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臺灣視覺藝術產業聘雇口譯員的紮根理論

A Grounded Theory of the Recruitment of Interpreters in

Taiwan's Visual Art Sector

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Abstract

This research aims to investigate how interpreters are recruited by Taiwan's visual art sector. Visual art events are one of the most popular cultural activities in Taiwan, and a great number of international artists or curators are involved in these events, so interpreters are often hired to facilitate communication among participants. Using visitor studies, outsourcing theories and interpreters' competences as theoretical frameworks, interviews were conducted with two groups of stakeholders in Taiwan's visual art events to understand which attributes of interpreters were prioritised when deciding whom among them to recruit and rehire. The stakeholders included: (1) art administrators working in both public and private visual art institutions in Taiwan, and (2) interpreters working in these events. Results were analysed to construct a grounded theory of how clients in Taiwan's visual art sector hire interpreters. It was found that indices like age and gender play no role in initial recruitment. Formal interpretation training and work experience in the art sector are two background attributes conveying positive signals to clients. For further collaboration, attributes signifying professionalism strengthen clients' inclination for rehiring. Personal characteristics like quick response time and flexibility reinforce clients' willingness for future collaboration. Unfavourable factors include delays in delivery, awkward interactions with speakers and evident errors. Distinct patterns emerge when hiring interpreters for more formal events and for escorting foreign artists or curators; financial considerations significantly impact clients' decisions.

Keywords: recruiting interpreters, visual art sector, grounded theory, outsourcing theory, signalling theory

摘要

本研究旨在調查台灣視覺藝術產業聘雇口譯員時的考量。視覺藝術活動是台灣最受歡迎的文化活動之一，且有大量的國際藝術家或策展人參與其中，因此主辦方亦經常聘請口譯員來促進與會者間的交流。本研究以訪客研究、外包理論和口譯員的競爭力為理論框架，對台灣視覺藝術活動中的兩類工作人員進行訪談，藉此了解台灣視覺藝術產業的客戶在聘僱口譯員時重視哪些特質，又有哪些特質會使客戶想再次聘用曾經合作過的口譯員。本研究採訪了兩組受訪者，分別是（一）在台灣公私立視覺藝術機構服務的藝術行政人員及（二）為視覺藝術活動提供服務的口譯員。研究者於詳細分析資料後，歸納出台灣視覺藝術領域聘雇口譯員的紮根理論：初次聘僱時，口譯員的年齡與性別等指標（indices）並非客戶的考量，而「正式口譯訓練」及「藝術領域的工作經驗」則是可向客戶傳達正向訊號（signals）的背景特質（background attributes）。客戶要續聘曾經合作過的口譯員時，提升客戶合作意願的特質包含口譯員的「專業性」以及一系列的「個人特質」（臨場反應快、配合度高等）。若口譯員語句延遲、與講者互動尷尬、出現嚴重錯誤，則會影響客戶的續聘意願。在正式活動和隨行接待的場合中，客戶聘雇口譯員的考量不同。預算亦大幅影響客戶的聘僱決策。
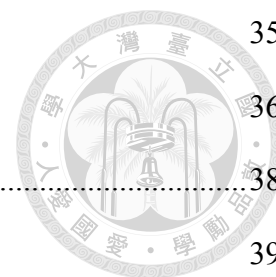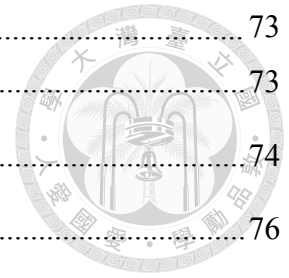
關鍵詞：口譯員聘雇、視覺藝術產業、紮根理論、外包理論、訊號理論

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Chapter 1   Introduction

There has been increasing interpreting research in the fields of community interpreting, including medical interpreting and legal interpreting, and interpreting in sports. The rising number of immigrants across the world and the idea of "equal access" to public services (Pöchhacker, 2022) as well as the introduction of foreign players to professional sports leagues (Lee, 2019) are the causes for the greater demands of interpreters in these fields. However, interpreting in the arts sector is rarely explored both in Taiwan and abroad. Art and cultural events, nevertheless, are one of the most popular leisure activities in Taiwan, and international artists are frequently involved in these events. According to "Summary of Arts Activities in Taiwan, 2022" published by the Ministry of Culture (2022b), there were more than 244 million visits paid to 54,036 art and cultural events across Taiwan in 2022, among which 6,858 events fell into the category of "Visual Art" event, outnumbering any other kind of cultural events taking place in this nation. Another annual report published by the Ministry of Culture, "The Overview of Foreign Artists or Artist Groups Exhibiting or Performing in Taiwan, 2022", indicates that international artists took part in 259 visual art events, and the involvement of foreign artists in the visual art sector is only second to that of the "Films, Televisions and Broadcasts" category (Ministry of Culture, 2022a). Visual art events are apparently one of the most widely accepted and enjoyed cultural formats in Taiwan, and the involvement of international artists makes interpreters' role critical to facilitate communication in these events.

Studies on visitor experience in Taiwan's art and creative fairs also pointed out that 48.47% of the audience visits art museums for personal interests and 34.18% of them to enrich their knowledge (Chiu, 2016). Some museum educators argued that active participation is critical for museum audiences to engage with art (Deeth, 2012). Considering the number of arts events involving international artists in Taiwan, to ensure that audiences

and participants get the most out of these cultural exchange activities, interpreters might be helpful in facilitating communication on several occasions. For example, in art fairs where international galleries participate, interpreters are needed at the booth when foreign gallerists and staff do not have a good command of Mandarin Chinese. In academic settings such as symposiums or conferences organised by art universities and public or private art museums, interpreters play a key role in facilitating mutual understanding between the speaker and the members of the audience, and interpreters' performance may be a deciding factor for the amount of information the audience absorbs in educational sessions. Escort interpreting is much needed in art projects or workshops involving foreign artists or participants. It allows the event to achieve the best outcome where the artists get their ideas across efficiently, and the participants also find it fruitful.

This research aims to specifically explore how interpreters are hired by the visual art sector and devise a grounded theory of the recruitment of interpreters. It is presumed that several factors influence the hiring decisions of clients in Taiwan's visual art sector. These attributes concern the backgrounds and personal characteristics of an interpreter as well as the preferences of a client. The background attributes discussed in this study are an interpreter's background in art, including (1) formal education at art schools and (2) work experience in the art sector, (3) an interpreter's overseas experience, which might signal their language competence, and (4) formal interpretation training at undergraduate or graduate level. Interpreters' personal attributes include voice quality, professionalism, personalities, and outfits and appearances. Eventually, the study aims to answer these two research questions:

1. What attributes of interpreters are of utmost importance for clients in the visual art sector when outsourcing interpreting jobs to external interpreters?

2. After the first recruitment, what are the attributes that prompt clients to seek future collaboration with the same interpreter?

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Chapter 2　　Literature Review
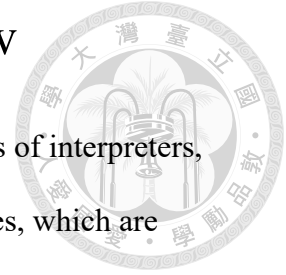
This chapter begins by exploring the attributes and competencies of interpreters, framing them as key indicators within the context of outsourcing theories, which are elaborated in the subsequent section. These theories are used to analyse client hiring decisions in Taiwan's visual art sector. The chapter then cross-references these competencies with factors such as employability and service quality. Lastly, I discuss the current landscape of Taiwan's visual art sector and incorporate visitor studies from both Taiwan and international sources to provide a comprehensive understanding of interpreter recruitment processes within this sector.

2.1 Interpreters' Attributes, Competences and Employability

Due to the largely varied nature of different visual art events, interpreters of different backgrounds, experiences, personalities and characteristics are considered and hired to best serve participants of each of the diverse events. These attributes, along with interpreters' competences and skills, contribute to interpreters' employability in the market.

2.1.1 Interpreters' Attributes

Qualifications mark and affirm the status of a professional and distinguish the qualified from the unqualified practitioners (Larson, 1977). Formal educational training and certification are two commonly discussed qualification systems for evaluating professionalism. In South Korea, formal educational training in interpretation is a pathway to the career of professional conference interpreter (Huh, 2021). In both China and Australia, such trainings mirror the national needs to some degree. The diverse curriculum in Australia reflects the country's cultural diversity, while Chinese tertiary education in translation and interpretation is designed to prepare students specifically for roles in trade and diplomacy

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(Guo et al., 2023). In Taiwan, the first graduate institute of translation and interpretation was not established until 1988, but by 2004, 63% of conference interpreters were professionally trained in a post-graduate institution (*Analysis report: Survey of the translation and interpretation industry in Taiwan*, 2004). In 2012, a follow-up survey organised by the same project director indicated that 28.1% of interpretation trainers at universities, colleges and vocational schools held a degree in translation and interpretation, making formal educational degrees in translation and interpretation the most common qualification possessed by trainers. These show that a formal educational degree in interpretation is a widely recognised attribute for professional interpreters.

Certifications are another attribute in relation to qualifications that are widely discussed in translation and interpretation studies. However, Chan (2008) investigated the role of information economics in the relationship between signalling mechanisms and recruitment decisions within Hong Kong's translation market. He discovered that while recruiters still regard academic degrees as effective signals for competence, they do not hold certification systems in the same esteem. Additionally, the oversupply of vocation-oriented Master's degrees in translation further complicates the situation, leaving local clients uncertain about the credibility of such qualifications as a reliable signal.

Aside from translator certification, Chan (2008) also reported that either work experience or academic degrees alone was not sufficient for clients when making recruitment decisions in Hong Kong. Recruiters only nodded to the idea that work experience provide practitioners with hands-on experience but would be especially alert when the experience is freelance work experience. Lin (2014) also found that work experience was not a good indicator of service quality of conference interpreters in Taiwan. However, work experience in the domain seems to weigh differently from domain-specific interpreting experience, as

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Huh (2021) discovered that domain-specific interpreting experience was placed with high importance among users in South Korea.

In addition to interpreters' backgrounds, their personal attributes like gender, age and appearance are also explored in interpreting studies. Interpreter is a feminised profession with more than two-thirds of the practitioners being female (Zwischenberger, 2009). Giustini (2021) examined the professional status of conference interpreters in Japan, where the majority of interpreters are female. She concluded that the field of interpretation is undervalued in Japanese society, largely because it is perceived as a "feminised" occupation associated with casual conversation rather than specialised expertise. This societal perception has further marginalised the profession by linking it to notions of submissiveness and servitude. Cho (2017) pointed out that attractive female interpreters create sensation on the media in South Korea. Du and Wang (2021) investigated the image of interpreter in the mass media in China. They found a clear gender bias towards female interpreters and identified an overemphasis on the appealing appearance of these female interpreters on the media. Aside from professionalism, gender and appearance seem to largely shape how people perceive the profession of interpretation, so it is believed that they are personal attributes worth discussing.

Another attribute explored in interpretation studies is professional ethics. Cokely (2000) reviewed the code of ethics for sign language interpreters and argued that interpreters have to be conscientious, honest and emotionally mature. Interpreters and translators, especially those working in medical, legal and educational settings, deal with affairs that can profoundly impact other people's lives. Therefore, it is only natural to review and develop the code of ethics for interpreters and translators to advocate the rights of disadvantaged people who need access to the interpretation service. Aside from sign language interpreters, codes of conduct for interpreters in general could date back to the sixteenth century in Spanish

colonial laws; on the other hand, modern standards promoted by interpreters autonomously traced back to 1957 when AIIC members adopted the AIIC Code of Professional Ethics (Pöchhacker, 2022).
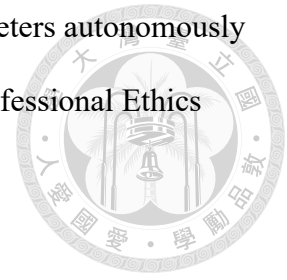
2.1.2 Interpreters' Competences

In addition to these attributes, much of the existing literature explored the competence and employability of freelance interpreters from the aspect of language proficiency and interpreting skills, while business skills such as maintaining customer relationships are considered equally paramount. Kiraly (2006) distinguished between "translation competence per se", "personal competence" and "social competence" to build a translator competence model. Building on Kalina's four dimensions of the interpreting process (Kalina, 2006), Albl-Mikasa conducted interviews with ten experienced professional conference interpreters and modelled interpreter's competences based on her interviewees' hands-on, "practice-oriented views" (Albl-Mikasa, 2012b). She argued that liaising with clients, upholding professional standards, engaging with lifelong learning and meta-reflection are some para-process skills critical to an interpreter's employability. Peri-process skills are also essential elements contributing to an interpreter's competence, including "teamwork and a cooperative attitude", "unimposing extrovertedness", "professionalism between instinct and a sense of realism" and "pressure resistance and frustration tolerance" (Albl-Mikasa, 2012a, pp. 69-74).

2.1.3 Interpreters' Employability in Taiwan

A 2012 survey (Chen, 2012) listed several requirements for translators in its questionnaire to probe which skills are important for translation agencies: Language proficiency, translation skills, professional ethics, domain-specific knowledge, interpersonal skills, technology skills, qualifications, communication skills, flexibility and the ability to

meet deadlines. Among the 49 agencies that filled in the questionnaire, the top three priorities were language proficiency, translation skills and the ability to meet deadlines.

Hsieh (2019) conducted a study on the employability of freelance interpreters in Taiwan. Seasoned interpreters interviewed in the study highlighted the critical importance of language competence, interpreting skills and specialised knowledge. Conversely, younger practitioners identified business acumen, networking skills and social competence as the key competencies likely to propel them to the next level in their careers.

In this study, interpreters who have received formal training from an interpretation programme at graduate level are referred to as professional interpreters. But professional interpreters are not the only interpreters working in Taiwan's visual art sector. Art organisations sometimes prefer hiring untrained interpreters in unofficial settings (Pöchhacker, 2022), such as escorting artists and curators or serving as their local assistants. These interpreters often do not have formal training, and are often not remunerated for their work as interpreters (Antonini & Bucaria, 2016).The diverse needs for interpreters in visual art events prompt clients to seek interpreters with different attributes and competences, so outsourcing theories were employed to examine various outsourcing scenarios for clients in the visual art sector.

2.2 Outsourcing Theories

Outsourcing decisions are made when it is more economical to purchase external goods or services than making the products internally or employing staff members working full-time in an organisation (Williamson, 1979). In general, hiring an external interpreter to work on an assignment is more economical than employing in-house translators/interpreters for art organisations. Outsourcing theories discussed in this section include information economics, signalling theory, transaction cost economics and social exchange theories.

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2.2.1 Transaction Cost Economics

Williamson employed Transaction Cost Economics (TCE) to examine contractual relations (Williamson, 1979) and outsourcing decisions (Williamson, 2008), confirming the importance of transaction costs in organisational economic activities. A company will form contractual relations with an external provider when the production cost is greater than "external procurement" or transaction cost, meaning that buying is cheaper than making. Transactions, hence, happen when outsourcing is "the most economical governance structure" (Williamson, 1979). In addition, three key attributes of transactions that affect how companies make such decisions are highlighted in Williamson's research. The first one is "asset specificity", which may lead to bilateral dependency between clients and service providers. The second one is "uncertainty", which may prompt a firm to maintain its outsourcing decisions because lowering the level of uncertainty reduces contractual hazard for a firm. For lowering the uncertainty level, continuity can be a solution, so the third attribute of the transaction is by no coincidence "frequency", which is also related to setup costs (Williamson, 1979, 2008). TCE provides us with a framework to examine first-time and recurring outsourcing decisions, and social exchange theories discussed in the next section also offer backward-looking and forward-looking perspectives to explore exchanges in society.

