for interpreting and translating training which would provide the flexibility required but it would not solve the real difficulty of finding teaching staff. These conclusions were reached when considering only courses at Levels 2 and 3 and courses at Level 4 would need to be considered later. It restated the problems of making a distinction between need and demand not only in the establishment and conduct of courses but also in determining employment prospects for the graduates.

Testing began in earnest in 1980 and 1053 persons were tested at Levels 1, 2, and 3 (NAATI: Annual report 1980 p.9). Although this was a vast improvement in terms of testing activity, it brought with it specific problems. The complaints about the interpreting tests were such, for example, that NAATI undertook a review of the interpreting testing methods in view of this experience. The informants all remarked on the difficulties of the time, driven by the very nature of NAATI that, as a testing body, it was bound to have unhappy clients who failed the tests (it needs to be added the pass mark was 70%). Some of the informants (M2, M3) remarked that NAATI was received with extreme hostility especially by many of the then practitioners who regarded their experience as being sufficient for their automatic accreditation at the professional level (Level 3) and accused NAATI of “taking bread out of our [their] children’s mouths” (informant M2). Informant M4 said that “NAATI was regarded as an examining body and because it failed people it copped some flack”. This kind of reaction was also due to the high failure rate in the tests which NAATI commented upon in its annual report by stating:

“... it was observed that many candidates failed because they did not realise that a high level of competence would be expected from them and that the tests at level III would be beyond their level of proficiency in interpreting/translating. Some candidates considerably overestimated their own level of competence, confusing presumed language skills with actual

interpreting or translating skills” (NAAATI Annual report 1978 pp.8-9)

NAATI’s information to candidates included a description of the test and an outline of the range of topics which would be covered. Later on, it would provide sample tests for purchase by candidates.

The rhetoric of provision of interpreting and translating services was tested by what occurred in allowances for and employment of, people in the first cohorts of graduates of courses and while this was not under the control of NAATI it did impinge on how the relationship between setting up an accreditation system and the consequences of that system were going to be regarded. It also brought the issue of remuneration of interpreters and translators in the public arena.

The first cohort of students in the full-time courses which had been set up, having come from other employment or from practising in the field, applied for a weekly allowance under the National Employment and Training Scheme (NEAT); they were refused the allowance. The implication for the fledgling courses, funded by the Immigration Department- it will be recalled, of this refusal had the potential to be catastrophic as the students, who were mostly mature age people with families, would have simply abandoned them. Representation was swiftly made to the government, including directly to the Prime Minister who asked for the views of his Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, Tony Street. The latter replied on 16 March 1976 stating *inter alia* that the NEAT allowance was only available if there was a demand for skills and he asked what the demand was going to be; he queried why people were being trained for jobs which were “exclusively” for interpreting and translating when “there was a clear preference, both in the public and private sectors, for employees having the ability to interpret and translate as incidental skills”. He nevertheless granted the allowance on the proviso that each individual would be assessed as to his/her eligibility. (NAA A1209 1979/998 Part 1)

On 5 March 1976, the Melbourne Age published an article titled “Interpreter debut in doubtful voice” which highlighted the difficulties with remuneration. The Victorian Education Department had set up an interpreter service and at its inaugural event officiated by Mr. Dixon, the Victorian Minister for Education, one of the interpreters, a graduate of the first cohort of RMIT course students declared that she did not know whether she would actually take up one of the 25 interpreter jobs on offer because ‘the pay is lousy’ she complained, adding that two of her colleagues had already decided not to take up their appointments. The Minister was forced to make vague promises about looking into the remuneration of the interpreters. (*The Age* 5 March 1976)

The question of employment which strayed into the quality of the courses was *reprised* by Minister Street and reported in *The Canberra Times* of 15 May 1976 (the complete article is included as Appendix K). The title of this article itself is a provocation: “CCAE linguists 'unsuitable' for work: Street”; the Minister was reported as having said that even

though the students had passed the course they were not necessarily suitable as interpreters and translators. He had just addressed a conference on government responsibilities and policies in industrial relations. He apportioned blame for the stark assessment of this cohort from the Canberra College of Advanced Education to the selection methods and not to the government's recent policy to reduce establishment positions in the public service. It is difficult to determine, on the evidence available, what the motivation of these comments was. If it is seen in the context of his responsibility for the NEAT payments as discussed above, this could be a continued reaction against organising eligibility for specific groups at their request, which had occurred in this case. It will be recalled that he also questioned whether there was a demand for the skills as a *sine qua non* for the receipt of the allowance and his own views on interpreting and translating jobs being ancillary to some other occupation betray his overall attitude. As a politician, he was also astute enough to pre-empt any criticism of government policy on reduction of staff in the public service (as a possible reason for their inability to find jobs) by reiterating that the completion of a course did not necessarily mean fitness for employment. This was before the accreditation system existed. The last portion of this article (separated from the rest of the article), which appears to be a response to the Minister's remarks on the part of the CCAE is even more surprising in that the Head of the School of Liberal Studies, where the course was conducted announced that the course "had caused nothing but trouble for the college" even though it had been funded by the government. They would run it if they had to but they did not really want to. Con Kiriloff, the director of the courses and Dr S. Richardson, the Principal of CCAE had been involved from the beginning in the discussions about NAATI which included the courses. It will be recalled that Kiriloff was a person with experience in interpreting and was also on the COPQWP. There is no question that the running of the first cohorts of interpreting and translating courses had provided many difficulties in terms of curriculum, teaching staff and facilities, apart from the obvious one of funds, but there is no evidence to support the proposition that institutions were 'forced' to conduct them. It is for these reasons that I consider the reaction of the Head of School to the Canberra Times (if he was quoted accurately) to be more one fed by the internal politics of academia and perhaps showing frustration at the comments by Minister Street which seemed to negate the great effort which would have gone into the setting up the course.

In broader terms, this kind of response to the first training courses in interpreting and translating was to be expected since the haste to set them up precluded, in some cases, the normal academic procedures of approval of a course and would have raised the ire of other academics in the institutions who could see this as a 'queue jumping' exercise; quite apart from the novelty of the subject matter and the considerable technical support costs that such courses entailed. From the policy point of view, it illustrates the political determination to institute these courses and how this determination, coupled with political power at the highest levels, is able to navigate the usual processes.

Pressure on NAATI to include 'Deaf Manual Language' into the accreditation system began to be applied as early as December 1977 by The Australian Federation of Adult Deaf Societies. Initially NAATI regarded the issue as being beyond its terms of reference. The Minister at the time (Ian McPhee) was brought into the discussion by direct approach by the Federation's Secretary, John Flynn, who wrote to him on 2 February 1981 with the argument that the terms of reference were broad enough to accommodate this particular language, and that it would be wasteful if a second

accreditation and training system specifically for sign language were set up. Therefore, he offered the free input of specific expertise to NAATI by the Australian Association of Welfare Workers with the Deaf. On 5 June 1981 Minister McPhee wrote to the Prime Minister outlining the arguments presented the Federation and supporting their request. On 10 July 1981, the Prime Minister formally agreed that the charter of NAATI be expanded to include Deaf Manual Language. On 20 May 1982, NAATI began conducting tests in Deaf Sign Language/Deaf Oral Language.

In early 1981 NAATI also accepted to extend its responsibility to include accreditation in Aboriginal Languages, following the concurrence with the proposal by the Ministers of Immigration and Aboriginal Affairs and the Prime Minister. In the first instance, it was decided that accreditation in Aboriginal languages would be available only through the completion of training courses conducted at that time by the School of Australian Linguistics at Batchelor, near Darwin and the Institute for Aboriginal Development in Alice Springs. A visiting party from NAATI went to assess the courses in October 1981 and the final approval was given in early 1982.

These two additions to NAATI's responsibilities represent in themselves world firsts. It is unusual, even in the present, to see Sign Languages treated as another code and be included in the accreditation and training systems of spoken languages. In terms of the Aboriginal languages, NAATI was amenable to some flexibility in modifications required to its policies and procedures but "the Authority was determined that the high standards which it applies to all languages should be maintained in the accreditation of interpreters and translators in Aboriginal languages" (NAATI: Annual Report 1981 p.27)

6.8 Preparing for 'devolution'

The term 'devolution' is at once an accurate and literal description of what was intended in the setting up of NAATI and at the same time is a well-chosen political epithet which allowed for this to change but not so much as to undo or jeopardise what had been achieved so far. The approval for the establishment of NAATI had been given by Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser for a period of 3 years. This meant that the institution would reach the end of its term on 14 September 1980. In fact, on 12 September 1980 the Minister wrote to the members of NAATI extending their terms until 14 September 1981 (correspondence obtained from one such Member (M2)). There appears to be no further communication from the Minister about this subject. The lateness of this communication suggests that informally NAATI was already aware that its term would be extended. Some discussions were held about this extension. However, it was abundantly clear that NAATI had not met a number of its objectives by the time the three years were up. On 31 December 1982, the Members received another letter informing them that the 'devolution' of NAATI had been postponed until 1 July 1983.

The whole nomenclature of 'devolution' stems from the fact that NAATI, in conjunction with the federal Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Department (the department to which NAATI was responsible) took the initiative in deciding its future and discussed it in terms of devolution of the functions of NAATI. Confusion or convenience about the initial term for NAATI led to two interpretations of its first term. There is no doubt that

the Prime Minister approved a term of three years. However, one of the two “principal objectives’ of NAATI was as follows:

Develop the basic infrastructure for the emergence of a national self-regulating professional body in the expectation that this body would, within 5 years, assume responsibility for the profession, including accreditation. (NAATI Terms of Reference Appendix H)

By the end of 1980, with some delays not of its own making, NAATI found itself having had only one year of sustained testing, not having been able to pursue its mandate to set up a professional body and its systems and work had not really subsisted for long enough to make definitive evaluations of them. It appears that there was little discussion about extending the mandate until September 1981 and when this deadline also became difficult and bearing in mind the idea of a five-year time frame, the mandate was extended to 30 June 1983.

There were a number of factors which contributed to this outcome. NAATI was part of the Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Department and it was the Department which needed to get involved in discussions with the States. Even though the States had supported the initiative from the very beginning, when it came to committing funds to the endeavour, the progress was slow and painful, leading to the kind of delay to a resolution which is indicated by the extensions to NAATI’s term. At the same time, as with any organization, it resisted its own demise, not only out of a ‘survival instinct’ but specifically because it felt that it had begun good work and for the sake of its mandate, did not want to see this work going to waste or the effort dissipate by devolving functions to bodies it could not trust to be competent in carrying out these functions.

The above represents a *post hoc* analysis based on a succession of discussion papers presented to the Members from about October 1981- the initial proposal for devolution had been presented to the federal Minister on 18 August 1981 and on 18 October 1981 to the Conference of Commonwealth/State Ministers where it had received ‘in principle’ approval. The Conference had approved the creation of a national registration body under the aegis of State, Territory and Commonwealth Governments with responsibility for the maintenance of standards, for testing, for accreditation and for registration as well as a national professional association, representing the profession, with responsibility for the functions of NAATI not devolved to the registration body. It also agreed that there should be joint Commonwealth and State action to establish the national registration body and asked that detailed proposals be prepared for consideration at the Ministers’ next Conference on 12 March 1982 (NAATI: 26th meeting minutes -4 December 1981- Agenda Item 5). The paper was, quite properly, drafted jointly by the Immigration Department and NAATI; the Department was of the firm belief that it did not wish NAATI’s efforts either stopped or stymied by a radical restructure. This behaviour by the Department is consistent with that of government bureaucratic structures which tend to protect that which they have created. But in this case, in my view, they had reason to see that the pace of innovation which NAATI was responsible for would be slower than

at first expected, all the more so because the direct involvement of the States in the new structure would inevitably mean more consultation and more time.

The evidence in the minutes of its Board meetings, indicates that NAATI traversed a difficult period during these years not only because of the perceived slowness of its progress but it also had to face an attempt at encroachment of its territory.

The attempt came about after the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA), provided a report to Government reviewing the implementation of recommendations by the Galbally Report. This institute was set up by act of Parliament in 1979 to provide advice to the government in the multicultural arena and to conduct research, promote multiculturalism and a harmonious community among its tasks. It was a body complementary to NAATI in the panoply of bodies set up under the broad multiculturalism umbrella. In a number of recommendations in its Evaluation Report (Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, especially n. 31 and 32), AIMA argued that the course approval function and the testing function of NAATI should be devolved to tertiary institutions. NAATI had not been consulted before these recommendations were made and accepted by the Government; its disagreement with these propositions led to two meetings of the Board Members of NAATI on 29 October and 19 November 1982 chaired by the Minister himself (at that time the Minister was John Hodges), the latter meeting also being attended by Frank Galbally and Petro Georgiou who was then the Director of AIMA; he had previously been a Senior Adviser to Prime Minister Fraser. It will be recalled that this was the same period that NAATI was working on its planning for devolution. The AIMA recommendations were not implemented and the 'devolution' plans remained as indicated above. It was quite extraordinary that the Minister should chair two meetings to deal with this issue. The reports on these two events, in NAATI's relevant annual report and in discussions at the NAATI management level are matter-of-fact and not very revealing. I consider that the status of Sir George Cartland and the fact that AIMA did not see fit to discuss any impending recommendations of this importance with NAATI before publishing them and further that the Minister accepted them, still without consultation with NAATI, created a situation that required the highest intervention. The records are also not explicit as to the reason the Minister changed his mind and allowed NAATI to continue to set and mark its tests. The NAATI Annual Report for 1982 states that the Minister requested NAATI to prepare a paper discussing each of the relevant recommendations in turn. It is not clear whether this occurred prior or as a result of the meetings, furthermore the paper, which NAATI prepared in response, was slated as an appendix to this annual report but my search through the NAATI archives has not been able to find such a paper. In July 1982 the Minister, John Hodges had issued a 48-page booklet titled 'Summary of the Commonwealth Government's decisions on recommendations and selected proposals in the evaluation of post arrival programs and services conducted by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs' (Hodges, 1982) in which the Minister's agreement with the proposals was clear. It is my view that the Minister recognised the political damage that such changes as those recommended by AIMA for NAATI would cause, and he would have expected a serious backlash from the organisations of migrant communities. In addition, the ventilating that neither the Minister nor AIMA had as much as talked to

NAATI before making such decisions would have been detrimental to the Minister's reputation given that NAATI was a part of his own department.

NAATI had also to weather a "system review" in February 1982 conducted by the Assistant –Secretary, Finance and Services of the Immigration Department, Neil Ferguson, with the objective to "investigate difficulties with a view to streamlining operations and increasing efficiency". The conducting of this review in 1982, well after the expiry of NAATI's original mandate, is a clear indication that this was an exercise aimed at the future rather than the past and was in preparation for discussions to be had with the States and Territories about their future financial contributions to the successor body.

The time-line for moving to the second phase of the Authority's existence was extended more than once because of events largely external to NAATI, connected with the 'normal' process of Commonwealth-State relations and at one point with recommendations of AIMA. NAATI's relatively slow start in terms of numbers of accredited practitioners can be considered of its own making, but it must be conceded that the complexity of the task was much beyond what had been envisaged.

6.9 The 'new' NAATI

The proposal to create two bodies, the first most often referred to as a 'registration' body and the second a national professional association must be regarded as a political master-stroke by the then NAATI Board, aided and abetted by the Federal Immigration Department.

In one manoeuvre it managed to achieve a number of objectives both for the then current Board members (whose general approach implied that they wanted to be given the chance to finish the original work set for them) and the Federal Immigration Department which was under pressure to cut its costs but believed in the fundamental positive effect and *raison d'être* of NAATI. They maintained essentially the *status quo* in terms of the accreditation system; they were able to involve the States and Territories in a contribution to the expenses of NAATI (not without long and difficult negotiations) in proportion to their Non-English-Speaking Background (NESB) population; they were able to introduce charges to the NAATI applicants to effect, at least partial, cost recovery for the tests; they were able to formalize the nature of the membership of the Board increasing the participation of practitioners (at Level 3 and above) and representatives of as yet a non-existent national professional association; they were able to have the new body report to the Federal Minister but also through the Conference of Commonwealth, State and Territory Ministers for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs; they were able to create a legal entity registered under the ACT Companies' Act; and they sought and obtained agreement to extend the mandate of NAATI beyond September 1982 so that the devolution would not jeopardize "the maintenance of the professional standards which NAATI has[d] established" (NAATI:26th meeting minutes -4 December 1981- Agenda Item 5).

What NAATI did not achieve, although it wanted it, was a system of exclusionary registration where, in essence, it would not be possible to practise without NAATI accreditation. This was not politically feasible given the general deregulatory stance of the government. The characterization of the new body as a 'registration body' somewhat anticipated a future exclusionary registration system but it was sufficiently vague to accommodate an interpretation which simply indicated that NAATI would keep a register of the people who were accredited, their name, level of accreditation, language and specialization. This registration was and is regarded as an attribute but not a pre-requisite for practice.

The outcome of maintaining NAATI as the name of the new registration body was also politically astute.

The issue of facilitating the emergence of a national professional association proved to be very difficult. The second objective of the original NAATI was:

Develop the basic infrastructure for the emergence of a national self-regulatory professional body in the expectation that this body would, within five years, assume responsibility for the profession, including accreditation. (NAATI: inaugural meeting report 1977)

The achievement of this objective firstly was regarded as being less urgent than the other tasks NAATI had to embark on. What it did in this regard was to initiate liaison with existing associations around Australia which at the time numbered 11, see APPENDIX L (Appendix IX to NAATI Annual report 1980 p.39). Some of these associations were properly set up bodies with a constitution, others were no more than coalitions of practitioners interested in maximizing their job opportunities, yet others were based on work in the same sector, such as hospitals or courts. There is no conclusive evidence to indicate that there were more subtle and perhaps less acceptable, reasons why the formation of one national association was not managed in the first five years of NAATI's existence, nevertheless there were early requests by some of these bodies to have NAATI dispense with the Level 3 test for their members arguing that their experience and expertise over a long period should have been sufficient to accredit them at the first professional level (Level 3). NAATI was of the firm view that recognition for past work would only be at Level 2 and maintained its position against pressure from a number of sources. Its stance was vindicated when some members of these groups sat for the Level 3 test and were not successful (personal papers of informant M4). Some of the associations who showed more progressive stances had to be taken into NAATI's trust and this took an inordinate amount of time. In addition, a national association was predicated upon the dissolution of State associations and the reconstituting of them as chapters or branches of the national body. In many instances this was resisted, often because of the fear of losing power. Eventually all but one of the more robust State associations saw the logic of forming one body in a profession whose membership was not such as to sustain one association per State. This did not occur until 1987. This was a long time after NAATI organized an abortive first meeting to lay the groundwork of a national association on 22 May 1982. The timing of this meeting indicates to me that NAATI wanted to show that it

had tried to do something about its second objective before the end of its first (extended) mandate.

6.10 The role of the States and the governance model

The restructured NAATI began operations on 1 July 1983. It would become a Company Limited by Guarantee registered in the Australian Capital Territory. The significance of this is, that it was a legal entity owned by the Federal, State and Territory Governments, in other words a government-owned business. The “Members” of NAATI were now the respective Ministers of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs of the Commonwealth, States and Territories. The Ministers participated in the company’s AGM through a delegate, usually a senior public servant. The affairs of the company were managed by a Board appointed by the Ministers. The Board of the ‘new’ NAATI, apart from having an increased representation of practitioners of interpreting and translating, also had representatives of the two additional ‘sectors’ in which NAATI was now operating (Aboriginal languages and Deaf languages –original nomenclature) (Appendix M). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the work of the restructured NAATI, nevertheless for the sake of continuity, it is important to comment briefly on some of the changes effected. The greater representation of practitioners was regarded as a positive development, however the increase in the number of ‘owners’ who each contributed differentially to NAATI’s costs, while seeming a *prima facie* fairer approach, produced structural administrative difficulties, especially in determining the direction of the organisation. Federal-State relations which are pervasive at all levels of public administration in Australia, did not contribute to the most efficient running of the Authority.

In this chapter I have discussed what the data reveal about the first period of NAATI’s existence, specifically to illustrate the policy output in terms of the MSF. The discussion has confirmed that the policy settings, moving from the putative to the real, require adjustment. This is consonant with the remarks by Lo Bianco (2008:157) cited in Chapter 2, when discussing definitions of policy, about the distinctions of policy as text and policy as performance. This view echoes Kingdon (1995) locating his framework in a context of ambiguity, alluding to the fluid and somewhat unpredictable nature of policy, as well as the ambiguities existing in the development of policy.

In the final chapter I shall take this concept of ambiguity further by assessing the degree to which this study and this approach has been successful in answering the research questions relating to this particular policy.

Chapter 7 Discussion and conclusions

7.1 Returning to the aims of the study

The concept of policy is polysemous and the policy, whose genesis and development I chose to investigate, is also susceptible to the vagaries of meaning arising from considerations of policy as a product or as a process. More specifically, the concept of interpreting or translating policy is one which has received scant but increasing attention and has most frequently been considered from a language planning perspective rather than a policy process one, the recent exceptions being Meylaerts & González Nuñez (2017) and Diaz Fauces (2005). This has emerged broadly from the socio-political context in which these issues are situated. Attention to the policy process has eventuated as a result of a change of emphasis from translation to interpreting, precipitated by a proliferation, not of the traditional conference interpreting but of community interpreting (in its various guises and names). As the phenomenon of the movement, mostly unplanned and unregulated, of literally millions of people around the world, has occurred, nations previously untouched by such phenomena, especially in Europe, have had to deal with situations of having large numbers of people on their territory who cannot speak the country's language and have immediate needs in terms of protection and other urgent humanitarian needs. In general terms, in countries with an established tradition of large-scale migration, policies on interpreting and translating have been rare. More frequently, policies on interpreting and translating services have been developed to different degrees and in different ways. This distinction between translation or interpreting policy and translating and interpreting services policies has not been considered as having major relevance in the recent literature on translation policy.