2.2.2 Social Exchange Theories

Social exchange theories regard social behaviours as exchanges between two parties whose behaviours might be subject to change based on how they determine the value of reward and cost of an exchange (Homans, 1958). Homans thought that human behaviours, i.e., their cost, can be reinforced by the value they got from past exchange experiences, and

the varied values and costs incurred for each person would determine their frequency of emitting certain behaviours and sometimes result in their choosing to display alternative behaviours. But social behaviour is not just an exchange of physical goods – non-material things such as "the symbols of approval and prestige" can also be exchanged (Homans, 1958, p. 606).

Cohesiveness, defined as anything that entices people to remain in and engage with a group, is one of the many variables that determines the value of such non-material exchanges (Festinger et al., 1950). Festinger and his colleagues considered two reinforcing activities in their research: Social approval and other valuable activities, both of which increase when the level of cohesiveness within a group increases. They view cohesiveness as a value variable, while communication is a frequency variable that increases when a group is more cohesive. One of Festinger's co-authors, Schachter, conducted a further experiment to see whether high cohesive groups were more willing to accept the induction introduced to the group than low cohesive groups. When the induction was to increase the productivity of the group, there were no significant differences between the two groups. However, when the induction is to do the opposite, meaning to lower productivity, the result shows that highly cohesive groups tend to demonstrate a greater willingness to accept the induction (Schachter et al., 1951). Thus, cohesiveness can lead to an increase in social approval and frequency of communication; it is not necessarily a variable that affects productivity.

Blau (1964) took social exchange as an important aspect of social life for defining relations between groups and between individuals. Different from economic exchange, social exchange usually does not specify the favour or returns one might get from the other party. According to Blau, social exchange "depends on and promotes trust" between parties, and commitments and other mechanisms also help to promote trust.

In fact, social exchange theories can be examined through many perspectives. Some scholars combed through papers on social exchange theories and clarified the differences between two major perspectives of such theories: Homans' reinforcement theories focus on a "backward-looking" decision-making process, which is to use past experience to predict future returns, while Blau's interpretation of social exchange "refers to voluntary actions of individuals that are motivated by the returns they are expected to bring and typically do in fact bring from others" (Blau, 1964, p. 91), adopting a "forward-looking" approach (Cook et al., 2013; Heath, 1976).

2.2.3 Information Economics and the Problems

To make outsourcing decisions, information is key. Stiglitz (2000) argued that perfect information was assumed in earlier economic models while, in fact, information is mostly imperfect. He also reported that it is costly to obtain information, and many problems of information can arise when it comes to economic activities because information can help to address contingencies. If information were perfect, "all important contingencies could have been anticipated" and thus covered in the original contract (Stiglitz, 2000), but this is rarely the case. Stiglitz mentioned in his study that employers want to know their employees' productivity, strengths and weaknesses, as these characteristics are important if employers want to make good profits and stay competitive. Spence (1973) also argued in his research on the job market that employers "will have an expected marginal product for an individual" (Spence, 1973, p. 358). For instance, insurers would want to know how careful their insured are to avoid an accident, and lenders would like to get hold of information about how risky it is to lend money to their borrowers. When it comes to translation and interpretation studies, information asymmetry can mean that service buyers or clients are not able to distinguish between "good" or "bad" service providers, and imperfect information can brings risks to

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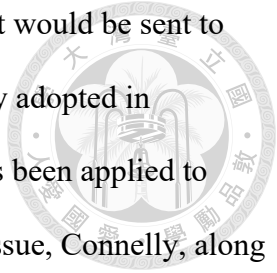
service buyers (Chan, 2008), as the product they purchase may not be of good quality or even contain huge mistakes.

To tackle economic problems resulting from information asymmetry, incentives are often used as mechanisms to lessen potential moral hazards (Ross, 1973), so incentives have become important issues in economics (Stiglitz, 2000). Yet, it is still possible to monitor an agent's behaviours; the problem lies in the cost of monitoring it (Ross, 1973). In the field of translation and interpretation, monitoring means proofreading a translated document or listening to the original speech and comparing it with an interpreter's production. If clients of translation and interpretation services lack the ability to monitor the result by themselves, it is technically feasible to hire another translator or interpreter to do the work, but it would be costly to do so. In order to avoid contingencies or hazards arising from a contract without overwhelmingly racking up the cost, it is paramount for a service buyer, a client, or a principal to identify which signals are more valid and trustworthy. The next section will discuss signalling theory and its use in outsourcing scenarios.

2.2.4 Signalling Theory

Signalling theory describes behaviours between two parties when they do not have the same access to information (Connelly et al., 2011). It is often used to illustrate how decisions are made based on the signals that are available to decision-makers. According to Connelly, people use public information to make decisions, whereas private information is only available to some people, and that creates information asymmetry.

Spence (1973) introduced signalling theory to management research in the 1970s, and the area he first delved into was the job market. He recognised that hiring decisions for employers came with uncertainty. Therefore, he put a job applicant's observable attributes into two categories: the generally unchangeable "indices", such as sex and race, and the

alterable "signals" like education to model how education as a signal that would be sent to interviewers in job markets. Signalling theory has since then been widely adopted in management studies, but "its central tenets have become blurred as it has been applied to organisational concerns" (Connelly et al., 2011, p. 39). To address this issue, Connelly, along with other researchers, boiled down the essence of the theory and identified its three key elements, which include (1) the signaller, (2) the receiver and (3) the signal itself. They argued that signals are positive information about signallers, which they want to convey to receivers, for signallers are supposed to get benefits from receivers (Connelly et al., 2011). Besides this, signalling theory has also been applied by different sectors, such as marketing and finance, to be a contractual framework between the seller and the buyer to explain outsourcing decisions (Wei, 2017; Wells et al., 2011).

Wei, for example, made use of signalling theory in outsourcing scenarios between information technology service providers and users. He found that past experiences were viewed as credible signals, while the reputation and competence of a supplier did not have a significant effect on a client's perceived value for a supplier (Wei, 2017). Experience and competence are highly related in many ways. Levina and Ross (2003) pointed out three value propositions that could be gained when core competences are enhanced: (1) Personal competence, including professional skills and knowledge to offer quality services, (2) methodology competence helping to solve systemic problems and resort to standardised processes, and (3) client management competence granting a vendor multiple ways to win their client's trust, such as sharing ongoing condition with clients, providing valuable discussions and managing interactions with them. These competences echo those valued in the interpreter community, which also places focus on language and interpreting skills to provide quality services, problem-solving skills to deal with contingencies when problem triggers arise in an assignment, and soft skills like customer relationship management.

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Therefore, the outsourcing theories discussed in this section will be used to examine clients' preferred attributes of interpretation service providers and how clients evaluate these attributes in section 2.3.

2.3 Signalling Theory in Translation and Interpretation Studies

Spence (1973) viewed an individual's attributes in the job market as generally unalterable indices, such as age and gender, and changeable signals, such as education. In the interpretation sector, many of these attributes were categorised by scholars merely as signals. Conducting her survey with 109 participants in South Korea, Huh (2021) examined the importance of various signals to interpretation service users. Signals listed in her questionnaire cover a wide range of attributes, including but not limited to educational background, certification, quality of interpretation, interpreting experience, ethics and price. Huh also viewed non-quality factors such as appearance, celebrity status and age as signals. Her results indicated that certification, quality of interpreting and domain-specific interpreting experience are valid signals. Huh also took interpreters' "aesthetic quality", or how good-looking interpreters are, as one of the non-quality signals sent by interpreters. Cho (2017), whose research also focuses on the South Korean market, found that aesthetic quality enhances the value of the interpretation service, especially in markets saturated with an abundance of such offerings. In Cho's study, interpreters reported that enhancing their aesthetic quality is laborious and undermines the recognition of interpreting as a respected profession.

Aside from alterable signals, indices are discussed in market studies for the profession of interpretation. Age is one of the indices in Spence's study but is viewed as a signal in Huh's research. Huh (2021) pointed out that her participants preferred interpreters in the 30-

39 age group for both simultaneous and consecutive interpreting assignments, and that was followed by the 40-49 age group. However, other than Huh's research, few studies look into interpreters' age and their employability, so this study will explore such issues in Taiwan, and the focus will be on the visual art sector.
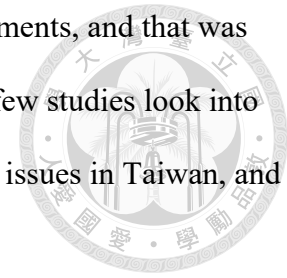
Interpreters' attributes can affect outsourcing decisions if they are viewed by clients as positive signals, but information asymmetry makes it difficult for clients to make judgement. In addition to that, many translation studies have looked into the case of adverse selection – good translators may not stay in the market when it is disrupted by those who are good at sending positive signals to clients (Chan, 2008; Pym et al., 2011). To address this issue, in some countries, national or regional qualification frameworks are viewed by service buyers as attributes they can trust and rely on. In translation studies, translator certification is among the possible signals that are sent to service buyers, with specialised M.A. programmes being another one. Kim (2020) studied the hiring processes of interpreters and translators adopted by two agencies in the public sector in South Korea – one of them is a large-scale central government agency in Seoul, and the other one is a government ministry not in the capital. She found that the central government agency adopted a more reliable assessment system to recruit interpreters and translators, but it took lots of time and human resources. The second agency that she investigated adopted a set of hiring processes that are more agile and therefore seemed to be more practical to most companies. Because few private companies have the resources or abilities to evaluate and screen interpreters and translators as the central government agency did, she suggested that institutionalising the hiring processes and "creating a centralised pool of evaluators" could be some solutions (Kim, 2020, p. 703). In Taiwan, Tseng (2005) looked into the market of conference interpreting service in Taiwan and identified the problem of information asymmetry. He also advocated for an interpreter

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database to be set up by the government so that the problem of information asymmetry could potentially be solved.
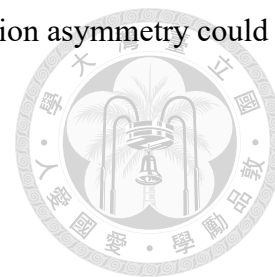
2.3.1 Interpreters' Service Quality and Users' Perception

Professional interpreters have developed a set of criteria to evaluate interpreting service quality, and Huh (2021) found that service quality was a valid signal among interpretation service users. Bühler (1986) surveyed AIIC members and found that staying consistent with the original content was the top-ranked priority, as 96% of her participants rated it as highly important. The criterion is followed by "logical cohesion", "reliability", and "thorough preparation", which are rated as highly important by 73–83% of respondents. These criteria are then followed by "correct terminology" and "fluency of delivery" among other criteria. Other researchers yielded similar results as Bühler did, as "sense consistency with the original message" was prioritised by professional interpreters in many of the later, larger-scale surveys that were conducted based on Bühler's list of 16 criteria (Chiaro & Nocella, 2004; Zwischenberger, 2010). In Chiaro and Nocella's study, the three most important factors are sense consistency, completeness and logical cohesion, which they listed as "crucial quality criteria".

Unlike researchers in the aforementioned studies, whose focuses were on professional interpreters, Kurz (2001) adopted Bühler's list and administered the survey on interpreting service users in three simultaneous interpreting conferences. The results of her surveys indicate that sense consistency, logical cohesion and terminology were perceived by her participants as more important, whereas delivery did not receive ratings as high as the other items on the list. Moser (1996) found that faithfulness was overwhelmingly preferred by listeners, while terminology and clarity of expression are also important features. Huh (2021) employed a questionnaire-based survey to study the market demand for interpreters in South

Korea. She collected 109 valid answers and also found that the quality of interpreting is one of the important aspects that users would pay attention to. In her study, content accuracy, terminology, and completeness are the top three criteria users adopted to evaluate the interpreting service quality.
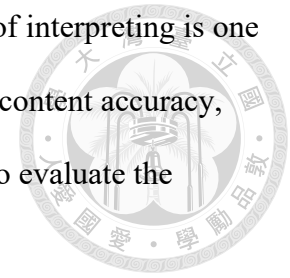
Due to the lack of a widely-known qualification system for interpreters in Taiwan, clients of interpretation services need to evaluate and select interpreters using their own judgement. Lin (2014) found that service quality expectation gap between clients and conference interpreters was not big in Taiwan's market. Both clients and interpreters believed that excellent interpreters should provide service at the promised time and be well-prepared, listing the two requirements as the most important attributes. Clients and interpreters interviewed in her study also agreed that educational backgrounds or work experiences in the domain was the least important attribute to the indication of service quality.

2.4 Current Scenes of Taiwan's Visual Art Sector

In 2002, Taiwan's Executive Yuan incorporated the cultural creative industry into the Challenge 2008-National Development Plan, elevating the cultural creative industry into a strategically developed industry (Hsu & Chou, 2014). The Ministry of Culture then defines the cultural creative industry as "industries that originate from creativity or accumulation of culture which, through the formation and application of intellectual properties, possess potential capacities to create wealth and job opportunities, enhance the citizens' capacity for arts, and elevate the citizens' living environment" ("Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries Act," 2019). Under this definition, the Ministry of Culture classifies the visual art industry, visual communication design industry, digital content industry and thirteen other industries into this broad category. According to the *Summary of Arts Activities in Taiwan, 2021*, there were more than 153 million visits paid to art and cultural events across Taiwan in

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2021, among which 6,064 events fell into the category of "Visual Art" event (Ministry of Culture, 2021b), accounting for 10.77% of the total events and outnumbering any other kinds of cultural events taking place in this country. The percentage of visits to visual art events rose to 12.69% in 2022, with a total number of visitors surpassing 244 million (Ministry of Culture, 2022b). In addition to that, international artists engaged in 238 visual art events in 2021, and the involvement of foreign artists in the visual art sector was only second to that of the "Films, Televisions and Broadcasts" sector (Ministry of Culture, 2021a). The number of events participated by international artists grew to 259 the following year (Ministry of Culture, 2022a). Visual art events are one the most widely accepted and enjoyed cultural formats in Taiwan, and foreign languages are often involved in those events.