This study has concerned itself directly with the policy which led to the creation of an accreditation body for interpreters and translators which, in turn, informs policy on language services, which include interpreting and translating. In this chapter I shall discuss the outcomes of this study in relation to the research questions, consider the implication of the outcomes in terms of research directions and policy development in this field.

Lived experience with the effects of a policy which has changed the structure of a profession in Australia led me to wish to discover, document and critically examine the creation and evolution of this policy. Its beginnings were a response to a perceived need which turned into a system of accreditation developed by a government. This system was unique at the time of its creation and this prompted an examination of the policy in order to track its development, evaluate the fit between the policy and the outcomes and establish the reasons for both the intended and unintended outcomes of such a policy up to the point (1983) when NAATI became a company limited by guarantee, owned by the Federal, State and Territory governments.

The research questions concern the issues of the timing of the policy and the conditions inherent to its creation; these are articulated more specifically into the following: the reasons why the policy work was initiated at a particular time and the reasons why the process of policy making took the shape and proceeded at the pace at which it did; the

manner in which the issue or problem which merited a policy response at that particular time was perceived; the factors which shaped the development of the policy and its implementation up to 1983; the changes effected to the initial policy in this first period of NAATI's existence. Further ancillary questions emerge, such as the relevant actors in the formulation of the problem and the reason that it was government which took the lead in dealing with it. Other subsidiary questions concern the perception of the figure and role of an interpreter or translator at the time and the reasons for such perception.

7.1.1 Discipline-specific characteristics

As stated in 7.1, the approaches to the study of policy are, in a sense, dictated by developments in the study of the concept of policy in a number of disciplines including politics, sociology, management, administration and others. For this study therefore, I had to decide which discipline-specific approach I would take, and which approach in general I would take, in choosing and utilising the tool for the investigation of the matter in which I was interested. Inherent difficulties arose in making this choice since the literature, in each of the above examples of disciplines working on the concept of policy, proceeds on the basis of the utility of the tools available to that particular discipline. Moreover, treatment of the concept of policy is very much embedded in the discipline from which it arises thus caution has to be exercised in borrowing from different disciplines. As indicated in Ch. 2, the public policy perspective was immediately applicable as the policy in question is a government policy. This affords the opportunity to examine the creation of an accreditation authority in the context of public policy rather than from other points of view and thus has the potential of being able to track this policy and compare it with other policies in their development and execution to allow generalizable similarities across disciplines. As it has emerged, it is generally from theories of administration that relevant tools of analysis lend themselves to examining public policies.

My early decision to preference work done on policy as a process rather than a product, turned out to be useful for this study as it was clear I was interested more in the actions that were taken and the reasons for them rather than a primary interest in the outcomes. This decision did not necessarily reduce the number of available approaches to be considered but it did allow me to focus on work which had been done on policy as a process and more specifically, on work which was of a more discursive rather than quantitative in nature and which had attempted to tackle real-world policies and submitted them to scrutiny using specific methodology. It is through this method that I came to utilise the process-oriented terminologies espoused by a group of scholars (mainly, but not exclusively, American) whose work had been brought together at intervals by the scholar Sabatier (1991, 1999 and with Weible in 2014) and who have been producing regular critical evaluations of the main theoretical approaches subsumed under the rubric of 'theories of the policy process'. From this broad perspective, I then proceeded to apply one of the approaches within this scholarly tradition and I outline in Ch. 2 what the alternatives were and how I settled on the choice of the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF).

7.1.2 Positionality and situationality

An element which was relevant to my choice of project and to the conduct of the study while being crucial in terms of methodology and ethics was my almost uninterrupted personal involvement in matters central to the topic of the study in various capacities from near the time which NAATI was set up to the current time. This entails my knowledge of people, events and issues which have needed to be consulted, examined and discussed as part of the study. This aspect has also allowed me access to some materials which would not have been easily available as I was privy to it in my past official capacities and in some cases, have personal copies. It has also allowed me access to some informants by virtue of previous professional contact. Although this troubled me methodologically at the beginning of this endeavour, I was persuaded by my supervisors that this was not necessarily a problem but an opportunity because my multiple roles with NAATI allowed me insights and contacts within the organization and the field. I am confident that my conclusions reached about this aspect do not impugn or invalidate my work (see sec. 1.4.1).

7.2 Summary and observations

I summarise here the processes carried out in the development of this thesis. In the first chapter I deal with the aims of the research, the problem and the context where I identify the aspects of the development of Australia's migration policy up to the point where the idea of dealing with the problem regarding interpreting and translating was mooted and throughout the gestation period leading to the creation of NAATI. I explore the characteristics of one policy, i.e., that of migration and how it leads into the development of the policy in the study. The research questions are then formulated. In Chapter 2 I review the literature which deals with the overall concept of policy and the manner in which it has been considered in previous research. Having recognised the centrality of the policy process perspective, I then proceed to outline and assess the 9 approaches within this perspective, providing a brief description of each. Then I examine the literature on policies relevant to translation and interpreting in Australia and to the setting up of the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters. I provide a discussion of literature on the intersection between language policy and interpreting and translation policy; this helps situate discussion about interpreting and translating within broader contexts in Australia and while the migration aspect has loomed large and significant for the development of interpreting and translating in Australia, the concept of interpreting and translation as an issue of language has also had profound effects on the way this policy was approached and developed. I also consider literature on NAATI.

I then proceed to discuss the available theoretical frameworks for analysis of policies such as I was interested in and argue for my selection of the MSF as an amenable and productive framework for the analysis to be conducted. The third chapter considers the methodology for the thesis and describes in detail the manner in which I proceed. The specific nature of this policy coupled with my particular interest in attempting to

determine why the policy was created and developed when it was, necessitated a detailed discussion of the contextual elements which not only provided the humus for the policy to be created but also continue to affect its characterisation and its development. This is particularly important because Australia was the first country which regarded it as necessary to develop such a policy in the face of its migration program and its consequences.

I then discuss the development of the policy through the prism of the MSF. I apply the framework utilising the data obtained in the research. Essentially the components of the model as outlined in Figure 1 are used as a template. The final and important aspect which I discuss is the policy window which is the element which incorporates the actual creation of the policy. At this point the model becomes no longer central as the policy has been created and I deal with the early implementation of the policy illustrating the meeting of theory with the practical considerations, in an environment which changes as policy development is taking place in a recursive fashion requiring shorter consideration-to-implementation loops.

7.2.1 Observations

In this section I shall make observations on the manner in which the outcomes of the study have answered the research questions. It is useful to proceed from broader considerations to detailed issues. Thus the overarching question goes to the factors which shaped the development of the policy, followed by the conditions of its creation, including its timing and the time it took to come to some decisions. The manner the policy was perceived and the actors who played roles in its promotion or impeded its progress, are the next relevant questions, together with the manner in which the policy reflects the perceived role of the interpreter and translator and the reasons for these perceptions. Finally, I look at what the changes to the proposed policy were which were implemented in the first five years of the policy's existence.

7.2.1.1 Factors which shaped the development of the policy

The significant factors which shaped the development of the policy are revealed by the research to be as follows:

- a) The philosophy of the migration program. This was central to the shaping of the development of the policy since, from its beginnings, the post-war migration program was based on a number of parameters which treated every migrant as a future citizen: it did not envisage different groups within the society as being treated differently. This was consonant with the stated objective of the migration program as a nation-building exercise (Jupp, 1966). The importance of this factor was evident in much of the data and it informed an approach which regarded services to migrants as essential for the achievement of the general objective of building a nation. It is clear from the data that great care was taken to examine

different aspects of the migration experience in order to improve it (Martin, 1978). This activity appeared to increase as the differences between successive groups of migrants became greater. Thus, for example, care was taken from the beginning to investigate the departures of settlers (Immigration Advisory Council Committee on Social Patterns, 1973). This is indicative of what might be termed a bureaucratic response to a phenomenon (that of departures) which, in a way, undermined the migration program: in short, if such effort was being put into choosing, supporting and settling migrants in this country, then the fact that a sizeable proportion of them was returning was sufficient cause for concern. From the perspective of the theoretical framework being employed, the MSF, this element is an issue falling into the problem stream. However, it is significant that as an indicator (see Fig 1) this is not an element which was introduced into the problem stream from the outside (or from outside the government) but was an indicator picked up by the government itself through processes put in place as part of the monitoring of the migration policy. It can also be envisaged as an element of feedback originating in another policy. The element of settler departures is thus put into the mix of aspects which are reflective of an attitude in the administration of the migration program which values the contribution of the individual migrant.

Even if the stated objective of nation-building also included the economic imperative of the acquisition of a labour force, the effect of the manner in which each migrant was treated was nevertheless seen as generally nurturing and accorded value to the contribution of the individual to the nation. The range of sectors of the community which considered the issue of interpreters and translators of sufficient import to undertake to highlight the problem (for example, Goding 1973, Cox & Martin 1975, Storer, 1975) indicates that the aspect of the migration program which encouraged the treatment of each newcomer as a valued member of the community (The Argus, August 1949) was well accepted. This is not to dismiss or sugar-coat instances of bigotry, racism and anti-immigration sentiment which also existed in the population at large (Kabala, 1993).

The absence of a categorisation of migrants is also an element which contributed to this “welcoming” attitude as, during the relevant period, there were few classifications of migrants, so those who were not settlers, were probably in the category of the family members of settlers.

- b) Migration program outcomes. Another factor which is relevant to the shaping of the policy being studied was the outcomes of the migration program. By this I mean that in the first 20 years of the migration program its results were not simply positive ones for the economy and for the nation, the program also created a number of issues, the most relevant of which, for our purposes, was the lack of fit between the expectation regarding the ability to communicate in English and what the actual situation on the ground was. The documents examined indicate a long line of reports, opinion pieces, findings from different enquiries and also feedback

from migrant groups themselves, about the difficulties that were being caused by the lack of ability to communicate in the English language (Australia Migrant Task Force Committee Victoria, 1973; Australia. Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, 1975). The data indicate that the assumptions made during the first 20 years of the migration program about migrants' ability, propensity, and sheer possibility of acquiring sufficient competence in the English language not only to cover a small spectrum of everyday activities but also to cope with more dramatic and important instances of events in the course of one's lifetime, specifically dealing with the health, legal and administrative systems of the nation, were, on the whole, overoptimistic. This fits in well with the concept of 'problem politics' which is at the heart of the MSF and it was at this particular time that the combined emergence of feedback to the system about these problems began to reach a critical mass and was also delivered by the societal group who actually had the problem. This period was also regarded as a time of 'awakening' to the fact that migrants were there and that they had a voice. The fact that the body politic was aware of this phenomenon and regarded it of sufficient significance was confirmed by some tentative but important initiatives in this area which preceded the creation of NAATI, for instance, the setting up of the COPQ in 1969 and of the ETIS in 1973.

The government interest and diligence in pursuing the consequences of migration is also exemplified by the work of the Department's own research section, especially in the early seventies, with its survey of interpreting needs and the evaluation of the ETIS (see sec. 4.4). It is also crucial to note that the issue of communication and hence of interpreting and translating, as the first port of call to solve particular and urgent issues, are central to migration outcomes since the ability of new migrants to communicate with English speakers and *vice versa* affects almost every aspect of life and it also avoids economic inefficiencies in the delivery of government services, let alone, in many cases affecting the health and mental well-being of the persons unable to communicate. The efforts of people across a wide spectrum of society was engaged because the need to communicate was universal.

Bipartisan political approach to migration policy. A third factor which shaped the development of the policy was the fact that there was a bipartisan political approach to migration policy (Jupp & Kabala, 1993). McAllister (1993:162) opines that this bipartisanship is motivated in part by the fear of electoral consequences. Nevertheless, this bipartisanship has endured into the present. This was very important for the particular policy being considered given that its genesis, discussion and implementation occurred in a period of great turmoil in the political sphere in Australia. It is no small feat that the idea of a National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters survived changes of government in unprecedented circumstances. It emerged with a watershed moment for Australian politics when the Labor government was elected after decades of

conservative governments and then it withstood the sacking of an elected government. This shows an incredible resilience of the idea and indicates the strength of the fundamental adherence to the idea of migration and the migration program as it was at the time. The tangible bipartisan support for multiculturalism from both the political forces in Australia when they followed each other in government, as evidenced by the continuation of relevant policies (Galbally, 1978) including the continuation of work on NAATI, is illustrative of the phenomena envisaged in the politics and policy stream and by policy entrepreneurs in the MSF. It indicates a resilience of the arguments for the development of this policy in terms of its value acceptability and each party's ideology and balance of interests. It reaches beyond the political boundaries by the 'entrepreneurial' role and resilience of a public service system which was able to function through this upheaval and maintain its 'apolitical' stance and its approach which can be generally characterised as evidence-based policy development. I refer to the painstaking methodical approach which was taken within the public service and within the bodies set up in order to deal with this policy which consistently resorted to surveys and consultation before recommending courses of action.

- c) Professionalism of public servants. Finally, and connected with the last factor of entrepreneurship, one must mention that the data provide a rare insight into the professionalism of public servants and others who were given specific tasks, to proceed with them in an impassioned fashion, proffering advice to those who needed to make the decisions. A clear example of this kind of approach is to be found in the data concerning the attempt by the Expenditure Review Committee to scupper the idea of a Council and also in the handling of the dispute over territory between the various ministers when the setting up of NAATI was imminent.

7.2.1.2 The conditions of its creation, including its timing and the time it took to come to some decisions

The data point to a number of elements which influenced the conditions of the creation of the policy and its timing. Firstly, the issue of national mood looms large as a reason for some of the delays; the agenda for changes following the election of the Whitlam government was replete with items and even though the general tenor of the approach to policy was one of decentralisation, certain things required the observance of a sequence in the development. In this particular case, the urgency of the requirement was communicated from the very beginning and what seems to have made a great impact on the political consideration of alternatives, is the fact that while people were discussing issues of communication there were in fact serious negative outcomes for individuals because of the absence of qualified interpreters. Although the latter element will indicate that the speed with which this was considered was in fact reasonable, the corollary was that at certain times the pace did not fully take into account that not every component of the process was in fact ready for consideration of this kind of policy. Thus, the involvement of the State and Territory governments from the very beginning was a

positive move in terms of a coherent and national policy, nevertheless, the sheer mechanism required for consultation and agreement amongst the parties took up considerable time. Introducing some delays in the consideration of the policy was also a general cautious approach on the part of public servants in their practice of providing advice to ministers which led them to do their work thoroughly but the consequence were unnecessary delays. There were two instances of this which are the most relevant, the first being the institution of the Expenditure Review Committee by the Fraser government, which in and of itself did not set out to delay the policy but it did cause considerable re-examination and reconsideration of the policy given the Committee's stated objective was to reduce the number of government and semi-government bodies while the institution of NAATI would mean the addition of one of these bodies. The second instance related to the slight delay in the consideration of the total policy picture by the public servants when it was clear that this was not only a government-wide initiative but also an initiative involving other governments. In this case, the IWPIT had, in the end, to be prodded by the Prime Minister in order to produce the information that was required, not so much to create the policy, but to investigate and prepare for its integration in the network.

Other elements of the conditions for the creation of the policy included existing practices, specifically the task which the Good Neighbour Council had been given hitherto to provide volunteer or quasi-volunteer interpreting services. It had become clear that this arrangement was not satisfactory, but it took some time to work through the changes required to relieve the Good Neighbour Council of that responsibility. A mix of other factors, such as the, in my view, fortuitous, involvement of COPQ, the broader discussion about language and trade which was happening at the time, including the entry of Great Britain into the common market which, in a sense, required Australia to seek trade elsewhere and in general to broaden its geopolitical horizons. Finally, one of the causes of the delay, if not in announcing the policy in actually enacting it, was the discussion which arose as to the location of NAATI within ministerial portfolio responsibilities. As I've indicated, this was not only an issue of competition over turf and therefore power, by a number of ministers, but it was a legitimate outcome of considerations about the nature of NAATI and its tasks which encompassed regulatory responsibilities in both testing and training. Especially in the latter area, the arguments of the Minister for Education were cogent and it is not clear how exactly the difference of opinion was resolved, except that the involvement of the Prime Minister seemed to have contributed to the resolution. (The existence of an issue over the responsibilities of NAATI for training was reprised in 1982/83 when AIMA and the Minister of Immigration allocated testing and training to the University sector and this created a serious dispute which I have described in sec. 6.8) The difficulties which were made plain in advice to ministers was that NAATI could have been located in a number of portfolios because of its very broad reach in terms of looking at professional skills which were needed and useful not only in the migration sphere but also in many other spheres including diplomacy, security, trade and international relations in general.

The MSF postulates that the timing of a policy output (or policy creation in my terms) is reliant on the advent of a policy window which is considered to be a window of opportunity when the conditions are propitious for the policy to be created and there is a coalescing of the three streams and there are policy entrepreneurs who are active at the right time. This particular case seems not to follow the expected progress envisaged by the model. For all intents and purposes by April 1975 the decision had been made to set up NAATI and it was announced to the public as part of a *communiqué* following the annual meeting of ministers of immigration of the federal, state and territory governments. The expectation that the new body would begin its operations in January of 1976 was dashed by political events which eventuated in November 1975 (the sacking of the Whitlam Labor government). That particular policy window could then not be taken advantage of because of the change in players specifically in the politics stream. The data show that, until September 1977, a partial reiteration of the process envisaged by the MSF actually occurred. The elements relevant to the problem stream were not revisited but activity in the politics and policy stream had to resume and the policy entrepreneurs needed to convince a new set of policy-makers about the persistence of elements such as the national mood and value acceptability to create a new policy window.

7.2.1.3 The manner in which the policy was perceived

The data points to an undertaking specifically directed at quality improvement with emphasis on standards, testing and relevance to the local environment. From the very beginning, there was no hint of a policy 'to make do' but a pursuit of a system which was to introduce rigour and quality control in a situation where the consequences of anything else were deemed to be unacceptable. The size and scope of the undertaking did not seem to deter an approach which wanted to encompass elements of pragmatism while keeping an eye on similar or analogous development in the rest of the world and when no such comparable examples were found, the project forged ahead and was supported in particular by three people who had, in fact, lived experience of the issues and difficulties in their private life; these people were Con Kiriloff, Toby Garrick (formerly Gavrilov) and George Strauss. This attitude of concern with standards was carried through by the same three people when they became members of the first NAATI Board.

Outside the immediate group of people working on the policy, some resistance to the idea emerged every now and then because it was seen in the context of migrants being advantaged in an area where they were supposed to have been putting in their own effort to overcome whatever difficulties of communication they may have had. This was more of a fringe attitude and the main players, i.e. governments and professional groups never wavered or provided any support for such views. A much more nuanced and forward-looking attitude was the more popular, that being that the common good would benefit from the participation of all the community in accessing and contributing to government services and public debates; furthermore the advent of multiculturalism injected the element of the value of maintaining the variety of cultures within the Australian community as an intellectual good and as a vehicle for enhancing Australia's liaison with

the rest of the world; this was seen as especially valuable for the next generation. Access and equity were the buzz words which encapsulate this particular element.

Despite the above, the data show that the view of an interpreter or translator in the broader community was still that of a person who spoke another language and whose culture was of that other language community. In other words, the essential marker of an interpreter was the 'other' language which he or she spoke and little was understood about the concomitant skills required by an interpreter. Furthermore, the perception of the work of the interpreter or translator was one which could be performed by anyone familiar with two languages (without any regard to the degree of 'familiarity' or how this might be established), indeed the performance of the role of interpreter or translator was misconstrued by observing the practices on the ground of well-meaning but unaware members of the public who stepped into the breach when certain situations dealing with accidents or disputes arose, by acting as go-betweens and whose intervention was invariably judged to be positive, irrespective of the real effect which could not *ipso facto* be evaluated by the recipients of the service. This kind of occurrence in contexts such as a hospital or a court of law had indeed prompted the actions pursued by professionals in the problem stream as they saw the pitfalls of basing their professional practice on untrained and untested interpreters and translators.

Another perception which surfaced was that an interpreter could have another occupation and work as an interpreter when required. This perception endured in the policy with the COPQ recommendation for Level II as suitable for someone who would interpret in their professional field when required to do so in their workplace (see also below sec.7.2.1.4). The concept of the multi-tasking interpreter was the basis for the intervention of Minister Tony Street in the issue of the NEAT allowance (see sec. 6.7)

7.2.1.4 Changes to the proposed policy which were implemented in the first 5 years of the policy's existence.

Some of the changes effected during the first 5 years of NAATI's operations and with the new structure which emerged in July 1983 which the data reveal are as follows:

Firstly, the change made to the concept of Level II, which had been recommended by the COPQWP as a level for persons who practised their interpreting and translation skills on a part-time basis and only in the fields of their own training and expertise but was changed to reflect a level of practice in situations deemed less demanding/difficult/complicated than those at L3.

Secondly, during the first three years of NAATI it was decided that the testing function would be decentralised to State Panels working under the guidance of NAATI's central office but the slow progress of the testing program caused a rethink. If initially the States themselves had welcomed the idea of having testing panels in each of their states, the actual task of setting marking and supervising a testing program which was only going to

get larger, the parameters of standards across languages and States, as well as levels of accreditation made it more prudent to centralise the setting and marking by utilising an Australia-wide panel for each language. The difficulties of sourcing expertise for the panels in the number of languages required, also contributed to this decision.

Thirdly, during the first three years pressure was placed on NAATI by the ‘interpreters for the deaf’ and the interpreters in Aboriginal languages to include Indigenous languages and what was later to become Auslan, to the range of languages to be tested. Initial reluctance from NAATI relating more to the original charter was overcome by the logic of inclusiveness, even though NAATI did not receive any extra funding to effect these changes. With the benefit of hindsight, this turned out to be another series of actions which kept NAATI as a global leader in this field as many other countries had and still have separate arrangements for sign language interpreting.