Taiwan's art institutions have been curating various events to offer a wide range of learning and cultural exchange opportunities to art lovers in Taiwan, and art education can be examined from several different aspects. Bourdieu argued that free entry to art museums seemed to make art open to the public, but in fact, the appreciation of art is a habitus only shared by those who are capable of appreciation (Bourdieu, 1991). For those who have never been immersed in art, they might find it difficult to appreciate because going to museums is a "habitus" relevant to social, economic backgrounds such as family or educational backgrounds, and decoding art is not a universal capability (Bourdieu, 1991; Sheu, 2004). To truly empower audience members, Bourdieu believed that art museum administrators should take the initiative to equip their audiences with the capabilities to understand and appreciate artworks exhibited in the galleries (Wacquant & Bourdieu, 1992). While it is true that, in general, all art exhibitions serve this educational purpose (Lee, 2020), museum professionals argued that active participation is critical for art museum visitors to engage with art (Deeth, 2015), and domestic visitor studies conducted in Taiwan echoed this idea. A motivational research on local residents visiting Yingge Ceramics Museum in New Taipei City found that

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local museums usually contextualise local culture and make it an important feature, which in turn enhances community spirit in the region, so local museums should leverage its "local representativeness and accessibility" and bring out more interactive activities to engage local residents (Liu, 2021). In Taiwan, museum personnel also specifically highlighted "visitor-centred exhibitions" to place even more focus on visitors and education, as opposed to object-centred exhibitions, which attach importance to art history or the development of contemporary art (Lee, 2014). In her research, Lee reviewed literature and interviewed six key decision-makers in Taiwan's public art museums to thoroughly depict the development of visitor-centred exhibitions in Taiwan. She then argued that "situated learning" involving the Six Senses of Buddhism – sight, hearing, smell, touch, taste, and mind – is critical to visitor-centred exhibitions as they enable visitors to construct their own understanding of the artwork (Lee, 2020).

Taiwan's commercial art world also embraces art education to democratise the appreciation of art while promoting sales figures. Art Taipei, the longest-running art fair in Taiwan, states on its website that it is "an important platform for international art exchange in the Asia-Pacific region". As Wei (2014) put it, the organiser of Art Taipei, Taiwan Art Gallery Association (TAGA), hopes to give the general public in Taiwan a chance to access the latest trend in the international art market while enhancing the image of Taiwan's art. The Council of Cultural Affairs (now the Ministry of Culture) also partnered with Art Taipei in 2005 to leverage national connections with organisations in New York and Paris to facilitate cultural exchange and introduce Taiwan's youth artists to the international market (Wei, 2014). These practices show that commercial art event organisers also play a part in the liberalisation of art education in Taiwan.

It is believed that knowing visitors' genuine needs could make exhibitions and educational programmes more efficient tools for equipping audiences with knowledge and

catering more to visitors' diverse requirements, so the next section reviews visitor studies to explore the reasons that people attend art events in Taiwan and abroad.
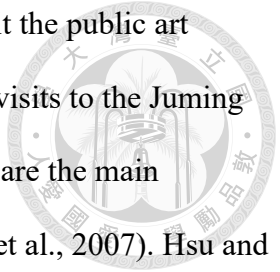
2.4.1 Visitor Studies

Art museum-goers, art forum participants and art fair visitors attend these events for different reasons and with different expectations. Bourdieu (1966) found that the time visitors spend in an art museum is positively correlated to their education levels, which in turn speaks of their occupation and social status. Tseng (2010) investigated visitor experiences in the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts, which is located in central Taiwan, and found that frequent visitors spent more time in an exhibition.

International museum studies in the past decades have reported that most museum visitors pay visits to museums for entertainment and learning (Macdonald, 1993), and these two purposes are not mutually exclusive (Moussouri, 2006). Slater's study was based on three motivational domains – social/family interaction, learning and escapism. Escapism refers to a relaxing feeling people get when they are in a cosy environment away from home and their workplace. It explained 29.4% of the variance and was considered the core reason motivated museum visits, while learning also ranked high and explained 21.8% of the variance (Slater, 2007). Comparing to formal education received at schools and universities, Moussouri (2006) reckoned that open learning environments like museums, archives and libraries provide visitors with alternative ways for absorbing knowledge, and visitors going to these open environments usually visit for a specific reason, including but not limited to academic, personal and work-related causes.

There are some Taiwan-based visitor studies that echoed the aforementioned research. Duplicating Slater's motivational study and her multi-item scale, Lin (2013) investigated visitors' motivations to the Taipei Fine Arts Museum and found that escapism, social/family

interaction and learning are the top three reasons attracting people to visit the public art museum. As for private art museums, a survey of 256 visitors who paid visits to the Juming and Chang Foundation Museum concluded that escapism and relaxation are the main purposes for stepping into the museums for those aged 21 to 60 (Huang et al., 2007). Hsu and Chou (2014) investigated the level of satisfaction, among other variables, that visitors would feel when they attended events at Pier-2 Art Center, Kaohsiung, a popular cultural park in southern Taiwan. Based on the results they derived from their 350 valid questionnaires, "aesthetic benefits" scored the highest among all the leisure benefits that visitors would gain from visits, and this was followed by "education benefits". Chiu (2016) looked at successful factors of creative art fairs in Taiwan and found that 34.18% of Taiwanese participants attended events organised by the cultural sector to enrich their knowledge, while 48.47% of them visited for personal interests. These studies show that leisure and education are big drivers for visitors to go to an art museum or attend a visual art event in Taiwan.

Due to visitors' diverse backgrounds, those who have been to an art museum and accessed its facilities and services may project their own expectations on the institute; therefore, to best serve these visitors, museums have to adapt to these expectations, which makes the relationship between an art museum and the general public an evolving one (Su, 2018). To truly serve and empower visitors, art administrators might want to consider thoroughly as to which service providers should be offered the contract when their organisations are outsourcing different tasks involved in their events, including interpretation.

Existing research illustrates interpreters' competences, and employability, the processes of making outsourcing decisions and the nature of visual art events in Taiwan. However, no research specifically portrays the recruitment process of interpreters in the art sector in Taiwan. Therefore, this study aims to build a grounded theory of the recruitment of interpreters in Taiwan's visual art sector.

Chapter 3   Methods

This research adopted semi-structured interviews conducted in Mandarin Chinese. Using several outsourcing theories, including signalling theory, social exchange theories and Transaction Cost Economics, as theoretical constructs, the interview outlines were designed with an aim to explore how clients in Taiwan's visual art sector recruited interpreters.

3.1 Participants

Two groups of key stakeholders were interviewed: art administrators and interpreters working for the art sector. Art administrators are people who assume administrative roles in public or private art and cultural institutes, including but not limited to the administrative team in art museums, art galleries, non-profit art and cultural organisations, art fairs, art universities as well as event organisers who mainly work with the art and cultural sector. The second group of interviewees are interpreters. Those who have frequently worked in the art sector were preferred. In addition, interpreters that offer interpreting from languages other than English, mostly Japanese and Korean, were also planned to be consulted to more comprehensively explore the general and authentic needs for interpretation services in Taiwan's visual art sector.

The researcher ended up interviewing 12 art administrators and six interpreters. Feedback about interpretation services given by these interviewees would shed light on the authentic needs and hiring criteria of interpreters in Taiwan's visual art sector.

3.2 Research Instrument and Data Collection

Visitor studies, outsourcing theories and interpreters' competence models are the theoretical rationales of this study. Outsourcing theories, including signalling theory (Connelly et al., 2011; Levina & Ross, 2003; Spence, 1973; Wei, 2017), social exchange

theories (Festinger, 1950; Homans, 1958) and transaction cost economics (Williamson, 1979, 2008), inspired the design of the interviews. Background and personal attributes were taken as signals sent to clients when they decided to hire interpreters whom they had not worked with before. Social exchange theories proposed the concept of "reinforcing activities" (Festinger, 1950) and transaction cost economics identified key attributes of transactions (Williamson, 2008), both of which are viewed as "reinforcers" in this study that prompt clients to work with the same interpreters again in the future. These attributes and reinforcers were then mapped with Albl-Mikasa's interpreter competence model (Albl-Mikasa, 2012a) as well as Hsieh's research on freelance interpreters' employability in Taiwan (Hsieh, 2019) to analyse whether clients' views in Taiwan's art sector meet with interpreters' expectations of their employability in Taiwan.

A consent form was given to the interviewees before the interview started; if the interviewee agreed to the terms, the interview would begin. The consent form can be found in Appendix iii. One-on-one interviews conducted with clients and interpreters were recorded by the researcher using a smartphone, and notes marking down keywords or key moments of the conversation were taken during these semi-structured interviews for data analysis in the later stage. This approach has made analysis easier as key moments in the recordings could be identified more easily, and therefore easier for the researcher to code and analyse the content. The conversation was transcribed. Interviews were conducted either in person or online using Google Meet. When the interview was conducted in person, background attributes printed on paper as physical prompts were handed to interviewees to help them rank the attributes of interpreters more straightforwardly. Photos were taken to document the result of the arrangement of the cards that indicate clients' preferred attributes in order. When the interview was conducted online, the same background attributes were shown on Jambo, an interactive platform created by Google, as different items. The researcher would share her

screen with the interviewee so that they could arrange the order of the attributes by dragging and dropping the items using their own computers.

3.3 Interview Outlines

All the semi-structured interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese, and the interview outline designed for interpreters follows the same structure as the one designed for art organisations so that answers given by the two groups of interviewees could be cross-referenced. The interview outlines for the interviewees were also translated into English, and the bilingual versions of them can be found in Appendix I and ii.

3.4 Data Analysis & Grounded Theory

Grounded theory was founded by Strauss and Glaser (1967) using empirical data and comparative analysis to generate a theory. Strauss and Corbin (1998) created coding procedures of multiple levels of codes to facilitate other scholars who decide to adopt this approach. This abductive theory/method is both a process as well as the final product of social research, and it helps to test and find the most plausible explanations for phenomena through coding, categorising and conceptualising (Babchuk & Boswell, 2022).

Twelve clients and six interpreters were interviewed in this study. The length of each of the interviews varied across participants, ranging from 45 to 75 minutes. The eighteen semi-structured interviews were fully transcribed for analysis. Based on the data collected from the interviews, interpreters' attributes that each group of interviewees mentioned were closely examined, coded and categorised as signals and reinforcing activities as observed in outsourcing theories. The data were then compared with the skill sets of interpreters' competence model built by Albl-Mikasa to build a grounded theory of the recruitment of interpreters in Taiwan's visual art sector.

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The researcher began with an open-coding of the 18 transcripts, labelling the thoughts of the interviewees by carefully examining the transcripts and constantly comparing them with one another. Several categories represented in the data were then identified. The labels for these categories were then gradually revised to reflect new findings extracted from the data. In the coding process, memos were created along the codes to better indicate the relations among these categories and concepts. Following that, the memos also facilitated axial coding that mapped together the main categories and the subcategories derived from the interviews. The answers provided by the two groups of interviewees were also constantly compared against one another for the researcher to dynamically adjust the categories and better reflect the realities. The categories developed from the previous coding processes were boiled down and revised during the selective process. Four concepts (i.e., indices, signals, reinforcers and negative factors) and two themes emerged from the data, and a central category was then determined. A final coding of all the categories and the four concepts (i.e., indices, signals, reinforcers and negative factors), as well as the themes derived from them, can be found in Appendix iv.

In the proposed grounded theory, interpreters' attributes that were reported important before first-time collaboration was viewed as signals; interpreters' attributes that were deemed valuable in the decision regarding rehiring an interpreter were taken as "reinforcers". A grounded theory illustrating how interpreters are hired by Taiwan's visual art sector was hence created to make the recruitment process clearer and more known to interpreting students who are interested in working in the sector.

Chapter 4   Results & Discussions

The researcher planned to interview three groups of interviewees: clients, interpreters and visitors. However, it was difficult to get sufficient data from the visitor group for several reasons. First, in forums organised by art fairs, visitors come and go very frequently. Second, few visitors chose to put on headsets to listen to the simultaneous interpretation, even though they sat through the whole forum session. This is because visitors frequenting visual art events in Taiwan usually have a good command of English. While interpreters are viewed as accessories on some occasions, the researcher senses that forums and seminars that are affiliated with art fairs are sometimes hosted to glorify the commercial art event. The function of those events makes interpreters working in them even more like accessories. Third, there were few art forums that involved interpreters during the period when the research was carried out (between September 2022 and June 2023). Therefore, the following section will only discuss the results derived from interviews conducted with clients and interpreters, examining what background attributes and personal attributes were deemed more important for the two groups of interviewees who work for Taiwan's visual art sector.

In this study, four background attributes were listed on cards (or as moveable objects on an online interactive platform, Jambo, when the interview was conducted remotely through Google Meet) and presented to interviewees so that they could rank the attributes they prefer interpreters to have more intuitively. These attributes are: (A) Worked or educated in a country that speaks the foreign language involved, (B) Received a bachelor's degree or above in the art or design sector, (C) Had work experience in the art or design sector and (D) Trained by an interpretation school at the postgraduate level. In order to facilitate discussions, the following sections will primarily refer to attribute A as overseas experience, attribute B as art education, attribute C as work experience in the art sector, and attribute D as interpretation

training. Interpreters with attribute D are sometimes referred to as professional interpreters in this study.

The researcher utilised a scoring system to assess the priority of background attributes based on interviewees' rankings. The highest-ranked attribute received four points, the second-ranked received three points, the third-ranked received two points, and the least-prioritised attribute received one point. The cumulative points assigned to each attribute determined its total score. However, the subjective nature of this comparison method means that interviewees may differ in their perception of the relative importance of these attributes. While one individual may consider the top attribute as 100% important and the second attribute as 90% important, another person may assign 80% importance to the second attribute. These varying perspectives can lead to discrepancies in the preferences expressed by interviewees. To address this concern, the researcher adopted a descriptive approach to investigate the underlying factors that influenced each interviewee's ranking decision and their preference for diverse attributes.

4.1 Profile of Interviewees

Twelve clients and six interpreters were interviewed in this study. Nine of the twelve clients interviewed (see Table 4.1) have worked at and hired interpreters for twelve art organisations. Among these clients, three of them represented two institutes. One of them started her own private company after she left her job at a public art institute. The other one also left a public art institute for a private organisation dedicated to hosting art events. The third one used to work in a commercial art gallery and now works in the administrative team of a public art museum. These three clients reported that the two institutes they serve adopted different standards when choosing interpreters. As a result, they ranked the attributes in a different order, and their rankings are considered two separate entries.

Seven out of the twelve interviewed clients represented art museums because art museums recruit more professional interpreters than other institutes in the art sector. It is believed that art museums are important clients for interpreting students who aim to specialise in the field of art in the future. Therefore, the researcher made the decision to approach more interviewees working in art museums to enhance the usability and validity of the study. Three clients represent art event organisers that host art fairs, art festivals or cultural exchange events. One client spoke for an art gallery, and the other one was employed by an art university.
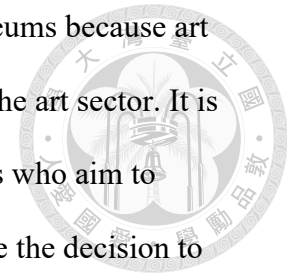
Table 4.1 *Table of the demographics of interviewees in the client group*

ID	Gender	Age	Years of Service	Institute type
C01	Female	39	3	Public art museum
C02	Female	38	4	Public art museum
C03	Female	52	2	Private art event organiser
C04	Male	42	3	Public art museum
C05	Male	40~50	>10	Public art museum
C06	Female	35	3	Private art museum
C07	Female	29	<1	Private art event organiser
C08	Female	29	5.5	Public educational institute
C09	Female	32	3	Public art museum
C10	Female	32	5	Private art gallery
C11	Female	37	2.5	Private art museum
C12	Female	39	4	Private art event organiser

Note. "Years of service" indicates the interviewee's experience in the institute they represent in this study.