Fourthly, the most significant change, after NAATI’s first five years was the change in its corporate structure to become a company limited by guarantee where the owners were all the governments of Australia. NAATI maintained its accreditation function while working towards finally setting up the professional association which would take care of the professional issues quite properly outside NAATI’s remit as an accrediting body.

7.3 Observations on the MSF.

The utilisation of the MSF as a framework for analysis was decided upon on the basis of its broad emphasis on agenda setting and on its treatment of the context of policy development as operating in a state of ambiguity. This framework was developed by Kingdon (1995) as a result of extensive research through interviews within the U.S. Federal public service. The conceptual underpinnings were articulated as metaphors utilising eco-biological imagery of three streams, the problem stream, the politics stream and the policy stream which coalesce at a crucial point through the action of policy entrepreneurs and in the presence of an opportunity, dubbed a window, which leads to policy outputs. Baumgartner (2016:58) characterises this framework thus:

Whereas many in political science took inspiration from Newtonian physics, classical economics, and linear algebra, one of the most distinguishing characteristics of Kingdon’s book is its use of biological metaphors and the concept of natural selection and randomness as essentials drivers of the policy process

Initially I found the concept of the streams difficult to reconcile with the data which I had gathered. However, having worked through the elements of each stream I began to see the utility of the concept which presented me with an intricate pattern of elements which, unlike the manner in which they had been described or appeared in a diagram, proved to be relevant in the consideration of the overall portion of the policy-making process. The apparent separate existence of the streams in the model was found to be not as consistent

in this particular instance (see sec 4.1). I found that I had to deal with the elements with a lot more fluidity for them to allow me to see the manner in which the data interconnected and led me to consider that not all the elements had equal weight, nor did they emerge in all cases; this was in fact an illustration of the ambiguity which exists in any system.

Some justified criticism of the model which I had met before utilising it, was proven to be a fair assessment of the limitations of the model. This is particularly in the treatment of entrepreneurs where, as it had been suggested, their role should be expanded as the model does not cater sufficiently for the presence of entrepreneurs in each of the streams. The role of the entrepreneur is, according to my data, much more omnipresent and iterative. For example, I consider that role of crucial importance when it was played by the ACOSS personnel when the problems of communication were initially being documented; I do not consider that the role of ACOSS was limited to the final push to get the policy adopted when the policy window was open, as in general the literature had treated the role of the entrepreneur. Knaggård (2015) actually advocated that the role of the problem broker should be introduced into the model (see 2.9.4).

The above observations do not detract from the utility of this framework for the elaboration of this thesis. The framework has allowed the identification of processes which are subsumed under each of the streams and the other two components of the model, the policy entrepreneurs and the policy window. Thus ordered, the events which may seem at first glance unconnected assume a different level of importance; for example, one of the trails which I followed was the reappearance of information elements from the first relevant meeting of Ministers in November 1973 in other contexts, namely, the communications with COPQ, the COPQ meetings, the communications between ministers and to ministers from the Immigration minister, to the public at large and in press releases from the Minister. These revealed the agency of Mr Andy Watson and his behind-the-scenes coordination and advocacy work on behalf of the Minister; this trail proceeded across the three streams and aided in the understanding of the specific functions assigned to the streams by Kingdon (1995). The model enables a synthesis of processes which can reveal the coherence of the processes and their contribution to the ultimate policy-making activity. The adopted model successfully applied to most of the policy-relevant elements locatable in the pre-1977 period and allowed for the categorisation of these elements in manageable chunks and at the same time, revealing inter-connections between the various elements.

The application of the model has enabled the policy to be seen in a much broader context which produces insights into the reasons why certain elements of the policy were couched in certain terms and why certain avenues were not pursued. Moreover, it allows for specific frameworks to be postulated for the analysis of similar policies, following the conclusion that the model is robust enough to be used flexibly and adapts to different contexts. This aspect corroborates the broad spectrum of applicability of the model exemplified by the list at Appendix B.

In specific terms of translation and interpreting, the utilisation of this model provides evidence that the concept of policy in this field can be investigated along with other social and political activities and examined as phenomena that can be interpreted within existing models. This contrasts with the view of 'exceptionality', that sees translation and interpreting as somehow so different and nebulous that it defies formal analysis

7.4 Implications of the research

This research has shown that the policy outcomes in terms of the creation of an accrediting body was informed by the definition of a problem in terms of a need for access and equity to information and services of government by persons whose language competence in the hegemonic language of a nation is not sufficient for them to gain such access and equity without interpreting and translating services of a certain standard. It has also shown that the forces which operate in the process of policy making are born of political considerations relating to party ideology and the mood of the nation, tempered by an examination of the balance of interests in the community. Such interests also include a process of examination of would-be policies through the prism of good policy-making which considers whether the policy can be done, how much it benefits the intended target audience, whether the resources to implement it are available and whether and how it can fit into existing networks of policies and services. These findings are broadly consistent with the theoretical parameters laid out in the MSF.

The implications for policies which impinge on interpreting and translating are that, based on the present study, which was a retrospective application of the MSF, a predictive application of the MSF would need to pay particular attention to the problem and politics streams since progress in the development of any future policy would need to overcome the basic hurdle of problem definition in a context of party ideology and national mood which display more evident characteristics of changeability given the information explosion provided by electronic communication. This aspect can also be used proactively and positively by future policy-makers in that, determination of opinion and testing of options, can be achieved with a broader cross-section of the target population than was possible in the past.

In terms of implications for policy studies, this study is consistent with and can be added to examples of the employment of the MSF to analyse a public policy process with an emphasis on the agenda-setting mechanism. Its observations on the role of entrepreneurs can also be added to other studies which have advocated a more widespread involvement of entrepreneur or entrepreneur-like activities for all elements of the model. The model's advantages lie in its ability to handle two particular facets of policy making, namely, the ever-present level of ambiguity not only within the context of policy-making but also within the assembling of the necessary material in order to create a policy. Secondly, its ability to provide explanations for the observable behaviours not only through the process but also at the point of creation of the policy, that being the policy window.

At the level of the academic discipline of Translation, the study indicates that the consideration of the concept of translation policy has, at this point, still much more scope for development. The well-constructed latest writings of Meylaerts (2017) Gonzales Núñez (2017) Diaz Fauces (2017), distinguish between language planning, language policy and translation policy, however, in an effort to provide an all-encompassing definition of translation policy they at times overlook the variants which exist throughout the world and which render their treatment more problematic. Their treatment does not really conceptualise the official sanctioning or provision of interpreting and translating services without some kind of language policy. This work shows that other factors, such as ‘nation-building’, integration-facilitation, alleviation of miscommunication in key social and public services areas led to the establishment of an official body, which was established before any language policy and independently of it.

There is room for a more nuanced view of the relationship between matters of language and matters of translation while not divorcing the two. For instance, the applicability of language policies to translation needs to take into account the different meeting points of translation and language; thus a language policy which accords a certain language a certain status (and not only in the context of minority languages vs official languages) would intersect with aspects of translation to do with the role of translation in language teaching; similarly in the context of acquisition planning, translation would have a role in language learning but also as a consideration of whether those learners are envisaged to become professional translators. As indicated in Ch. 2, there are other linguistic realities and translation contexts which are not fully catered for in the catch-all view of translation policy. In addition, the original view of translation policy outlined by Levy (1967) Holmes (1988) and Toury (2012), for example, follows a logical if more circumscribed, but not less academically worthy, approach by focusing on policy on the intellectual and professional aspects of translation which are less embroiled in social policies but not divorced from them.

The experience of the development of the policy in this study and the data from it reinforce the view that a clear distinction be kept between an interpreting and translating policy and a policy on interpreting and translation services. This research has shown that in developing a policy for the accreditation of interpreters and translators, a translation policy (even seen in the broad sense) is either assumed or is in some sense, not a primary consideration for this specific policy. In the present case, due to the particular approach to the issue as a part of a migration program with a certain philosophy, it has always been assumed that all languages required by the community would be translated as and when they were needed, moreover, this extends to Auslan (sign language) and Indigenous languages. There is no inherent or desired hierarchy of languages. What dictates the volume of translation is the demand for it and the ability to effect it in terms of available skills to do so. These implications are dictated by context as is policy.

7.5 Limitations of the research

Limitations exist in the impossibility to obtain more data which was not within the realm of general archives of the operations of government departments. The passage of time made it impossible to collect more qualitative data from a larger number of informants. The decision to curtail the investigation to the first 5 years of NAATI's existence rendered a sizeable portion of the information obtained through interviews, not relevant.

The utilisation of primary sources operated on the principle of searching for material under a series of headings relevant to the topic (see Ch. 3). However, while there is a high degree of confidence that the material obtained represents a large proportion of what is available, there is no guarantee that all the possible material has been found.

7.6 Recommendations for future work.

Future work should focus on taking the policies on interpreting and translating services of various instrumentalities and subjecting them to scrutiny through a framework such as the MSF with a view to establishing whether consultative but not coordinated development of such policies as exists now could improve the quality of the policies and remove unnecessary divergences, especially given that these policies normally apply to the same body of interpreters and translators, who, through the operation of market mechanisms work for a number of the same instrumentalities.

The results from this study should also be subjected to application in other, different, contexts, such as the European context, where the same need for interpreting and translating services for languages spoken by recently arrived groups as well as established migrant groups, exist now which existed in Australia forty years ago with a view to providing a comparative basis for the development of a more 'universal' set of parameters for dealing with some of the same issues. The extension of the study, utilising the same model, to a longer period of NAATI's existence would also be a worthwhile undertaking.

The last decade has seen the field of interpreting and translating traversing a phase which is not uncommon to many disciplines which experience a boom in research and academic scrutiny: the tendency to move towards specialisations. There is scope to utilise the MSF proactively to undertake policy work relevant to the development of these specialisations, particularly to take into account the confirmation of this study that even though translation and interpreting appears as a language-based practice that is usually thought to be premised on language policy or language planning features, it can develop from non-language-based initiatives. The model of public policy creation applied here shows that interpreting and translating services can result from more wide-ranging socio-political considerations.