As for interpreters, six of them were interviewed for this study (see Table 4.2). Most of the interpreters come from similar backgrounds. They majored in the foreign language that is their working language for their undergraduate study, and three of them went on to pursue formal education at an interpretation school, while the others worked as an English teacher, a curator, and a translator/company manager. The three professional interpreters are I01, I04 and I05. I01 has few direct clients from the art sector because she is mostly recruited by

interpreting agents. I04 has been working with the same art organisations for over a decade, so her view reflected her long-term observation and experience providing interpretation services to the art sector. I05 previously held a position as an in-house translator and interpreter at a public art institute, and he also worked frequently with the art sector.

Table 4.2 *Table of the demographics of interviewees in the interpreter group*

ID	Gender	Age	Years of Experience	Received formal interpretation training or not
I01	Female	58	30	Yes
I02	Female	57	9	No
I03	Female	<5	67	No
I04	Female	50	>20	Yes
I05	Male	41	16	Yes
I06	Female	33	8	No

Note. "Years of service" indicates the interviewee's experience working as an interpreter.

4.2 Clients' View of Interpreters' Background Attributes

The total score shows that the client group considered formal interpreting training as the most important attribute. It is assumed that the public and private sectors could hold different views on this matter as the public sector might adopt a standardised approach with fixed rates for hiring interpreters, so the rankings made by clients in the public and private sectors were examined and discussed separately in this section. The overall score for each attribute ranked by the clients is listed in Table 4.3, and the detailed ranking results made by clients can be found in Table 4.4. Clients' views of these attributes will be elaborated in the following paragraphs.

Table 4.3 *The total score of interpreters' background attributes converted from rankings made by the client group*

Background attributes	Total points (by clients)
(A) Worked or educated in a country that uses the foreign language	30
(B) Received a degree in the art or design sector	26
(C) Had work experience in the art or design sector	31
(D) Trained by an interpretation school	33

Note. Total number of interviewees: 12 clients.
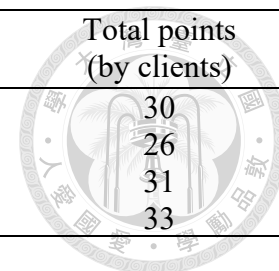
Table 4.4 *Importance of interpreter's background attributes for the client group (by number*

of interviewees)

Background attributes	Ranking			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
(A) Worked or educated in a country that uses the foreign language	3	4	1	4
(B) Received a degree in the art or design sector	2	3	2	5
(C) Had work experience in the art or design sector	1	5	6	0
(D) Trained by an interpretation school	6	1	1	4

Note. Total number of interviewees: 12. Some clients ranked two attributes on the same level, as they are equally important/unimportant to these interviewees. Therefore, the total counts are not necessarily 12 in each column.

4.2.1 Interpretation skills

The majority of clients considered training in interpretation, explicitly referring to interpreters who have received undergraduate or postgraduate education from an interpretation school, as the primary criterion for selecting interpreters. This viewpoint was shared by clients from six out of the twelve represented institutes, who ranked training as their highest priority. (See Table 4.4). Among the six institutes, three are from the public sector, including C02, C04 and C09, and the other three interviewees represent the private sector, which are C03, C06 and C11.

Interestingly, although three public institutes listed interpretation training at the top, clients from the other three public institutes attached lesser importance to this attribute and ranked it as the least important criterion. It is because the latter three institutes hold mostly internal events, and they do not have the need or budget to hire professional interpreters. The

three public-sector interviewees favoured interpreting training work in art museums and showed a preference for hiring professional interpreters in more significant public events, such as press conferences. C02 commented that intuitively she would choose interpreters with backgrounds in the visual art sector. However, after having worked with professional interpreters several times, she changed her standpoint. She discovered that professional interpreters "seemed to use a specific and professional way to take notes," and they could instantly produce the Chinese interpretation of the English speech.

> People with the other three backgrounds might find no difficulties in understanding English speech, but when it comes to interpretation, I think it takes professional training to learn the skills. Otherwise, people like us could understand English without a problem. However, it is really difficult for people like me to instantly turn English speech into Chinese. (C02)

The more professional interpreters C02 has worked with, the higher her recognition for the interpreting profession is. Therefore, she decided to place interpretation training at the first position instead of art education or work experience in the sector. C09 prioritised interpreting training for similar reasons and added that professional interpreters are able to translate the speech in a more timely manner and deal with foreign guests' needs more swiftly. She believed that interpretation training would equip interpreters with all the skills her institute highly values in public relations events, including but not limited to swift note-taking and transferring skills and professional etiquette. Therefore, interpreters with formal training are preferred. C04 also shared a similar view with C09, acknowledging that interpreters with formal interpretation training are capable of tackling many problems that arise in an assignment.

> Some speakers might derail from the main topic, and that is difficult to predict and prepare beforehand, even for people with backgrounds in art, so they [people with

interpreting training or background in art] actually stand on the same starting point.
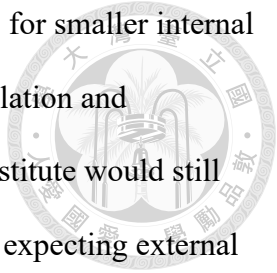
However, […] professional interpreters specialise in dealing with this kind of problem

because they know how to best facilitate communication. (C09)

These public-sector clients viewed interpreting skills as adept techniques that require

dedicated training, so they prioritised such training over work experience or educational

background in art.

Three clients from the private sector also ranked interpreting training as the most

attractive attribute. C03, a researcher who serves in a private art institute after working in

academia and the public sector for years, is one of the three interviewees who prioritised this

attribute. Her academic training values accuracy and domain knowledge, so she preferred

professional interpreters who have previously worked for the visual art sector. One thing

worth noting is that she would attend other art events to listen to an interpreter's production

with her own ear before she recruited them. She would use the perspective of an audience

member and her knowledge of art to judge whether an interpreter could work in the event she

organised.

I have educational backgrounds in humanities and social science, and I am fully aware

that some terms, in fact, have different meanings in sociology, anthropology and art

history. You know, their meanings really differ. So, I would go to art-related talks and

seminars that provided interpreting services, trying to find interpreters who did well in

this field [...]. Then I would approach the organiser to get the contact information of

those interpreters. (C03)

C06 and C11 also put interpretation training as their top criterion. C06 acknowledged that

formal interpretation training is quite different from conversational skills that can be gained

overseas. Aside from interpretation training, her institute also prefers interpreters with

domain-specific interpretation experience, which echoes the opinion of C03. C11, who

majored in foreign languages, sometimes has to take on interpreting jobs for smaller internal events, as her institute is smaller in scale and has fewer budgets for translation and interpretation. Nevertheless, for events that are open to the public, her institute would still choose to outsource interpretation services to external service providers, expecting external interpreters to provide concise interpretation with "better segmentation skills, enunciation and pacing" in their events. The private-sector clients expressed similar preferences for interpreters' background attributes but had fewer budgets for interpreting services. Therefore, even though they aim to hire professional interpreters, they usually pay lower rates to interpreters.

C08 did not rank interpreting training as the most essential attribute, but she actually held this view. For C08, if her organisation can afford to hire professional interpreters, she will definitely hire them. Her case is insightful as it reveals a difficult truth in Taiwan's visual art sector. Many organisations in the sector lack sufficient funding to hire professional interpreters, even though they highly recognise and admire professional interpreters' skills.
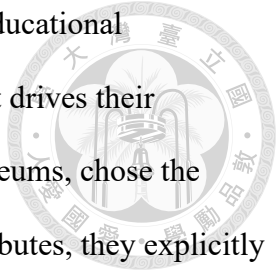
4.2.2 Work Experience in the Art Sector

Formal interpretation training is deemed as the most crucial background attribute for clients, and relevant work experience in the art or design sector ranked second among the client group. While only one interviewee ranked it as the top criterion, five interviewees ranked it in second place. On the surface, familiarity with the art world is the biggest advantage for interpreters with this attribute. However, to gain familiarity with the art world, receiving an education in the art or design department was assumed to deliver the same effect. The issue is that art education is the least favoured attribute among clients. Besides, relevant work experience was usually ranked higher than art education – 8 out of the twelve institutes prefer work experience over educational backgrounds in art – which further

indicates that hands-on experience is tremendously valuable and even more valuable than educational backgrounds in art. The reasons are worth exploring.

Work experience in the art sector was ranked by one interviewee, C05, who works in a public art institute, as the most important attribute. On the one hand, C05 reckoned that artists or curators who have a good command of the foreign language are better candidates as they have a better understanding of the context of the artworks and exhibitions. The artists or curators he chose to work with were mostly art students, whom he deemed more knowledgeable about the precise terms and concepts used or appropriated to discuss the works. Thus, he would opt for students studying at art schools when no artists or curators are available.

His choice shows that he valued both art education and practical experiences, but work experience matters more to him than art education, which he ranked as his second favourite attribute. On the other hand, C05 ranked work experience at first because he preferred working with interpreters who were recommended to him by other art institutes or his acquaintances in the art sector. Referrals are another critical signal that was mentioned a lot by clients. C08 shared C05's view, prioritising work experience in art and considering art education as the second-ranked attribute, though she would have preferred professional interpreters if the budget was not a problem for her organisation. Without a sufficient budget, she has to try to recruit people that are familiar with the topics, the artworks or the artists, commissioning them to do the interpreting job because these people possess comprehensive knowledge about the theme of the talk. In general, work experience tells these clients that interpreters possess sufficient domain knowledge to do the work, and practical, industry-focused experience also matters a lot to them.

For most clients, real-world experience is more important than educational background in art, and it speaks louder than art education as a signal that drives their outsourcing decision. Though C06, C09 and C11, all working in art museums, chose the attribute of formal interpretation training over the other background attributes, they explicitly highlighted the importance of hands-on experience in the art sector and expressed their preference for it over an educational background in art. Even though art students know how to create artworks, install and dismantle exhibitions – an essential factor for C02, as she hires escort interpreters more often than other interviewees – some clients believed that there are more details to cater to in real-world exhibition settings. For example, C06 pointed out that the art circle in Taiwan is neither too big nor too small, and those who have worked in the sector will know how things usually work. If interpreters have worked in the art sector, they would "have a rough idea about how exhibitions are executed, or how marketing campaigns are planned and carried out. Relevant work experience might familiarise them [interpreters] with how we do things in the sector." According to C11, "art students may not even work in the art sector" after graduation, so they do not understand the industry as much as interpreters with work experience do. C09 reckoned that being trained by an art school "only means that those people have learned something about art, but that's it", so she prefers work experience in the art sector than educational background in art.

4.2.3 Overseas Experience

Overseas experience refers to the idea that interpreters have stayed in a foreign country that uses the foreign language involved in the assignment, and clients ranked overseas experience in third place. Three interviewees prioritised this attribute, and they all come from smaller organisations with little budget for interpreting. The reason that they favoured this attribute is due to their limited budget. C10 represented a private art gallery and

put overseas experience in the first place. However, she admitted that the primary concern of her organisation is budget and not whether or not the interpreter has lived abroad. In fact, the art gallery she worked for did not adopt a strict standard to examine interpreters' English proficiency.
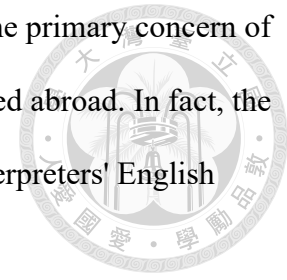
C04, C06, C09 and C11 considered overseas experience the second most important attribute because they believed that living and working in a foreign country equips interpreters with higher language proficiency. C09 expressed concerns about interpreters' ability to understand speakers' accents, attitudes towards the topic, and use of idioms. She believes whether interpreters have spent time in a foreign country makes a difference, as those who were only trained in Taiwan may not understand the subtlety in foreign speakers' speeches.

C03 placed overseas experience as the least important attribute, but she clarified that if an event focuses more on lifestyle aesthetics, then interpreters with this attribute may be good candidates. It is only because of the academic nature of most events C03 has organised that she prioritised candidates with formal interpretation training.

4.2.4 Educational Background in Art

Two institutes (represented by the same interviewee) placed it as the most important criterion, and three interviewees ranked it as the second most important criterion. These interviewees believed that familiarity with art could be achieved more thoroughly by receiving formal education at art schools than work experience. C01, for example, prioritised interpreters with an educational background in art because art students can put themselves in artists' shoes and offer assistance to them more quickly than interpreters without this attribute do. C01 told from her administrative experiences in a public art institute: "Foreign artists often have additional needs when they start to work on their projects, and art students can

relate to this kind of spontaneity." Besides, a high percentage of interpreters she hired were escort interpreters, and most of them were assigned to work on French-to-Chinese or Japanese-to-Chinese interpretation. Art students coming from France or Japan, or having studied in France and Japan, are not only easy to find for C01 due to her organisation's close relationship with art universities, but they also help her organisation save money. While C02 also works in the public sector, she ranked their educational background in art as the second most important attribute; she expressed her preference for this attribute when she often needs to hire escort interpreters for foreign artists or curators. According to her, when foreign artists or curators are invited to Taiwan, they may need some assistance in the installation of their artworks or the setup for the whole exhibition, so interpreters with an educational background in art are proven to be extremely helpful. With an educational background in art, those interpreters, usually escort interpreters, become assistants who can communicate with foreign guests and help install the works. For these two public-sector clients who are in favour of art education (C01, C02), using terminology accurately is not their primary concern when hiring escort interpreters. On such occasions, the practical experience they value is not industry-focused either. Instead, the frequency that interpreters interact with foreigners matters more to them. As they usually hire art students as escort interpreters, they select escort interpreters based on their day-to-day interactions with their interns who study at art schools. The views of C01 and C02 reflect that they have different needs from the clients who prioritise interpretation training, as the former ones usually hire escort interpreters and the latter ones recruit professional interpreters most of the time.

On the other hand, C01 also prefers the attribute of an art degree because interpreters who possess it are more familiar with such domain-specific knowledge as art history and art movements. She valued the ability to use words precisely when hiring interpreters for seminars, stating that a word can have significantly different meanings when translated

differently in the contemporary art world. C03 ranked both work experience and educational background in art as her second priority because these attributes equip interpreters with the knowledge relevant to the topics in the assignment. She screens interpreters with those two background attributes against two sets of standards. For interpreters with an educational background in art, she would look at how often the interpreter had presented in academic forums. For her, academic presentation indicates better performance.

The preceding sections have examined the perspectives of clients regarding the background attributes of interpreters. Specifically, in Taiwan's visual art sector, the most crucial attribute identified by clients is the attainment of formal interpretation training. Consequently, this attribute is a highly credible signal for interpreters to demonstrate their competence when seeking assignments. Section 4.3 will now delve into the interpreters' viewpoints on the same set of background attributes.

4.3 Interpreters' View of Interpreters' Background Attributes

In general, the interpreters interviewed in this study expressed a similar but slightly different view from clients. The total score of the four background attributes ranked by interpreters can be found in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 *The total score of interpreters' background attributes converted from rankings made by the interpreter group*

Background attributes	Total points (by interpreters)
(A) Worked or educated in a country that uses the foreign language	10
(B) Received a degree in the art or design sector	15
(C) Had work experience in the art or design sector	17
(D) Trained by an interpretation school	19

Note. Total number of interviewees: 6 interpreters.