Sources and bibliographical materials

Primary sources

a) NAA Files

Series No.	Control Symbol	Title
A446	1974/75218	Settle/Serv - Interpreting and Translating - General
A446	1974/75219	Settle/Serv - Interpreting Panel - COPQ [Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications]
A446	1974/76261	Translators and Interpreters - Training - Part 2
A446	1974/77595	Interpreters and translators training - Part 3
A446	1974/77967	Translating and Interpreting - Establishment of National Council - Part 1
A446	1974/79219	Policy file - Settlement Services - Interpreting Panel COPQ
A1209	1976/2738 Part1	Establishment of a National Council on Interpreting and Translating
A1209	1976/2738 Part 2	Establishment of a National Council on Interpreting and Translating
A1209	1979/998 Part 1	Training and employment of interpreters-translators
A1209	1979/998 Part 2	Training and employment of interpreters-translators
A1209	1979/998 Part 3	Training and employment of interpreters-translators
A9609	Volume 25	Survey of interpreting and translating needs in the community
A10756	LC837 Part 1	National Council on Interpreting and Translating - Establishment of [Submission Nos. 801 and 366 refer]
A12909	1211	Submission No 211: Telephone Interpreter Service – Additional Funds for community interpreters- decision 2852
A12909	1259	Submission No 1259: Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants – decision 3116
A12909	1388	Submission No 1388: Ethnic Communities – Research and Information Projects – decision 3396
A12909	1407	Submission No 1407: Improvements to Interpreting and Translating Services provided to the Community - Decision 3368: Attachment - Report of the Interdepartmental Working Party on Interpreters and Translators, February 1977 (0.75cm)
A12909	1687	Submission No 1687: Ethnic Communities financial assistance and improved communications Decision 3977
A12909	1796	Submission No 1796: Interpreters and translators in the Health Services - Decision 4341
M1268	150	[Personal Papers of Prime Minister Fraser] National Employment and Training Scheme [includes papers relating to interpreters and translators etc]
M1276	91 Part 1	[Personal Papers of Prime Minister Fraser] Ethnic affairs [relates to interpreters and translators,

		Australian Greek Welfare Society, Ecumenical Migration Centre, Greek-Australian Liberals Association, includes paper 'Greek-Australian relations' by Hugh Gilchrist (Dec 1974)]
M1287	91 Part 2	[Personal Papers of Prime Minister Fraser] Ethnic affairs [relates to Bureau of Ethnic Affairs, interpreters and translators, Australian Greek Welfare Society]

b) NAATI archival material

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8	NAATI Inaugural Meeting and IT Information (Box 1 of 1)
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34	NAATI Board Meeting Agendas (Box 3 of 6)

35	Linguistics Study 1980-1989
	Research Materials for Rater Reliability study 05
37	Legal & Correspondence Archive
38	NAATI History - Trade mark, logo, Title, Company Details & Power from DIMA

c) Interviews

M1 -via Skype 11 January 2014

M2 - 27 February 2014

M3 – via Skype 12 March 2014

M4 - 9 December 2013

C - 20 November 2013 (not recorded by request)

Recordings held by the School of Languages, Literatures, Cultures and Linguistics, Monash University.

d) Newspapers (with by-lines where published)

“Interpreter debut in doubtful voice” *The Age* 5 March 1976- Paul Heinrichs

“CCAE Linguistics ‘unsuitable’ for work” *Canberra Times* 15 May 1976 – Peter George

“Move to improve migrant services” *Canberra Times* 25 October 1976

“Language Services Restored” *The Sydney Morning Herald* 29 May 1976.

“Migrants attack Govt over election pledge” *Sydney Morning Herald* 24 August 1976

“Migrants’ new deal planned” *Melbourne Herald* 23 October 1976

“Migrant jobs may widen” *Melbourne Sun* 23 October 76 – Allison Brouwer

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f) Parliamentary debates

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Appendices

APPENDIX A – Names of the Immigration Department, its Ministers and Secretaries

Ministers

Name	Title	Commencement	Cessation
Arthur Calwell	Minister for Immigration	13 July 1945	19 December 1949
Harold Holt	Minister for Immigration	19 December 1949	24 October 1956
Athol Townley	Minister for Immigration	24 October 1956	19 March 1958
Alexander Downer, Sr.	Minister for Immigration	19 March 1958	18 December 1963
Hubert Opperman	Minister for Immigration	18 December 1963	14 December 1966
Billy Snedden	Minister for Immigration	14 December 1966	12 November 1969
Phillip Lynch	Minister for Immigration	12 November 1969	22 March 1971
Jim Forbes	Minister for Immigration	22 March 1971	5 December 1972
Lance Barnard	Minister for Immigration	5 December 1972	19 December 1972
Al Grassby	Minister for Immigration	19 December 1972	12 June 1974
Clyde Cameron	Minister for Labor and Immigration	12 June 1974	6 June 1975
James McClelland	Minister for Labor and Immigration	6 June 1975	11 November 1975
Tony Street	Minister for Labor and Immigration	12 November 1975	22 December 1975
Michael MacKellar	Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	22 December 1975	8 December 1979
Ian Macphie	Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	8 December 1979	7 May 1982
John Hodges	Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	7 May 1982	11 March 1983
Stewart West	Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	11 March 1983	13 December 1984
Chris Hurford	Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	13 December 1984	16 February 1987
Mick Young	Minister for Local Government and Ethnic Affairs	16 February 1987	12 February 1988
Clyde Holding	Minister for Local Government and Ethnic Affairs	12 February 1988	2 September 1988
Robert Ray	Minister for Local Government and Ethnic Affairs	2 September 1988	4 April 1990
Gerard Hand	Minister for Local Government and Ethnic Affairs	4 April 1990	24 March 1993
Nick Bolkus	Minister for Local Government and Ethnic Affairs	24 March 1993	11 March 1996
Philip Ruddock	Minister for Multicultural Affairs (until 26 November 2001) and then Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs	11 March 1996	7 October 2003
Amanda Vanstone	Minister for Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (until 27 January 2006) and then Multicultural Affairs (from 27 January 2006)	7 October 2003	23 January 2007
Kevin Andrews	Minister for Citizenship	23 January 2007	3 December 2007
Chris Evans	Minister for Citizenship	3 December 2007	14 September 2010
Chris Bowen	Minister for Immigration and Citizenship	14 September 2010	4 February 2013
Brendan O'Connor	Minister for Immigration and Citizenship	4 February 2013	1 July 2013
Tony Burke	Minister for Immigration, Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship	1 July 2013	18 September 2013
Kate Lundy	Minister for Multicultural Affairs	5 March 2012	18 September 2013
Brendan O'Connor	Minister for Immigration and Citizenship	4 February 2013	1 July 2013

Tony Burke	Minister for Immigration, Multicultural Affairs and Citizenship	1 July 2013	18 September 20013
Scott Morrison	Minister for Immigration and Border Protection	18 September 2013	23 December 2014
Peter Dutton	Minister for Immigration and Border Protection	23 December 2014	current

Secretaries

Name	Title	Commencement	Cessation
Albert Peters	Secretary Department of Immigration	July 1945	May 1946
Sir Tasman Heyes	Secretary Department of Immigration	May 1946	November 1961
Sir Peter Heydon	Secretary Department of Immigration	November 1961	May 1971
Robert Armstrong	Secretary Department of Immigration	May 1971	June 1974
Dr Ian Sharp	Secretary Department of Labor and Immigration	June 1974	March 1975
Dr Peter Wilenski	Secretary Department of Labor and Agreements	March 1975	December 1975
Lloyd Bott	Secretary Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	January 1976	August 1977
Lou Engledow	Secretary Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	August 1977	September 1980
John Menadue	Secretary Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	September 1980	March 1983
William McKinnon	Secretary Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	March 1983	May 1987
Ron Brown	Secretary Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs	July 1987	April 1990
Chris Conybeare	Secretary Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs	April 1990	March 1993
Chris Conybeare	Secretary Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs	March 1993	March 1996
Helen Williams	Secretary Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs	March 1996	February 1998
Bill Farmer	Secretary Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs	February 1998	November 2001
Bill Farmer	Secretary Department of Reconciliation and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs	January 2001	November 2001
Bill Farmer	Secretary Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs	November 2001	July 2005
Andrew Metcalfe	Secretary Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs	July 2005	January 2006
Andrew Metcalfe	Secretary Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs	January 2006	January 2007
Andrew Metcalfe	Secretary Department of Immigration and Citizenship	January 2007	January 2013
Martin Bowles	Secretary Department of Immigration and Citizenship	January 2013	September 2103

Martin Bowles	Secretary Department of Immigration and Border Protection	September 2013	October 2014
Michael Pezzullo	Secretary Department of Immigration and Border Protection	October 2014	current

Names for the Department

DI - Department of Immigration (1945 – 1974)

DLI - Department of Labor and Immigration (1974 – 1975)

DIEA - Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1976 – 1987)

DILGEA - Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs (1987 – 1993)

DIEA - Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (1993 – 1996)

DIMA - Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (1996 – 2001)

DIMIA - Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (2001 – 2006)

DIMA - Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (2006 – 2007)

DIAC - Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2007 – 2013)

DIBP - Department of Immigration and Border Protection (2013 – current)

APPENDIX B – Empirical research using the MSF

Author	Topic by level of government
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A. Subnational

Dudley (2013)	London congestion charge
Greathouse et al. (2005)	Enactment of smoke-free law in Lexington Kentucky
Henstra (2010)	Municipal emergency management in Canada
Liu et al. (2010)	Perceptions of global climate change in Texas, Florida, and Louisiana.
McLendon (2003)	U.S. state education policy
Oborn, Barrett, and Exworthy	Health reform in London
Protopsaltis (2008)	Higher education policy in Colorado
Ridde (2009)	Health policy in Burkina Faso
Robinson and Eller (2010)	School policy in Texas
Rossiter and Price (2013)	British local economic development strategy
Sager and Rielle (2013)	Alcohol policy in Swiss cantons
Zhu (2008)	Urban policy in China

B. National

Avery (2004)	Bioterrorism and health reform in the United States
Birkland (2008)	U.S. security policy since 9/11
Brunner (2008)	German emissions trading policy
Cairney (2009)	Tobacco control policy in the United Kingdom
Chen (2011)	U.S. high-speed rail
Guldbrandson and Fossum (2009)	Swedish health policy
Howie (2009)	U.S. health policy

Mazzar (2007)	U.S. agenda setting and the Iraq war
Natali (2004)	Italian welfare reforms
Pralle (2009)	U.S. agenda setting and climate change
Schwartz and Johnson (2010)	Tobacco policy in Canada
Sharma (2008)	Indian social policy
Travis (2010)	U.S. foreign aid policy in Africa
Zahariadis (2003) and rail transport policy	British, French, German and Greek telecommunications
Zahariadis (2004)	British mergers and acquisitions policy
Zahariadis (2005) Republic of Macedonia	Greek foreign policy toward the former Yugoslav
Zehavi (2008)	Faith-based initiatives in Britain and United States

C. International

Ackrill and Kay (2011)	EU sugar reforms
Bache (2013)	Use of quality-of-life indicators in the European Union
Borràs and Radaelli (2011)	European Union's Lisbon Strategy
Copeland and James (2014)	Relaunching the European Union's Lisbon Strategy
Corbett (2005)	EU education policy (the Bologna Process)
Lipson (2007)	UN peacekeeping
Nowak (2010) legislative process	Effects of judicial rulings on the European Union's
Sarmiento-Mirwaldt (2013)	EU territorial cohesion

Reproduced from Table 2.1 *Illustrative list of empirical research using multiple streams since 2003* (Weible and Sabatier 2014:57)

APPENDIX C – List of questions for semi- structured Interviews

1. What role did you play in the establishment of NAATI?
2. Do you recall any of the key players and/or any of the central drivers leading to the creation of NAATI? In your opinion, what was the main reason for establishing a National Accreditation Authority?
3. Which historical/ political events were, in your view, important during your association with NAATI? Why?
4. Do you have any comments on the degree of influence NAATI has had on the development of
 - (a) the translation and interpreting profession in Australia
 - (b) relevant professional bodies?
5. What changes have you observed in NAATI's activities over the period in which it has been operating?
6. Would you agree that there have been a number of misconceptions over the years about the role of NAATI? What would you say were the most common misconceptions? What is the single most misunderstood aspect of the role of NAATI currently?
7. How would you describe the relationship between NAATI and its owners- the governments of Australia?
8. What do you believe are the most difficult aspects of administering a body such as NAATI? Why?
9. What are the issues which still present difficulties for NAATI which were there at its creation? Why?
10. If you had been running NAATI, what actions would you have pursued which have not been pursued?
11. What do you think is the lasting legacy of NAATI?
12. What comments would you make about
 - (a) the 'levels' system in general
 - (b) the coverage, in terms of languages, by NAATI
 - (c) the testing system utilised by NAATI?