Interpreters ranked formal education in interpretation schools as the most important attribute. Work experience in the art or design sector is ranked second. The top two criteria are the same as clients, but the third place for interpreters is the education background in art or design rather than overseas experience.

Table 4.6 *Importance of interpreter's background attributes for the interpreter group (by number of interviewees)*

Background attributes	Ranking			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th
(A) Worked or educated in a country that uses the foreign language	1	0	1	4
(B) Received a degree in the art or design sector	0	3	3	0
(C) Had work experience in the art or design sector	2	2	1	1
(D) Trained by an interpretation school	3	1	2	0

Note. Total number of interviewees: 6. Some interpreters ranked two attributes on the same level, as they are equally important/unimportant to these interviewees. Therefore, the total counts are not necessarily 6 in each column.

4.3.1 Interpretation Skills

Although receiving formal interpretation training is placed at the first position by the interpreters, it is worth noting that among the three interpreters who were professionally trained, only one of them prioritised this attribute. She said it is crucial because she is always recruited by interpreting agencies, and they highly value formal training.

The other two interviewees (I02, I03) who rated this attribute as most important are not professional interpreters, but they both majored in the working language of their interpreting assignment. Recruiters perceived such a background as a guarantee of better language proficiency and thereby recruited these interpreters. But interviewees mentioned that language skills are not sufficient for interpreting assignments. I02 pursued an M.A. degree in art history after graduating from the language department, and she worked in the arts and cultural sector after graduation. She reckoned that she is only able to do those

interpreting jobs in the art sector because she has abundant background knowledge and work experience in the arts and cultural sector. Rather than an advantage, she thought such a background merely compensated for her lacking interpreting training. She thought professional interpreters would be better candidates; the only gap they need to address is the lack of domain knowledge. She also recognised that the background knowledge required in the art sector is not a big problem for professional interpreters as they could seek help from others or read to familiarise themselves with the topics. I03 also valued interpretation training, but like some of the clients, she thought that interpreting experiences in the art sector were paramount.

Even though I04 did not rank interpreting training at the top, she believes that clients have been attaching greater importance to interpretation training in recent years because senior interpreters have been preaching the importance of interpretation training over the years. Besides, more interpretation schools have been established in Taiwan, making more people recognise interpretation as a profession, including clients in the art sector. As a result, people now have a better understanding of the interpreting profession, and hence the art sector has begun outsourcing interpreting to professionally trained interpreters. This was not the case in the past, as clients used to value work experience and educational backgrounds in the art sector more than other attributes.

4.3.2 Work Experience in the Art Sector

Two professional interpreters (I04, I05) ranked work experience in the art sector as the most crucial attribute rather than formal interpretation training. However, they specifically expressed that it is the interpretation experiences in the art sector that they thought clients would appreciate because professional training is insufficient. I03 held the same view, which highlights the importance of domain-specific interpreting experience. I05

ranked work experience in the art sector highest and art education the second, although he himself is a professionally trained interpreter. Nearly 50% of his assignments come from the art sector, and his domain-specific interpreting experience led to a client once inquiring whether he had graduated from an art school. These experiences formed the foundation of his argument, supporting the significance of work experience and art education as signals to clients. I04 thought that domain-specific interpreting experience is the most important requirement for clients,

> I think, in general, clients all look to this attribute when hiring interpreters – interpreting experience in the art sector. You also listed things like educational backgrounds in art or formal interpretation training here, but I'm afraid none of those attributes plays a more critical role than domain-specific experience. This principle also applies to clients from other industries like technology. (I04)

I01 acknowledged that interpreting jobs in the art sector are not plenty in the market because "usually, the art sector would rather recruit their own people to do the work". Her observation reflects that relevant work experience is a crucial attribute for clients when they need to hire interpreters.

4.3.3 Educational Background in Art

Unlike clients' almost unanimous preference for work experience over educational backgrounds, interpreters' views on the two attributes are divided. Four interpreters prioritised work experience while two preferred an educational background in art. Among those who placed art education at a higher position, I02 reported that knowledge is vital to her. I02 majored in the language she worked on for her B.A. degree and went on to pursue an M.A. in art history before starting her career in the arts sector. With language skills and an educational background in art, she interpreted for many art organisations, and she thought

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that it was the art education she received that equipped her with the capability to interpret for the art sector. Since most of her audience members are museum professionals working in the same sector as she does, she shares the same domain-specific background knowledge and terminology with the audience, making her capable of elaborating the ideas and translating the jargon uttered by foreign speakers more precisely and to the point. "When you're interpreting, it involves a wide range of linguistic elements, so if you've read something about the related concepts from your study, it would be more helpful than merely working in the art sector," I02 concluded.

4.3.4 Overseas Experience

Overseas experience was ranked last among interpreters. Only I06 ranked it as the most important criterion because she picked up her working language while working overseas. As she has been working as an escort interpreter for some years, she thought that it was her language skill that gave her those opportunities. Besides, there is no formal interpretation training in Taiwan that targets her working language.

In addition to the fact of living abroad, the duration of one's stay overseas also holds significance. In the case of I03, overseas experience was not ranked as the most important factor. However, she acknowledged that if interpreters have resided in a foreign country for an extended period, clients may be more inclined to recruit them, even over individuals with formal interpreting training.

4.4 Clients' View of Interpreters' Personal Attributes

In this study, interpreters' personal attributes refer to a wide range of personal characteristics, and they are categorised into two main areas. First, indices used to screen interpreters for first-time recruitment include interpreters' gender and age. Second, their

personal characteristics, such as voice quality, personalities, customer relations and appearance, some of which are compared with the interpreters' competence model created by Albl-Mikasa (2012b), and are categorised as "reinforcers" in this study. The researcher borrows some of Albl-Mikasa's conceptualisation of interpreter competence to dig into the roles of personal attributes in clients' recruitment decisions, including "para-process skills" such as business know-how, "pre-process skills" like terminology management, "peri-process skills" like instinct and realism, "in-process skills" such as comprehension, transfer and production.

In terms of indices, the researcher presumed that female interpreters might be preferred in public relations events such as press conferences, as female event hosts are more commonly seen in Taiwan. The result, however, shows that interpreters' age and gender are both viewed as irrelevant factors – none of the twelve clients viewed the two indices as relevant attributes in their outsourcing decisions. Smaller organisations, like the one represented by C10, tend to work with young and untrained interpreters because they charge less than seasoned interpreters. Therefore, the determinant is not the interpreters' age but the clients' limited budgets for interpreting services.

Other personal attributes are viewed as "reinforcers" that entice clients to hire certain interpreters repeatedly. The researcher will explore these reinforcers from five aspects in this section: (1) Voice quality, (2) professionalism, (3) personal characteristics and (4) outfits and appearance. After the reinforcers, factors that negatively affect interpreters' opportunities to be hired will also be discussed.

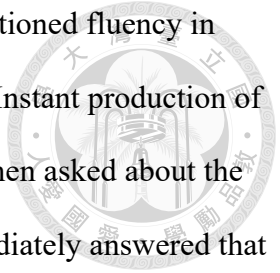### 4.4.1 Voice Quality as A Reinforcer

Voice quality refers to "the long-term, relatively constant or habitually recurring phonetic characteristics" of a speaker (Esling & Moisik, 2021). Three clients mentioned good

voice quality in the interviews. C02 preferred interpreters who sound poised with lower voices, considering those with shrill and high-pitched voices to be less suitable candidates. However, C06 stated that all interpreters seem to have a pleasant voice, so voice quality is not a determinant.
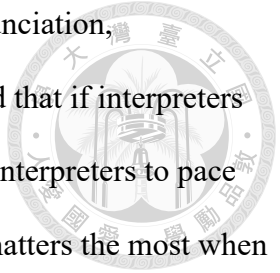
4.4.2 Professionalism as A Reinforcer

Accuracy, presentation and instant production of interpretation are the three metrics for clients in the art sector to judge whether interpreters are professional or not. Accuracy was undoubtedly the most fundamental element for professional performance, with eight interviewees emphasising its importance. C01, who ranked educational background in art as the most important background attribute, believed that interpreters' exposure to the art sector would ensure that they interpret accurately. She still holds the same view, even after leaving a public museum to start her own company. C03 always provides interpreters with preparation materials in advance, so she has "higher expectations on interpreters in terms of accuracy". In the discussion of professional topics other than but related to fine art, such as intellectual property, C03 expected interpreters to possess a certain level of knowledge about the specific topic. Smaller organisations adopted a lower standard to examine the level of accuracy delivered by interpreters. Although smaller art organisations value accuracy, budget constraints often deprive them of the opportunities to hire professional interpreters who exhibit a high level of competence in producing accurate interpretations and charge more. "Adverse selection" (Chan, 2008) is observed in their decisions. For example, C07's organisation has little budget for hiring interpreters, so they "don't need interpreters to have formal interpretation training". Their expectation of interpreters is to "roughly deliver the message and enable communication to some degree".

Presentation is another important standard. Six interviewees mentioned fluency in their answers; another three emphasised enunciation and other features. Instant production of interpretation is an important metric to evaluate interpreters' fluency. When asked about the reinforcers for her institute to hire the same interpreter again, C02 immediately answered that fluency and professional etiquette are what came to her mind first. She said that if an interpreter does not react to the speech fast enough, the planned schedule of an event might be delayed, which would be problematic. Moreover, if interpreters do not possess the skill to instantly digest and reproduce a speaker's words in the target language, they will not only cause delays in events but can also create meaning shifts or even errors in their production. C05 had worked with such kinds of interpreters once. He observed that the interpreter provided a literal translation of the speech, and word-for-word interpretation confused his audiences. One thing worth noting is that C05 also expected interpreters to explain more details to the audience – even though speakers do not provide explanations – so that audience members can better understand the real meaning behind words and the context of the speech. C06 identified the difficulties in producing instant interpretation:

> "Sometimes artists will speak really fast, or they will indulge in their own creative world. At this time, interpreters have to quickly grasp the main message from artists' speeches and they need to deliver it instantly. This is our primary concern." (C06)

C09, representing an art gallery, remembered the long lag between the interpreters she hired, identifying a gap in performance between those untrained interpreters and professional ones. Pauses are the other for examining fluency. C07 and C08 said that too much redundancy and verbal mannerisms are indicators of unprofessional performance. Other aspects of the presentation are interpreters' enunciation, segmentation, pacing, contextual awareness, etc. C11 majored in foreign languages and has to occasionally take on internal interpreting jobs in her institute. She was able to identify many important indicators regarding presentation. She

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reckoned that interpreters with formal training are able to do well on enunciation, segmentation and pacing, and the message they convey is clear. C02 said that if interpreters speak too slowly, the event schedule might be delayed, so she expected interpreters to pace themselves appropriately. C03 and C04 both believed that enunciation matters the most when it comes to presentation while thinking that pleasing voices give interpreters an additional edge. C04 also mentioned contextual awareness, as he identified the importance of "tonal changes based on the change of subjects in a speech". Although presentation is critical for most clients, C05 said that presentation is generally unimportant. But what he talked about is more like styles of speech. For C05, interpreters are only there to deliver artists' messages, so naturally, they should "show few personal emotions in their interpretation".

Overall, it is apparent that the interviewed clients in the art sector acknowledged the professionalism of interpreters, and they would look at accuracy and presentation for examining interpreters' professionalism. These clients also knew exactly what they could offer to interpreters, so they usually had the corresponding expectation of interpreters. Those with higher budgets would examine a rather comprehensive range of criteria about content and presentation, such as accuracy, fluency and enunciation. There are also iconic institutes which place much more emphasis on accuracy over delivery. Smaller institutes, on the other hand, tended to have a lower level of expectation on interpreters' performance against these criterion as they knew that their budget was somewhat limited. Financial constraints stop these institutes from hiring professional interpreters who can deliver higher-quality interpretation but also charge more.

4.4.3 Personal Characteristics as Reinforcers

C06 stated that interpreters "all possess professional skills, so their personalities become another main concern". Throughout the interviews, some personal attributes were

repeatedly mentioned by many clients, including short reaction time, flexibility, extrovertedness and work attitudes. These clients preferred working with interpreters with these characteristics, so these characteristics were viewed as reinforcers that bring clients back to the same interpreters.

The first personal characteristic to be discussed is short reaction time. Clients view interpreters who can swiftly respond to any contingent events as good service providers. In this study, five clients shared this view. C06, C09 and C10 expected interpreters to quickly understand foreign guests' needs and report them to the event organiser or directly assist the guests.

The second characteristic is flexibility. Five interviewees said they like to work with easy-going interpreters who are easy to get along with and can tolerate contingent events. C07 said clients prefer interpreters who are not irritable, meaning that they are willing to negotiate the job terms with clients peacefully. She had an experience communicating with interpreters who strongly insisted on their principles, which she can understand, but the attitude they displayed during communication could have been better. Similarly, C09 does not want to work with interpreters who are emotional, as contingence is a part of the nature of any events. C11 sees flexibility as being considerate to speakers, not interrupting their speech for interpretation, and knowing when to shorten speakers' words when an event runs overtime.

Adopting the model created by Albl-Mikasa (2012b), both short reaction time and flexibility can be categorised as "instinct and realism" under "peri-process skills". Peri-process skills are sometimes known as intra- and interpersonal skills (Kiraly, 2006). Albl-Mikasa argued that instinct reflects a "deep understanding of what is going on, what is at stake, and what things boil down to" (Albl-Mikasa, 2012b, p. 72), which can be further examined through the lens of sensitiveness, empathy, self-confidence and realistic appraisal.

With instinct, interpreters can easily sense that an event is overrun, so they should summarise the speech or recognise that they should not become annoyed when contingencies happen or when incapable speakers make interpretation impossible.
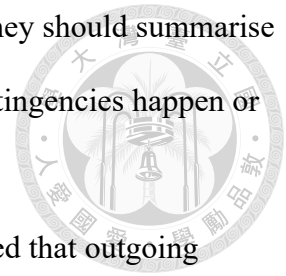
In terms of the interpreters' personality, three clients clearly stated that outgoing interpreters are preferred, three other clients mentioned their preference for talkative interpreters, and the rest held a more neutral view, considering such personalities not important for their hiring decision. Initially, it was presumed that art administrators might prefer interpreters of different personalities for different kinds of events. For example, outgoing interpreters would be favoured when an event is outdoors or more interactive, such as workshops or guided tours. C01 and C02 shared this view, especially when they were hiring escort interpreters. Alternately, C06 stated that she preferred working with interpreters who are more talkative because these interpreters can be good companions to foreign guests. Such interpreters are also more likely to communicate the guests' needs to the organiser. It echoes the thoughts shared by C07 and C08, who believed that being accompanied by interpreters can make foreign guests feel more at ease. According to Albl-Mikasa (2012b), this kind of personality is known as "unimposing extrovertedness", a part of the "peri-process skills". Albl-Mikasa's interviewees, ten seasoned interpreters working in the German market for at least 15 years, believed that interpreters could not be shy because their role is to actively promote communication. Therefore, "bookish type" interpreters are not suitable to work in the market, but neither are "top dogs" who constantly need the spotlight. In other words, interpreters cannot be shy or shine.

Clients also reported that hard-working interpreters are greatly appreciated. C03, C04 and C09 expressed their gratitude to interpreters who are willing to spend extra time understanding their needs in advance.

4.4.4 Outfits and Appearance as Reinforcers

Outfits are an essential part of professional image. The researcher specifically asked all interviewees whether interpreters' outfits affected their outsourcing decisions. Most of the clients did not think that it is a determinant, saying that they do not make specific requests to interpreters regarding how they dress and that all interpreters whom they have worked with dress properly to attend the events. The clients also tended to embrace smart casuals when it comes to outfits. Three interviewees stated that overdressing in an art event is weird, sometimes even inappropriate, as that would draw unwanted attention to interpreters. C02 expressed her concern about formal attire in escort interpreting tasks but agreed that dressing too formally is fine in seminars. Four other interviewees also nodded to formal outfits, sometimes even suits, on formal, solemn occasions.

4.4.5 Factors that Negatively Affected Interpreters' Chance of Being Hired

Understanding clients' preferences is crucial for securing more job opportunities, but equally important is recognising what they do not value. It was encouraging to note that many clients have never collaborated with interpreters whom they perceive as unqualified, so their responses to this question were purely presumptive. However, it is worth mentioning that a few clients have had negative experiences and provided their perspectives based on personal encounters. Unsatisfactory performance could result from interpreters' lack of background knowledge, causing delays in the event schedule, awkward interactions with speakers, or an organisation's budget reduction. C05 and C11 were unsatisfied with their interpreters' performance because the latter did not possess sufficient background knowledge of the art sector. When such things happen, clients will decide to recruit other interpreters in the future. Delaying the schedule of an event is also problematic. C05 worked with an interpreter who wasted time confirming the meanings of words with the speaker repeatedly:

It's like repeatedly asking him [the speaker] what this meant and what that meant, so

the time of interpretation was prolonged, and members of the general public who

came, or participants, became less engaged in that event. (C05)
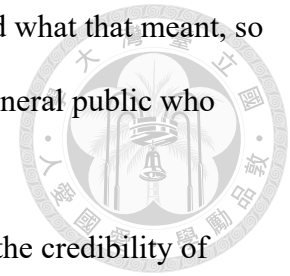
Awkward interactions between interpreters and speakers also diminish the credibility of

interpreters. C07 expressed the view that witnessing such awkwardness on stage can be

embarrassing. However, because she works at an organisation with limited financial

resources, she tends to continue working with the same interpreters, even if there are

occasional awkward moments, as long as the accuracy of interpretation is maintained. This

situation highlights the concept of "adverse selection" (Chan, 2008), where financial

constraints influence the selection process within the organisation.

In addition to unsatisfactory performance, a bad work attitude was not favoured. A

late reply to client emails can also diminish clients' willingness to consider future

collaborations with the same interpreters. Being late is also unforgivable, which is not

different from other general work ethics applied to other sectors.

4.5 Interpreters' View of Interpreters' Personal Attributes

Generally, interpreters do not think that age and gender affect their clients' decisions

on recruiting interpreters, but I06 shared her observation in the Korean market:

It's just my own experience, but I feel that the gender gap, so far, is still big in South

Korea. I can sense that in a more formal setting, like a typical occasion requiring the

interpreting service, it is still rather challenging for a female, especially a young

female interpreter, to serve a male artist who is more senior than her. (I06)

She went on to explain that when middle-aged Korean men come to Taiwan, they will treat

young female interpreters and their middle-aged counterparts in Taiwan differently. Female

interpreters often find themselves in a disadvantaged position due to the patriarchal attitudes

they have to endure. But despite this subtle yet systematic challenge faced by female interpreters, South Korea still exhibits a gendered employment structure, where clients are predominantly male, and interpreters are predominantly female. In addition, there is even a trend favouring young female interpreters in the market (Huh, 2021).

4.5.1 Voice Quality as A Reinforcer

One interpreter reported that, in terms of voice quality, there is no difference between the standard applied to the art sector and other industries: "One has to sound pleasing, and their sentences should be succinct," said I01. Other interpreters involved in this study did not mention this attribute in their answers. Instead, they focused more on presentation, which will be discussed in the next section.

4.5.2 Professionalism as A Reinforcer

Unlike the client group, interpreters seemed to consider accuracy as a default criterion that does not require mentioning in the interviews. Only two interpreters specifically mentioned clients' expectations of interpreters to precisely deliver speakers' messages. Even though I04 mentioned accuracy in her answer, she believes that clients do not necessarily have a very high expectation of the interpreter's domain-specific knowledge, which is contrary to the belief of some clients. I04 told the researcher that in the early stage of her career, she could not identify some iconic artists in art history as she had never heard of their names, let alone translated them into Chinese. However, she kept getting recruited by the same clients in Taiwan's art sector. It is probably because professional interpreters are able to deliver a high-quality interpretation service, so minor omissions like the name of a famous artist were insignificant to the clients' recruitment decisions.

Presentation, nevertheless, was given more weight than accuracy in the interviews with interpreters. Regarding presentation, interpreters mentioned Chinese delivery and faithful rendition in their answers. I03 and I06, who did not receive formal training, explicitly emphasised the importance of excellent Mandarin Chinese proficiency in the Taiwan market. I03 also believes that interpreters can enhance their Chinese interpretation by incorporating their personal feelings and adopting a livelier tone to tell stories when it is appropriate. By doing so, interpreters can produce exceptional rendition that impresses their clients. I06 agreed that the criterion many clients prioritise is interpreters' Chinese speaking skills. There was a time when she had to take relays from a Japanese-Chinese interpreter and whisper her interpretation into the ear of a Korean panellist. However, she could not understand the interpreter's Chinese rendition, even though both of them were native Chinese speakers. After the event, her client also complained to her about the performance of that Japanese-Chinese interpreter for their unclear delivery in Chinese.

Faithful rendition is another crucial element of presentation for some interpreters. I04 gave an example of a faithful rendition of speakers' tone of voice and attitudes. She said that they were trained to provide faithful interpretation at school, but when it comes to filthy words, some interpreters might be a bit hesitant. She was one of them. On one occasion, she skipped the filthy words uttered by one speaker when he first spoke it. However, as the event went on, she gradually realised that spitting those filthy words was a part of the speaker's personality, so she decided to change her strategies and faithfully rendered what he said in Chinese. According to her, she received positive feedback from her clients by doing so. Similarly, I02, who studied both her working language and art history at school, considered mimicking artists' tone important: "Artists are sentimental, and interpreters have to speak in a way just like them". I02 believed that it takes empathy to do so. This view also again likens to Albl-Mikasa's study, which views empathy as a part of "instinct and realism", categorised

as a "per-process skill". Interpreters need to develop empathy for speakers to be able to read between the lines and understand what speakers really want to say and will say (2012b).
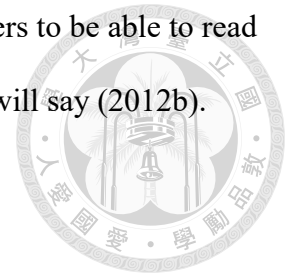
4.5.3 Personal Characteristics as Reinforcers

Interpreters held varying opinions regarding the importance of personal attributes such as short reaction time, flexibility, extrovertedness and work attitudes. Nevertheless, aside from these attributes, interpreters also highlighted the management of customer relationships in their answers.

When discussing attributes that will reinforce more exchange activities between interpreters and clients, three interpreters mentioned the attribute of having quick reactions. Among them, only one is a professional interpreter. This might be because keeping up with speakers is considered a fundamental part of interpretation training. Therefore, other interpreters involved in the study did not find it necessary to mention it. Practically, having a short reaction time is particularly critical in panel discussions, where conversations usually flow extremely fast, and panellists usually reply to one another's prompts or questions with short phrases or even single sentences (Albl-Mikasa, 2012b).

In terms of flexibility, three interpreters emphasised its importance. I06 stated that interpreters must be willing to embrace new knowledge and not limit themselves to one area because "it may be about graphic design today, but perhaps it's about photography tomorrow." Lifelong learning can hence add value to an interpreter. Although almost all professions require or encourage practitioners to engage in life-long learning activities, the rule applies to interpreters particularly well. In fact, "lifelong learning predilection" is a characteristic shared by many interpreters, and "a true interpreter usually ends up being intrigued by even the driest of subject matters" (Albl-Mikasa, 2012b, p. 87). Other than that, being able to adapt to clients' needs is the first thing that came to I04's mind, but she said it is

a general rule applicable to all industries rather than an expectation specific to clients in the art sector. As for I05, being flexible means being willing to communicate with clients.

The next characteristic pointed out by some of the interpreters is "imposed extrovertedness". There are interviewees in both the client and interpreter groups who thought of this characteristic as an additional benefit, not a trait that would make certain interpreters stand out. However, additional benefits are, in fact, reinforcers, as they will give interpreters extra edges after the first-time recruitment. I02 and I06 expressed positive views on outgoing personality and thought that cheerful people are generally preferred for consecutive interpreting assignments. In contrast, I04 and I05 did not believe that being outgoing gives interpreters additional advantages. She did not think of herself as a social animal but still has long-term clients. Therefore, being outgoing or not is not essential for her. Besides, when she was a trainee at school, her teachers taught them that interpreters were not allowed to show their own emotions at work, making personalities somehow irrelevant. Being outgoing or not is even less important in simultaneous interpreting assignments because interpreters stayed in booths that only belonged to themselves – I02 also shared this view. As for consecutives, I04 usually works in formal events characterised by speeches delivered by dignitaries, so being reserved and solemn is more to the point.

As interpreters are the service provider, they tend to also consider work attitudes, customer relationships and how these two factors affect clients' outsourcing decisions. Although it may seem like a cliché, putting effort into interpreting assignments is mentioned by I02 and I03 as reinforcers that will encourage clients to work with the same interpreters again. Such attitude appears elusive on the surface, but according to the clients interviewed in this study, they could actually sense interpreters' hard-working attitude from their interactions with the interpreters, and they were grateful for the interpreters who did so. As for customer relations, it is a part of the "para-process skills" put together by Albl-Mikasa (2012b). I02

stated that being professional is insufficient. One has to spend time liaising with clients because "after all, Taiwanese and Chinese people still attach much importance to connections". I06 considered her willingness to do extra things to help foreign guests as a characteristic that attracts her clients to come back to her. This echoes the result of Hsieh, whose study focuses on freelance interpreters' employability in Taiwan. In Hsieh's study, interpreters with less experience tended to view business competence as something that helps them move on to the next rung on the career ladder while seasoned interpreters attached more importance to language competence, interpreting competence and knowledge (Hsieh, 2019). I06 shared this belief. She thought that enthusiasm and willingness to help were her tips for maintaining good customer relations.

4.5.4 Outfits and Appearance as Reinforcers

Three interpreters pointed out that the overall event vibe in Taiwan is more casual, and few people wear suits on most occasions. I01 reckoned that art events are even more casual than events organised by other industries, so sometimes she does not even put on shirts with collars to work in art-related events. Along this line, as reported by I05, sometimes even an event host would choose not to put on formal attires. In that case, "if interpreters dress too formally, they will attract unwanted attention to themselves, and that's not what interpreters ought to do," I05 commented. I06 said she never received guidance on how to dress in art events in Taiwan, except when a commercial art gallery planned to organise an opening party for its important guests. However, it was not a formal or stringent request but rather a gentle reminder for her to give some consideration to her outfit. Furthermore, I06 might not even wear makeup when she works in Taiwan. On the contrary, in Korea, she could sense the different expectations their natives have of appearances, so she would self-censor and put on makeup when she worked there. I02 did not mention the casual vibe of Taiwan's events in her

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answers, but thanks to her long-term experience working with clients in the art and cultural sector, her views aligned with many clients' views. They thought dressing excessively formally or lavishly at an art event was perceived as peculiar or out of place.
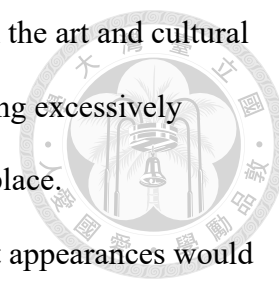
The remaining interviewees in the interpreter group thought that appearances would impact one's image, but they displayed slightly different attitudes towards outfits and appearances compared to the interpreters mentioned earlier. For example, I04 considered wearing too formally acceptable at art events. She felt that if everyone else dresses up, but interpreters only dress casually, it can create negative impressions. Similarly, I03 believed that dressing up is a means of showing respect to clients, although she did not consider heavy makeup and suits necessary. However, she considered wearing shoes covering the toes to be a must.

4.5.5 Factors that Negatively Affected Interpreters' Chance of Being Hired

The interpreters interviewed in this study all maintain good and long-term relationships with their clients, so they have few personal experiences regarding this matter. However, they did, from time to time, hear complaints made by clients about other interpreters on several aspects.

In terms of production, as discussed in previous sections, accuracy and fluency are important. I05 stated that too many obvious omissions and errors affect interpreters' chances of getting re-hired, especially English-Chinese interpreters because English literacy is higher than in other languages in Taiwan. I04 observed that making the same errors on specific terms even after being corrected by the client was not acceptable. Long delays in simultaneous assignments are undesirable for I04 and I05. Unnatural or even incomprehensible Chinese expressions equal poor performance, according to I06.

As for preparation, not being well prepared will concern one's fellow interpreters or even clients, but it did not necessarily lead to a full ban on certain interpreters. One interpreter told from her experience working with a junior interpreter who was new to the market:

"Not to the extent of leaving a bad impression [on her/him], but I felt like I've done more preparations than s/he did. I felt that s/he was not well prepared. And in fact, newcomers usually have fewer cases and supposedly more time to prepare for one assignment, so why didn't s/he do the work?" (I04)

The sections above set out the results on background attributes and personal attributes derived from the interviews with clients and interpreters. The next section will integrate the view from both groups to discuss the significance of these attributes.

4.6 General Discussions

Background attributes and personal attributes play distinct roles in clients' outsourcing decisions. The next sections will begin by examining these two types of attributes individually. Subsequently, the final section of this chapter will present a grounded theory framework that incorporates and synthesises these attributes.

4.6.1 A Summary of Background Attributes

Both groups of interviewees rank interpretation training as the most important criterion. A similar attribute to formal interpretation training is certification. It is viewed as a signal in several overseas studies on translation (Chan, 2008) and interpretation (Huh, 2021) but not granted any weight in this study due to the lack of such a qualification system in Taiwan. According to Spence (1973), signals are alterable, but "signalling costs" are usually high. In this study, an interpreter without this attribute has to pursue a degree at an

interpretation school to acquire this attribute, but education requires not only money but also a long period of time and a great amount of effort. For practitioners who do not own this attribute, such a high cost could prohibit them from acquiring one.
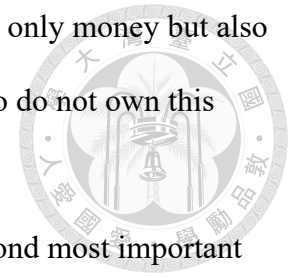
Both groups of interviewees viewed work experience as the second most important attribute. Like work experience, art education could also empower interpreters, and the two attributes indicate some level of familiarity with the art world. However, eight clients and four interpreters prioritised work experience over an educational background in art. The following paragraphs will explore the reasons through two aspects: (1) using art terms precisely and referencing accurately, and (2) practical experiences in the visual art sector. Most clients repeatedly emphasised the importance of precisely interpreting proper names and accurately referencing other artworks or concepts that the artist borrows from or pays tribute to. Indeed, art can be quite abstract, so proper names can serve as a good checkpoint to examine accuracy for clients in Taiwan's art sector. It can demonstrate interpreters' in-depth knowledge of art.