APPENDIX D – National Archives citation method

The National Archives of Australia (NAA) in its NAA Fact Sheet 7, published in April 2013 states *inter alia* in terms of citation of archival records:

“As a minimum the citation for an archival record should refer to the *institution* holding the record, the *series number* of the record series to which the record belongs, and the *control symbol* (or *item number*).

We recommend that you use the following abbreviated form of citation when preparing footnotes or captions:

1. The abbreviation ‘NAA’ (National Archives of Australia) followed by a colon e.g. NAA:
2. The series number, followed by a comma e.g. P.1556
3. The control symbol (also referred to as the item number) e.g. Heard Island 1954
4. The complete abbreviated citation would be: NAA: P1556, Heard Island 1954

If the item has no identifying control symbol but is simply identified as 'NN' (no number) or 'unnumbered', include the item title if possible (see 'Examples of citations' overleaf).”

APPENDIX E – Members of the COPQ Working Party on Interpreting

Miss Joan C. Brown (Chairman)	Secretary-General, Australian Council of Social Service
Mr. L. A. Bramson	President, Interpreters Association of Victoria
Mr. A. J. Garrick	Director, Institute of Modern Languages, University of N.S.W.
Mr. C. Kiriloff	Fellow in Modern Languages, Canberra College of Advanced Education
Mr. J.W. Sargeant	Inspector of Technical Schools, Victorian Education Department
Mr. C. Stransky	Field Officer, Good Neighbour Council of Western Australia
Dr G. Strauss	Principal Lecturer, Department of Humanities, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
Mr. G. C. Watson	First Assistant Secretary, Department of Labor and Immigration
<u>Executive Officer</u> Mr. J. S. Mulcahy	Project Officer, Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications

APPENDIX F – 25 February 1974 COPQ Meeting – Attendees

Mr E. Bajkowski	Associated Chamber of Manufacturers of Australia
Mr L.A. Bramson	Private practice, Melbourne President of Interpreters Association of Victoria
Mr M. Brandle	Director, Institute of Modern Languages, University of Queensland
Mr D. A. Brewster	Australian Commission on Advanced Education
Miss J. Brown	Secretary-General, Australian Council of Social Service
Mrs S. Catharios	Private practice, Sydney
Mr J. Davidson	National Commission on Social Welfare and Department of Social Security
Mr D.G. Fowler	Department of Education
Mrs H. Guemann	Private practice, Brisbane
Mr E.K. Horwood	Director, The Language Centre, University of Melbourne
Mr C. Kiriloff	Fellow in Modern Languages, Canberra College of Advanced Education
Mr G. Lambrinoudis	Chief Interpreter, Migrant Services Section, Bank of N.S.W., Brisbane
Mr L. W. Lippman	Member of Immigration Advisory Council's Committee on Interpreter Needs
Mr L. Lisle	Australian Public Service Board
Mr B. F. Meere	Department of Overseas Trade
Mr E. P. Rolan	Private practice, Adelaide
Mr L. A. Russell	Department of Labour
Mr J. Sargeant	Victorian Education Department
Mr H. Siliakus	Reader in German, University of Adelaide
Mr C. Stransky	Interpreter with Good Neighbour Council, Perth
Dr G. Strauss	Principal Lecturer, Humanities Department, RMIT
Mr I. Tricks	Department of Foreign Affairs
Mr M. W. Watson	General Motors Holden, Australia
Group Captain G. S. Zantuck	Principal Education Officer, Department of Defence, Air Office
<u>Department of Immigration:</u>	
Mr G. C. Watson	
Mr W. R. Clark	
Mr K. Kern	
Miss J. K. Richardson	
Mr G. T. Byrnes	
<u>COPQ Secretariat:</u>	
Mr R. H. Ramsay	Executive director
Mr J. S. Mulcahy	Project Officer
Mrs H. Strang	Committee Secretary

APPENDIX G – NAATI launch press release

NEWS RELEASE FROM THE MINISTER FOR

Immigration and Ethnic Affairs

THE HON. M.J.R. MACKELLAR M. P.

14 September 1977

IEA 60/77

NEW BODY WILL BOOST TRANSLATING AND INTERPRETING

The setting up of a body to control the training and accreditation of translators and interpreters in Australia would give the profession a major boost.

The Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, the Hon. M.J.R. MacKellar, said this today when he announced formation of the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI).

"A national body of this kind will ensure that Australia's translating and interpreting will match world standards," Mr. MacKellar said.

"Recognition of linguistic skills on a professional basis will undoubtedly encourage more people with language skills to enter this field of work."

Mr. MacKellar said he also could see spin-off benefits for migrants and the many community services now operating, as well as for tourism and commerce.

Australia would become more attractive as a venue for world-class international conferences and expositions.

Mr. Mackellar said the principal aim of NAATI would be to establish professional standards and provide accreditation and certification for interpreters and translators at a professional level.

"One of the Authority's objectives is the development within five years of a national self-regulatory professional body to assume full responsibility in these fields," he said.

Mr. MacKellar said Sir George Cartland, at present vice-chancellor of the University of Tasmania, would head the new authority.

Sir George would be retiring from his university post shortly and would be able to devote the great amount of time and personal energy necessary for developing NAATI.

"Sir George has extensive administrative experience in both the British Colonial Service and in university administration," Mr. MacKellar said.

"He has worked within the framework of Government both as a civil servant and as a Minister of the Crown in Uganda. He also was a member of

the working party on languages and linguistics which reported to the Australian University Commission in 1975"

Mr. MacKellar said NAATI was an executive or policy body. It did not

have any specific role as a translating and interpreting service. Members had been chosen because of their backgrounds and experience, particularly in administrative fields.

"However, this is not to say the eleven members of the authority lack any knowledge of languages," Mr. MacKellar added.

"I believe one member can speak 14 languages and all the others have linguistic ability. This should assist them greatly in their work. All but two of the eleven were born overseas.

"I know the members chosen will bring to the new authority extensive community experience, high academic and professional expertise, and first-hand knowledge of Australia's needs."

As well as Sir George Cartland, NAATI would have ten other members, Mr. MacKellar said. They would include:

Mr. M. Brandle Director of the Institute of Modern Languages at the University of Queensland.

Professor J. Frodsham Foundation Professor of Literature at Murdoch University, Western Australia.

Mr. A.J. Garrick Director of the Institute of Languages at the University of N.S.W.

Mr. E. Gauntlett Lecturer in Modern Greek in the Department of Classical Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Melbourne.

Mr. C. Kiriloff Head of Modern Languages at the Canberra College of Advanced Education.

Prof. Leonie J. Kramer Professor of Australian Literature at the University of Sydney.

Mr. V. Menart Chairman of the N.S.W. Consultative Council on Ethnic Affairs, and Senior Vice-Chairman of the Ethnic Communities Council of N.S.W.

Mr. R. Rubichi Head of Italian Language Studies at the Adelaide College of Advanced Education.

Dr. G.H. Strauss Director of Interpreting and Translating Courses at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology.

The name of the eleventh member of the Authority would be announced shortly, Mr. MacKellar said.

APPENDIX H – Objectives and terms of reference – NAATI

The principal objectives of the Authority will be to:

- (i) Establish the standards and conditions leading to professional status, and in so doing develop translating and interpreting in Australia to meet community needs.
- (ii) Develop the basic infrastructure for the emergence of a national self-regulatory professional body in the expectation that this body would, within five years, assume responsibility for the profession, including accreditation.

To this end NAATI will:

- (a) Determine levels of skills for translators and interpreters appropriate to Australian conditions, taking into account the recommendations of the COPQ Working Party.
- (b) Provide advice and guidance on the content of courses to tertiary institutions which are conducting or planning courses in translating and interpreting so that graduates of such courses will be eligible for accreditation at the level determined for that course by NAATI.
- (c) Develop tests and any other procedures necessary to assess and provide a means of accreditation for those who, with or without formal qualifications obtained in Australia or elsewhere, are practising or wish to practise as translators or interpreters in Australia; such procedures may include bridging study or supervised field training approved by the Authority.
- (d) Provide a means of accreditation for those who have successfully completed courses at various levels based on standards of competence established by the Authority
- (e) Monitor changing Australian needs for interpreter/translator services and advise on the development of training programmes throughout Australia to meet these needs
- (f) Take action to encourage employing authorities to require as a prerequisite for appointment accreditation by NAATI.
- (g) Maintain a public register of translators and interpreters who meet the standards established by the Authority.
- (h) Report annually to the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs on the work of the Authority.

APPENDIX I – Inaugural NAATI Board

NATIONAL ACCREDITATION AUTHORITY for TRANSLATORS and INTERPRETERS (N.A.A.T.I.)

CHAIRMAN:

Sir George Cartland - Vice-Chancellor, University of Tasmania

MEMBERS:

Mr M. Brandle - Director of the Institute of Modern Languages at the
University of Queensland

Professor J. Frodsham - Foundation Professor of Literature at Murdoch.
University, Western Australia.

Mr A.J. Garrick - Director of the Institute of Languages at the University of
New South Wales

Mr E. Gauntlett - Lecturer in Modern Greek in the Department of Classical
Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Melbourne

Mr C. Kiriloff - Head of Modern Languages at the Canberra College of
Advanced Education

Professor Leonie J. Kramer - Professor of Australian Literature at the University of
Sydney

Dr P. Martin - Executive Member of the New South Wales Higher
Education Board

Mr V. Menart - Chairman of the New South Wales Consultative Council
on Ethnic Affairs, and Senior Vice-Chairman of the Ethnic Communities Council of
New South Wales

Mr R. Rubichi - Head of Italian Language Studies at the Adelaide College
of Advanced Education

Dr G.H. Strauss - Director of Interpreting and Translating Courses at the
Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology.

00 00 00

EXECUTIVE OFFICER: Mr Adrian Giuffre, Department of Immigration and Ethnic
Affairs, CANBERRA A.C.T.

APPENDIX J – Descriptions of NAATI Levels

Level 1

1. Description

(a) **Intention.** Level I is the basic level. Candidates will not be accredited separately as interpreters or translators but as ‘language aides’. The intended purpose of this level is to recognise people who are capable of using a minimal knowledge of a language for simple communication. This capacity may be a useful adjunct in performing their principal duties.