Clients shared their concerns about interpreters' ability to use words precisely, expecting interpreters with art degrees or relevant work experience to be more proficient in accurately conveying proper names. This makes sense because preparation materials are usually limited in jobs assigned by the art sector. Interpreters who have exposed themselves to art through education or work would have a more solid foundation of domain-specific knowledge to deal with unexpected terms. They are likelier to have heard of the concepts or names randomly dropped by artists or curators. In short, both work experience and art education signal to clients that interpreters can translate proper names better and more accurately.

However, accurately referencing requires interpreters to have "informed semi-knowledge", which can be developed more easily through work experience than art

education. "Informed semi-knowledge", a skill listed under the "pre-process skills" in Albl-Mikasa's study (2012b), includes interpreters' competence built up through long-term devotion in one area and "short-term pseudo-competence" that helps interpreters get the corporate wording right. For interpreters, such competences can be developed by repeatedly working with the same client or many clients in the same sector. Two interpreters attached great importance to domain-specific interpreting experience because it exposes interpreters to the art world and helps them develop knowledge in a domain in the long run.

Besides, frequent collaboration can result in a bilateral dependency between interpreters and clients over time, which was defined by Williamson (Williamson, 1979, 2008) as "asset specificity". It can reinforce the possibility of future collaboration. Therefore, it is argued that bilateral dependency is a "reinforcer" that prompts the clients in Taiwan's visual art sector to repeatedly work with the same interpreter throughout their operations. This dependency is proven to be true in Taiwan's visual art sector, especially for museum administrative teams. Four interviewees working in art museums said that they have long-term relationships with the same interpreters whom they are currently working with. Being hired by the same clients thus signals to new clients that the interpreters are able to deliver good interpretation. Huh (2021) also found that domain-specific interpreting experience is one of the indicators, along with the quality of interpreting and certification, of good interpreting service in the South Korean market. Work experience hence serves as not only a credible signal for first-time recruitment but also a reinforcer that heralds the opportunities for future collaboration.

Practical experience in the art sector proved to be critical because it familiarises interpreters with the nature of art events and opens up opportunities for "word-of-mouth" referrals. Practical experience makes interpreters more sensitive to the overall on-site situation, helping them respond better to diverse situations. Such competence is categorised

as "instinct and realism" by Albl-Mikasa (2012b). In terms of referrals, four clients highlighted the significance of referrals as an important channel for hiring interpreters. This indicates that positive experiences and recommendations from previous clients can significantly influence the decision-making process of new clients. C05 highlighted his reliance on referrals by sharing his concerns about hiring interpreters simply by screening their resumes. He stated that his organisation might be hesitant to hire interpreters who are not referred because "we have previously worked with such interpreters, and…they would go back and forth to confirm the meanings of [some part of] the speech with the speakers, which lengthened the duration of the event." As the interpreters' performance did not meet the expectation of C05, he later relied more on referrals made by other art administrators and viewed it as a more valid signal.

Finally, overseas experience was perceived by clients as the third most important attribute but viewed by interpreters as the least important. This is because most interpreters are considered "language experts" who possess proficient language skills in their working languages. They possess a deep understanding of the factors contributing to superior language capabilities, and overseas stays are not necessarily important. On the other hand, many clients considered overseas experience signals higher language proficiency. Nevertheless, some clients mentioned the duration that interpreters stay in a foreign country matters. If interpreters spend many years abroad, it could prompt clients to rank overseas experience to a higher position. This demonstrates clients' ability to assess the validity of the background attribute as signals of interpreters' language proficiency.
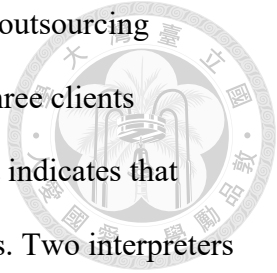
Interpreters' background attributes and how they were perceived by clients and interpreters were discussed in this section. In the following section, interpreters' personal attributes, including unalterable indices and changeable signals, will be discussed.

4.6.2 A Summary of Personal Attributes

Clients thought of voice quality as an additional benefit that further enhances the interpreting service but did not think of it as a necessary requirement for rehiring the interpreters. Three clients expressed their preference for interpreters with a pleasing voice, and one seasoned interpreter acknowledged the necessity of this attribute. Therefore, although voice quality, according to its definition, is unalterable and in fact a way to identify one individual from another, it is suggested that interpreters could try to add value to their interpreting service by making better use of their voices.

Professionalism is significantly valued by clients and examined through accuracy, fluency, enunciation and faithful rendition of tones, among other features. Eight clients emphasised the importance of accuracy in the interviews, six highlighted the value of fluency, and three focused on enunciation. In contrast, interpreters attached more importance to presentation than accuracy in terms of professionalism. Two interpreters valued target language proficiency (Chinese proficiency in this study), and two focused on the faithful rendition of speakers' style of speech. On the other hand, accuracy was perceived by only two interpreters as an important attribute. The result might be associated with the fact that professional training mandates interpreters to associate accuracy with good performance. In addition, although some clients stated that they could comprehend the original speech made in foreign languages, they rarely have opportunities to closely compare the original speech against the target one. Generally speaking, presentation is a metric easier to judge for clients. If visitors had been involved in this study, it is assumed that they would make the same judgement.

Personal characteristics distinguish the best service providers from good providers. Five out of twelve clients and three out of six interpreters considered short reaction time and flexibility important. The credibility of these two attributes is hence established. Both clients

and interpreters perceived extrovertedness as a rather neutral element in outsourcing decisions, so it does not play a key role in clients' decisions. However, three clients mentioned being outgoing or talkative as an additional benefit because it indicates that interpreters are more willing to help or accompany clients' foreign guests. Two interpreters thought that cheerful persons are generally beloved by clients, but the interpreter group as a whole attach little importance to this attribute. Besides, a good work attitude was also brought up by two clients and two interpreters as essential attributes. Nevertheless, such an attitude could be applied to service providers of all professions. Three clients recalled their experience working with interpreters who made additional efforts to complete an assignment, and it was a strong reinforcer inviting future collaboration for these clients. Two interpreters considered hard-working attitudes as reinforcers. As service providers, interpreters also highlighted the importance of customer relations management. Clients did not explicitly mention the role of customer relations in their decision, but the other reinforcers could directly or indirectly lead to customer satisfaction. Therefore, customer relations, a para-process skill in Albl-Mikasa's study, could be given weight as a reinforcer in clients' hiring decisions.

In a past occurrence, the researcher, acting as an interpreter, attended an art event dressed in overly formal attire, contrasting with the notably casual attire of the other two interpreters at the same occasion. This experience prompted an inquiry into the significance of outfits and appearance for clients in the art sector. It was found that outfits did not affect clients' decisions on rehiring because interpreters never wore inappropriate outfits, and clients in general demonstrated a high level of tolerance to interpreters' outfits. Besides, both clients and interpreters considered smart casual as the optimal dress code, and some even expressed a more laid-back attitude towards outfits at art events. The universal casual vibe in Taiwan and the free-spirited "artist personality" characterising art events might be the causes.

Unsatisfactory performance and bad work attitudes could deter clients from seeking future collaboration with interpreters. Clients identified three indicators of unsatisfactory performance: lack of background knowledge, long delays between sentences and awkward interactions between interpreters and speakers on the stage. Clients also regarded late replies to email communications and being late to an assignment as indicators of a bad work attitude. On the other hand, delays, low accuracy and lack of preparation were responses from interpreters regarding factors that diminish clients' willingness to rehire them.

4.6.3 Additional Observations

While the background attributes and personal attributes were employed as the metrics to pinpoint essential criteria adopted by the art sector when hiring interpreters, there are other insightful opinions and preferences expressed by the interviewees that are worth discussing. The researcher also tried to read between the lines to understand the underlying causes for the sector to make such hiring decisions.

First of all, referrals sometimes overpower those attributes when it comes to hiring interpreters, especially for the private sector or smaller public art institutions. Oftentimes, art administrators are highly passionate about art and willing to devote themselves to presenting the best art events for promoting the artists or artworks. It makes sense that they would sometimes feel insecure if they have to outsource professional jobs to external service providers – including interpreters – worrying that unprofessional ones might ruin their events. Therefore, referrals gave art administrators some insurance. They would seek talent from colleagues within or outside their own institution, trying to get in contact with interpreters trusted by the industry. Aside from that, as one client stated, the art sector is not big in Taiwan. In such a half-closed circle, connections are usually valued – one interpreter explicitly mentioned this in the interview, highlighting the importance of networking in

Taiwan's art sector. These factors combined make referrals a solid, reliable and favourable way for clients in the art sector to hire interpreters.

One client even expressed their willingness to pay interpreters from their own pocket when asked about the solutions for insufficient budget on interpretation service. They used their money to pay interpreters to ensure the events ran smoother and more people could better understand the discussions in the forums they meticulously curated. That client did not blame their organisation nor complain about the extra investment they needed to make; instead, they reckoned that it was a win-win situation for themselves and the hired interpreter. For the client, it yielded better results in the events and sustained a positive relationship with the talent; for the interpreter, they would feel valued and willing to take on the jobs again. As one would predict, art organisations in Taiwan have little budget for tasks they occasionally need to outsource, such as interpretation. However, it is intriguing that art administrators would devote so much to their work and put money on the back burner just to deliver the best outcomes in the events they wholeheartedly organise. However, this solution does not seem to be sustainable, nor is it common practice. Although it is a single case, art administrators in general are indeed passionate about art. They have a heavy workload and often have to work overtime to complete their jobs. Without passion for art, devotion would seem unfeasible.

Regarding financial restrictions, two clients stated that some organisations pay interpreters at the same rate as they pay guest speakers, or only slightly higher than that. Fortunately, neither of them thought such rates were reasonable, agreeing that interpreters must make much more effort than speakers to get the job done. However, the lack of budget is a common situation, and it sometimes prompts art organisations to place domain experts familiar with the topics higher on the candidate list than trained interpreters. Clients tend to believe that eloquent speakers of the foreign language who are familiar with the topic can deliver reasonable interpretation. Nevertheless, some clients recognised the professionalism

of trained interpreters and would prefer hiring one if the budget was not an issue. Contrary to common belief, the public sector might have more financial flexibility. Suppose the contact person of the government body recognises the skills of the service providers or the additional effort these contractors need to make to fulfil the task required by the government. In that case, the contact person might be able to find other resources to fund the project and allocate the money to external service providers.

The problem of lacking budgets for interpreting services has more to do with the overall attitude people have towards the profession. It could only be addressed through group effort when all interpreters stand together to request a higher rate for their service. In the public sector, such a request might urge government officials to increase the budget for interpretation services in the next year. In the private sector, when good interpreters all raise their rate, art organisations must play along to ensure that they hire professional ones to maintain or even enhance the quality of their events. Gradually, the overall market will be better if most interpreters share the same belief, respect their profession, and stand together to raise the rate.

While it might seem gloomy to work with the art sector as an interpreter due to their rather limited budget, one interpreter commented with confidence that the interpreting market in general has been expanding. The interviews also show that many art administrators believe interpretation is a job requiring highly skilled professionalism and are willing to help interpreters get better pay from their organisations.

Lastly, before the researcher conducted this study, it was assumed that art-related translation experience may help an interpreter stand out from the candidate list. However, it turned out that only the domain-specific interpretation experience is valued in the recruiting process. Generally, art organisations do not expect translators who have worked with them or often worked with the art sector to do the interpreting job. Clients usually look to different

pools to find translators and interpreters – as confirmed by interviewees from both groups (C06, I05).

4.7 A Grounded Theory of the Recruitment of Interpreters in Taiwan's Visual Art Sector

Two major themes were identified from the semi-structured interviews to help answer the two research questions, including (1) attributes that contribute to first-time recruitment and (2) attributes that lead to further collaboration. Initially, the interview questions were designed to find interpreters' attributes that could be conceptualised as signals, indices or reinforcers in clients' recruitment decisions. In the semi-structured interviews, questions probing clients' expectations of interpreters were designed to characterise the market and the clients' needs in general. However, they turned out to provide answers to clients' preferred attributes of interpreters under the second theme. The question regarding interpreters' voice quality was initially assumed to be an index as it is a generally unchangeable attribute, but the data collected from the interview shows that voice quality is more like a reinforcer that gives interpreters an extra edge in the market. Therefore, based on the data collected from the interviews, the researcher re-assigned interpreters' attributes into three concepts. Under the first theme, there are two indices and five signals; as for the second theme, there are six categories that are viewed as reinforcers, neutral factors or factors that negatively affect interpreters' chances of being hired. See Figure 4.1 for these categories.

Figure 4.1 A Diagram of the Ground Theory of the Recruitment of Interpreters in Taiwan's Visual Art Sector
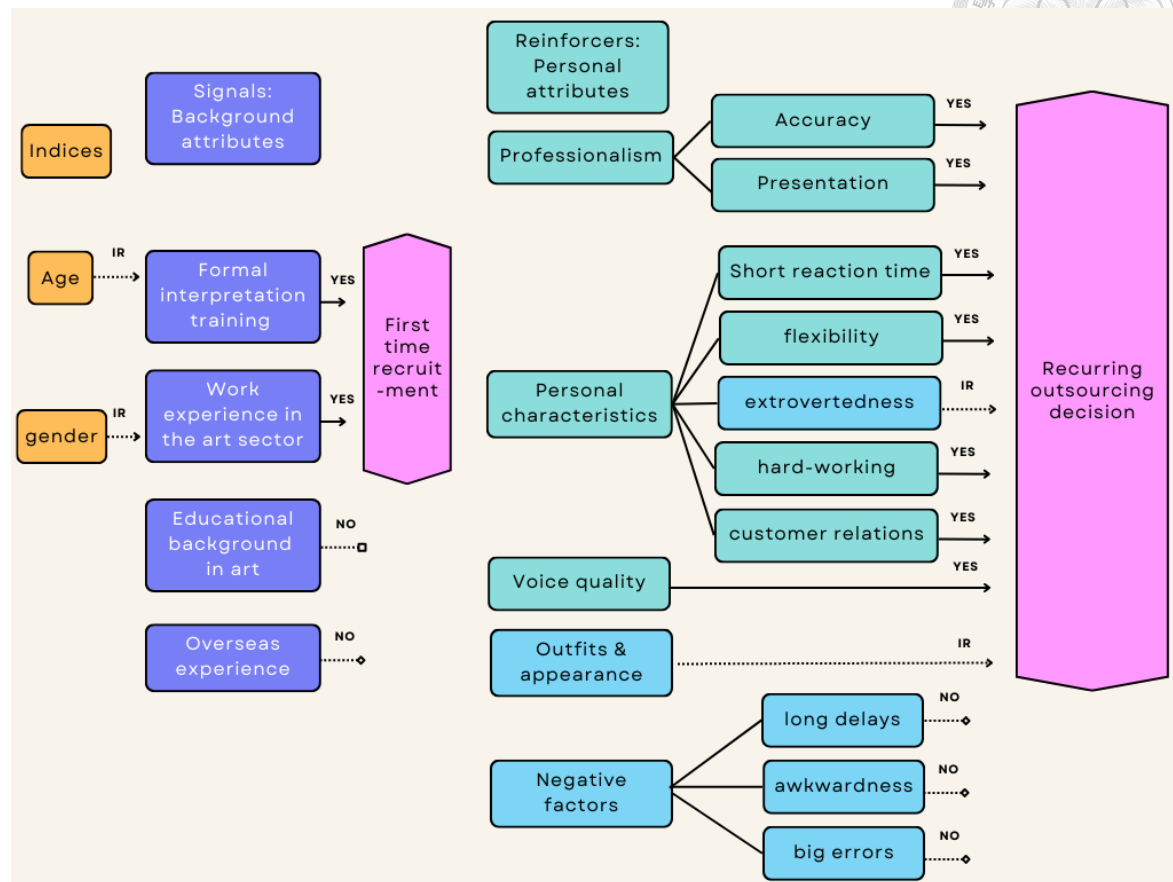
4.7.1 Attributes that Contribute to First-time Recruitment. Under the first theme, age and gender were categorised as indices, and four background attributes served as signals. Clients attached different importance to these indices and signals in their recruiting processes.