(b) **Language capability.** Language aides will be capable of handling a simple conversation and simple questions and answers. In these situations they must be able to get the sense of what English speakers and speakers in another language say when speaking in an unhurried manner, using normal pronunciation, basic vocabulary and simple forms of speech. They would not be expected to deal with subjects which are complex or which require specialised or technical vocabulary.

Language aides would normally be literate in both languages, be able to fill in simple forms and to render an oral version of simple documents. They would also be able to read simple notices and street and traffic signs.

(c) **Communication and human relations skills.** Language aides should have a sensitive and positive attitude towards those whom they are assisting and display some appreciation of their socio-cultural background.

(d) **Background knowledge and special knowledge.** Some understanding of the problems of non-English speakers in Australia.

Level 2

1. Description

(a) **Intention.** Level II represents a level of ability for the ordinary purposes of general business, conversation, reading and writing. It will be the standard level at which existing practitioners of interpreting and translating would be recognised without assessment. This level is also generally suitable for those who use a second language as an important part of their principal duties. Applicants at this level will be classed as Interpreters, Translators, or both.

(b) **Language capability.** *Interpreting:* interpreters at this level must be capable of understanding most of what native speakers say when speaking in a normal manner and without any great deviation from the norms of pronunciation, vocabulary and usage. They must be able to render orally, into comprehensible English, with reasonable accuracy, the sense of what is being said by native speakers speaking in the manner described above.

They must also be able to render orally into another language what is being said in English by persons speaking in a similar manner.

Vocabulary must be adequate for routine needs, such as giving instructions and discussing familiar subjects. Those working at this level should have a command of basic grammar and syntax.

Translating: translators working at this level must be able to read and understand with minimum recourse to a dictionary, reading material such as newspapers, magazines and other general texts. The translator must also be able to produce a written version of such material in acceptable English and convey with reasonable accuracy the sense of what is written in the given language and vice versa.

(c) **Communication and human relations skills.** Those working at this level should have a helpful and understanding attitude towards the client and the clients' socio-cultural background. They should possess an awareness of differing individual needs and motivations; have a willingness to assess such differences; and have an ability to listen effectively. They should be aware of the common difficulties experienced by non-English speakers in Australia.

(d) **Background knowledge and special knowledge.** They should have an awareness of Australian culture and socio-economic background as well as that of speakers of the languages for which they are accredited.

If specialising in a particular area, those working at this level should have a basic awareness of the resources and services available and the organisations operating in it they should also have a knowledge of interpreting and translating services available.

Level 3

1. Description.

(a) **Intention.** Level III is intended to be the first professional level for those who undertake the general purpose tasks of interpreting and translating in a wide range of subjects. In some cases these candidates may specialise in particular areas or subjects.

(b) **Language capability.** *Interpreting:* interpreters working at this level must be able to speak the language is concerned with sufficient structural accuracy, vocabulary and fluency to participate effectively in conversations on practical, social and professional subjects. They must be able to discuss a number of particular interests and special fields of competence with reasonable ease. Their comprehension of speech, including recorded speech, at a normal rate of delivery should be adequate. Their range of vocabulary should be broad enough to ensure that they rarely have to grow for a word. The general meaning must be conveyed accurately. An interpreter at this level must be able to use relatively complex structures.

Translating: at this level, translators should be able to read newspaper items addressed to the general reader, routine correspondence, reports and technical material in their special fields or standard text material in the general field of social sciences. They should be able to grasp the essentials of such material without using a dictionary.

Occasional difficulty might be experience with unusually complex structures and uncommon idioms. Translators working at this level should be able to provide written translations of articles involving technical and scientific subjects and to do so at a reasonable speed (approximately 200-250 words per hour in the case of a general text of average complexity) and the translated text should be couched in a reasonably idiomatic style and should be relatively free of serious errors.

(c) **Communication and human relations skills.** Those working as interpreters/translators at this level should possess the skills outlined for level II. In addition, they should have some understanding of the process of communication and should be able to adapt themselves to the needs of the people for whom they are interpreting. They should also understand the role of non-verbal behaviour in communication and have an appreciation of the role of the interpreter (the need for impartiality, objectivity, accuracy etc.). In interpreting conversations between professionals and their clients, the interpreter should understand the possible need to clarify the problems of the interpretation in the particular situation including technical aspects, vocabulary and the need to meet the educational level of the client.

(d) **Background knowledge and special knowledge.** A good knowledge is required of the cultural and socio-economic background of countries or regions represented by the languages concerned.

If specialising in a particular area, those working at this level should have a basic awareness of the resources and services available and the organisations operating in it. They should also have a knowledge of interpreting and translating services available.

Level 4

1. Description.

(a) **Intention.** Level IV is the Advanced Professional Level. Those working at this level are expected to be able to operate in a wide range of situations, such as courts, international meetings and conferences, and various urgent and delicate situations.

(b) **Language capability.** *Interpreting:* interpreters working at this level should be able to use the language fluently and accurately. Vocabulary should be broad, precise and appropriate to the subject and the occasion. Errors, if they occur, should not interfere with meaning. Interpreters should be able to understand and handle any language situation with a high degree of fluency and position of vocabulary, should be capable of coping with a certain amount of slang and colloquial speech, and of taking into account intonation, style, gestures and other semantically significant overtones.

Translating: at this level translators should have a high standard of literacy and be capable of producing accurate written translations of virtually any text. In the case of texts of general content and of average difficulty, the output of their written translations into English should not be less than 250-300 words per hour, and the quality of the translated text should be such as to make the text ready for publication without an excessive amount of further editing.

(c) **Communication and human relations skills.** Those working at this level should possess the skills outlined for levels II and III and, in addition, should understand the cultural reaction of individuals in different social settings. They should be able to understand the client's behaviour patterns and perceive the influence these may have in the interview; and explain them to the professional person. They should be able to give a complete account of the professional's statement and view to his client (i.e., a faithful reflection of intonations, style, gestures, etc.) This would be essential in situations in which the professional does not attempt to communicate directly with the client. They should be aware of the skills involved in the appropriate use of interpreting resources.

(d) **Background knowledge and special knowledge.** Those working at this level should have the knowledge outlined for levels II and III and in addition may have knowledge of a specialist area such as medicine or law.

Level 5

1. Description.

(a) **Intention.** Level V is the Senior Advanced Level. Those working at this level are expected to be capable of and have experience of work at international meetings and conferences requiring high-level diplomatic interpreting or translating. They should also be capable of supervising and planning the work of a team of level III and level IV Interpreters/Translators.

(b) **Language capability.** *Interpreting:* at this level interpreters will be expected to have a speaking proficiency equivalent to that of a native speaker educated to graduate level. This would imply complete fluency in both languages so that speech on all levels was fully accepted by educated native speakers in all of its features, including breath the vocabulary and idiom, colloquialisms and pertinent cultural references.

Translating: reading proficiency must be equivalent to that of a native with a general education to graduate level, and translators should be able to cope with extremely difficult and abstract pros as well as highly technical and specialised texts.

(c) **Communication and human relations skills.** Those working at this level should possess the skills outlined for Level IV.

(d) **Background knowledge and special knowledge.** Those working at this level should possess the skills outlined for Level IV.

(extracted from NAATI (1978) Levels of Accreditation for Translators and Interpreters
NAATI, Canberra Australian Government Publishing Service)

APPENDIX K – Canberra Times (ACT: 1926 - 1995), Saturday 15 May 1976, p. 1

CCAE linguists 'unsuitable' for work: Street

From PETER GEORGE

HOBART, Friday. — People who trained at the Canberra College of Advanced Education to become translators. and interpreters had not been able to get jobs afterwards because they were unsuitable, the Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations, Mr Street, said today.

"The problem was, I understand, I don't think the selection methods were altogether as good as they might have been", he said.

"I believe that " the present intake of people and the job opportunities at the end of the course are as well matched as we can get them".

A number of the people who undertook a National Employment and Training Scheme course at the college and at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology last year were unable to secure jobs after they passed the course.

Mr Street said that the Government's policy of lowering staff ceilings had not been the cause of the problem. The graduates had been unsuitable even though they had been given a pass mark.

He was speaking after addressing the ANZAAS congress on government responsibilities and policies in industrial relations.

He said that despite the fact that trainees had passed the course, they were not necessarily suitable as interpreters and translators.

From research conducted and promises made by the States, the trainees from this year's course would be able to gain employment. The situation last year had been a legacy of poor selection techniques for the course.

The Labor-introduced NEAT scheme was a most important one which, with other training programs, helped to reduce and restrain inflationary pressures, he said.

"NEAT is central to overcoming individual occupational problems", Mr Street said. It had produced some remarkable results and had made a small but significant contribution to alleviating some labour-market problems.

The head of the School of Liberal Studies at the CCAE, Mr T. Mosedale, said yesterday, "We are not in any way anxious to go on running the translators and interpreters course but we are being paid by the Government to do it".

The whole of the course, including the selection process, had been approved by the Minister for Education, before the course had been first offered.

The course had caused nothing but trouble for the college, he said. The Government had financed it and was still financing it, but if it was not satisfied it could stop.

Because the college was of tertiary level, the course offered was a level-three one, and its graduates were of high standard.

APPENDIX L – List of interpreting and translating associations 1980

New South Wales

Association of Translators and Interpreters of Australia (ATIA)

Official Court Interpreters and Translators Association (OCITA)

Institute of Interpreters and Translators

Group of Technical, Conference and Literary Translators and Interpreters

Victoria

State Institute of Interpreters and Translators (SIIT)

Interpreters and Translators Association of Victoria (ITAV)

Federal Interpreters and Translators Association of Victoria (FITA)

South Australia

Association of Interpreters and Translators of South Australia

Western Australia

Western Australian Institute of Translators and Interpreters (WAITI)

Tasmania

Tasmanian Association of Translators and Interpreters

Australian Capital Territory

Association of Translators and Interpreters of the ACT

APPENDIX M – NAATI Board –appointed 1 July 1983

NAME	CATEGORY
Dr Peter Martin	Chairman
Ms Jill Blewett	Interpreter/translator educator
Dr Max Brandle	Queensland Government representative
Miss Eve Fesl	Aboriginal linguist
Mr. John Flynn	Expert in Deaf Languages
Miss Anna Fratta	Level III accredited interpreter/translator
Mr. Luciano Ginori representative	New South Wales Government
Professor Goh Bean San representative	Western Australian Government
Ms Lynne Honan	Level IV accredited interpreter/ translator, nominated by a professional association
Mrs. Lorna Kempner professional association	Level III Accredited interpreter, nominated by a professional association
Mr. Les Liveris representative	Northern Territory Government
Mr. George Papadopoulos	Victorian Government representative
Mr. Romano Rubichi	South Australian Government representative.
Professor Johannes Tisch	Tasmanian Government representative
Mr. Jan Wikstrom	Level III accredited translator, nominated by a professional association