Age and gender as irrelevant indices. Indices explored in this study are age and gender. In terms of age, interviewees reported that they would consider interpreters' years of service in the sector but set aside their ages. Gender is also proven to be irrelevant for almost all interviewees in this study on the Taiwan market. However, a Korean-Chinese interpreter revealed the subtle power imbalance between young female interpreters and male speakers. This imbalance somehow reflects the situation in South Korea, where a gendered structure of male speakers and female interpreters, especially young female interpreters, is prevalent but

not appreciated by Korean interpreters. Such a phenomenon is testified in the South Korean interpretation market, as reported by Huh (2021), but it is rarely observed in Taiwan.

Interpreting training as a valid signal. Both groups of interviewees view formal interpretation training as the most important background attribute. This shows that clients in the visual art sector, both private and public art organisations, view the background attribute as a valid signal for first-time recruitment. Some clients held the view that interpreters' lacking background knowledge is an issue, but, in fact, such an issue could be easily addressed. This is because proper preparation is a big part of interpreting training. I02 testified for this argument. She thought her sufficient background knowledge was compensation for lacking formal interpreting training rather than a competitive edge. Interpreting training is believed to equip interpreters with the skills to prepare for an assignment and acquire related domain knowledge more efficiently.

Therefore, formal training at interpretation schools, an attribute all interpreting students possess, is a plausible signal for clients in Taiwan's visual art sector.

Work experience as a valid signal. Overall, work experience in the art sector is ranked by the interviewees as the second most important attribute. It helps interpreters build up background knowledge in the long run. It also provides interpreters with a deeper understanding of the nature of art events and equips them with heightened sensitivity to the overall situation. Last but not least, it opens up the opportunity for "word-of-mouth" recommendations, which will be discussed next.

Referral as a valid signal. Four clients explicitly reported that referrals are not only effective but also a preferred method for recruiting interpreters. This highlights the significance and reliability of recommendations from trusted sources in the selection process, demonstrating the value placed on personal endorsements and word-of-mouth referrals in the interpreter hiring process.

Invalid signals. Fewer interviewees consider art education and overseas experience as valid signals in clients' recruiting decisions, especially when the need is to hire professional interpreters. Art education, however, is viewed as one of the prerequisites for hiring escort interpreters on ad-hoc interpretation tasks. None of the indices (age, gender) is important for first-time recruitment.

For first-time recruitment, interpreting training, relevant work experience and referrals are viewed as three valid signals for clients in the art sector.

4.7.2 Attributes that Lead to Further Collaboration. Two concepts were identified under the second theme – attributes determining the chance of further collaboration: reinforcers and factors with negative impacts.

Six categories emerged from the data, some of which are viewed as reinforcers prompting a future collaboration between clients and interpreters. The six categories include (1) work experience, (2) voice quality, (3) professionalism, (4) personal characteristics, (5) outfits and appearance and (6) factors with negative impact.

Work experience as a reinforcer. In the semi-structured interviews, work experience was one of the four background attributes that interviewees had to rank by importance. It is validated to be a valid signal for first-time recruitment, as discussed in 4.7.1. Nevertheless, a close examination of data drives a new finding, showing that work experience could be categorised as not only a signal but also a reinforcer. Bilateral dependency is the attribute emerging from the data that leads to reinforcement behaviours. Through frequent collaboration, bilateral dependency gradually develops between clients and interpreters. As the two parties work together more extensively, the preparation and communication tasks become increasingly streamlined and efficient for both sides. This streamlined process not only reduces costs for both parties but also fosters a stronger bilateral dependency.

Generally, work experience in the art sector is believed to be the second most important attribute and hence the second-highest ranked signal for first-time recruitment. It is slightly easier to possess than formal interpreting training, but not all interpreting students are able or willing to take on a full-time role in the art sector. However, even without a full-time commitment to working in the art sector, interpreters can somehow acquire this attribute by working on interpreting art-related assignments. Such experiences are proven to be useful in this study, as clients from private organisations in Taiwan's art sector expressed their preferences for interpreters who have domain-specific interpreting experiences in the sector, and clients from public institutes ranked work experience in art as the most important background attribute among all.

Voice quality as a reinforcer. Initially, voice quality was considered to be one of the unalterable indices. However, it could be difficult to know the voice quality of an interpreter before hiring them, and the data collected from the interview also shows that voice quality is more like a reinforcer that gives interpreters an extra edge in the market. Therefore, this attribute was later categorised as a reinforcer. Although voice quality was not perceived as an attribute indicating good interpreting service, three clients preferred interpreters with pleasing voices, and one seasoned interpreter acknowledged the necessity of this attribute. The result demonstrates that voice quality is an additional benefit but not a denominator for clients. It will not rule out an interpreter but can reinforce good impressions in clients' minds.

Professionalism as a reinforcer. Two sets of codes demonstrating interpreters' professionalism were identified: accuracy and presentation. They are the most valued attributes among clients and interpreters. Eight clients and two interpreters mentioned accuracy as a critical criterion. C04 reported that event organisers would often review the materials provided by the speaker. This way, even if the speech was not delivered in English, they could still gain a general understanding and assess whether the interpretation aligned

with the ideas expressed in the curatorial statement. In cases where English was used in a speech, most clients could understand the source speech and further evaluate whether the nuances were accurately conveyed in the interpretation.
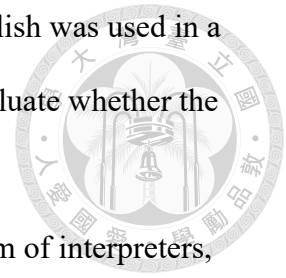
Presentation is another attribute that indicates the professionalism of interpreters, which includes fluency, enunciation, target language proficiency and faithful rendition of the style of speech. Six clients appreciated interpreters whose interpretation was fluent, judging fluency by instant production of interpretation, adequate pacing and few redundancies, among other factors. In the transcripts, short reaction time appeared many times, but clients used this phrase to refer to two distinct attributes, including (1) instant comprehension and production during the interpreting process and (2) quick responses to contingencies in the event. The research closely analysed what they meant for those clients and decided to categorise instant production of interpretation as a property of fluency listed under professionalism and quick responses as an attribute listed under personal characteristics. Aside from fluency, enunciation was mentioned by three clients as a criterion for presentation, target language proficiency by two interpreters, and a faithful rendition of the style of speech also by two interpreters. In sum, interpreters with these attributes demonstrate to clients that they are professional service providers in the market.

Personal characteristics as reinforcers. One client pointed out that all interpreters are professional, "so their personalities become another main concern". Personal characteristics are thus considered the reinforcers for future collaboration. Personal characteristics that could be considered reinforcers cover many attributes, including short reaction time, flexibility at work, hard-working attitudes and good customer relations. Short reaction time ensures smooth runs of events. Flexibility indicates that interpreters are easy-going, not emotional or easily irritated, and able to adapt to the changing nature of art events. Hard-working attitudes appear to be a cliché but are highly appreciated by clients. It is found that whether

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interpreters put enough effort into the assignment or not is evident to clients. Good customer relations could be maintained when attributes mentioned in this paragraph are detected in interpreters. These attributes are strong reinforcers that prompt clients to rehire the same interpreters again in the future.
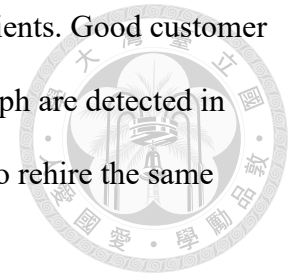
Neutral attributes not viewed as reinforcers. Extrovertedness is somewhat preferred, but it could seem irrelevant for clients, especially clients seeking simultaneous interpreting services. Outfits and appearance are generally unimportant for clients if interpreters play safe and do not overdress.

Factors with negative impact. Lacking background knowledge in art and lacking thorough preparation are not the attributes that would reinforce further exchanges between clients and interpreters, though it will not necessarily rule out interpreters. Delays in production, awkwardness on stage, and obvious errors are unwanted attributes.

Based on the data collected from the interviews, a grounded theory illustrating how interpreters are hired in Taiwan's visual sector is built as follows:

Age and gender are irrelevant for initial recruitment. Formal interpretation training and work experience in the art sector are credible signals. Attributes indicating professionalism, such as accuracy and outstanding presentation, and personal characteristics, like quick response time, flexibility, hard-working attitude and good customer relations, will reinforce clients' willingness for further collaboration. Voice quality is another reinforcer, but extrovertedness, outfits and appearance are considered irrelevant. Delays in delivery, awkward interactions with speakers, and obvious errors are unfavourable. Different patterns can be observed when hiring interpreters for more formal events (e.g., seminars and press conferences) and for escorting artists, and the allocation of financial resources can significantly impact clients' decisions.

Chapter 5   Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to explore how clients in Taiwan's visual art sector recruit interpreters whom they never worked with and what makes clients outsource the job to the same interpreters again. This chapter first summarises the results to answer the research questions and discusses the limitations of this study and some suggestions for future research.
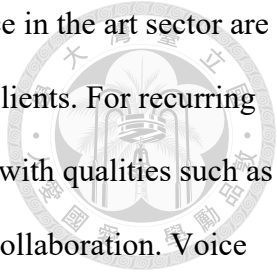
5.1 Results

Semi-structured interviews were employed to seek answers to the two research questions from two groups of interviewees: (1) clients from the art sector and (2) interpreters frequently working for them. The two research questions are as follows:

1. What attributes of interpreters are of utmost importance for clients in the visual art sector when outsourcing interpreting jobs to external interpreters?

2. After the first recruitment, what are the attributes that prompt clients to seek future collaboration with the same interpreter?

In order to answer the questions, signalling theory was utilised as part of the research framework to examine interpreters' attributes from the aspects of indices and signals, which are used to answer the first research question. Social exchange theory was then used to analyse the reinforcers for future collaboration, providing answers to the second research question. Based on the two theories, interpreters' attributes are divided into (1) indices, such as age and gender, (2) signals, i.e., background attributes like education and work experiences and (3) reinforcers, including personal attributes ranging from professionalism, personal characteristics, voice quality, outfits and appearance, and factors negatively impacting an interpreter's chance of being hired.

Considering all the opinions expressed by the interviewees, the grounded theory of interpreter hiring in Taiwan's visual art sector suggests that age and gender are irrelevant for

first-time recruitment. Formal interpretation training and work experience in the art sector are considered the most significant attributes, acting as credible signals for clients. For recurring clients, professionalism indicators like accuracy and presentation, along with qualities such as quick response time, flexibility, and good customer relations, reinforce collaboration. Voice quality is also considered a reinforcer. Extrovertedness, outfits and appearance are irrelevant, while attributes like production delays and obvious errors are undesirable. Different tendencies exist for hiring professional versus escort interpreters, and budget constraints can influence outsourcing decisions.

5.2 Limitations

Initially, interviews with three groups of interviewees were planned. However, the researcher did not gather sufficient data from visitors because they come and go frequently in a forum, few visitors put on headsets to listen to simultaneous interpreting, and few art events involved interpreters when the study was conducted. However, although visitors' opinions would sometimes affect clients' perspectives on interpreters, it is true that outsourcing decisions are more relevant to the decisions made and behaviours emitted by clients and interpreters.

One interpreter is always recruited by interpreting agencies, whether it is an art-related assignment or not, but the researcher did not have sufficient time to approach agents. Therefore, the results only reveal clients' and interpreters' perspectives. Agents are likelier to work with more clients than individual interpreters, so they could perhaps have offered some different views regarding clients' preferences. Fortunately, all interpreters participating in this study have extensive experience, with a minimum of eight years of service. This suggests that their experiences are highly likely to reflect the preferences of clients. The results reveal a strong alignment between the perspectives of these interpreters and those of the clients,

thereby validating that the interpreters' viewpoints truly reflect the real-world recruitment process.

Interviewees' backgrounds were not investigated thoroughly in this study as a determining factor. However, as the researcher conducted more semi-structured interviews with clients and interpreters over time, it was found that interviewees' educational backgrounds might play some role in shaping their views. For instance, one client was pursuing a doctorate when the interview was conducted. From the client's tone, it became evident to the researcher that this particular client placed greater emphasis on accuracy than other clients, likely due to the rigorous academic training the client has received. However, the utilisation of semi-structured interviews as a research method enabled the researcher to delve deeper into clients' perspectives and gather additional insights derived from their unique personal backgrounds.

The researcher did not think that interpreters' appearance would affect clients' hiring decisions in Taiwan's visual art industry, so no question in the semi-structured interviews was designed to explore this issue. Some studies conducted in South Korea, however, reported that the "aesthetic quality" of interpreters can be a valid signal for Korean clients, partly because the interpretation service is saturated in the mentioned market. In such cases, aesthetic quality can enhance the value of the interpretation service. Therefore, aesthetic quality, or appearance, is regarded as a valid signal in South Korea (Cho, 2017; Huh, 2021).

Finally, financial resources were found to be relevant to some clients' outsourcing decisions, but budgeting was not examined at great length. In the outline of the semi-structured interview, there was a question inquiring about the interpreting fee paid to interpreters. However, the researcher refrained from posing the same question to the interpreters, as it is not common practice in Taiwan to inquire about people's salaries or how they charge for their services.

5.3 Contribution and Future Directions

This study aimed to identify the preferred attributes of interpreters for both initial recruitment and future collaboration, using the concept of reinforcing activities in outsourcing theories. The clients interviewed in this research represented prominent visual art institutes in Taiwan and provided insights into the interpreter recruitment process in the sector. It is suggested that future studies involve additional stakeholders, such as visitors and agents, to further enrich the understanding of clients' recruitment decisions. Furthermore, considering interviewees' educational backgrounds and personal experiences could enhance the reliability of market research on interpreter demand in Taiwan. Lastly, while this study addressed clients' financial concerns to some extent, further research linking clients' budgets with their recruiting decisions would offer valuable insights into their outsourcing considerations.

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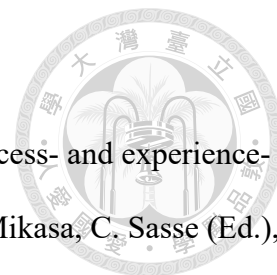
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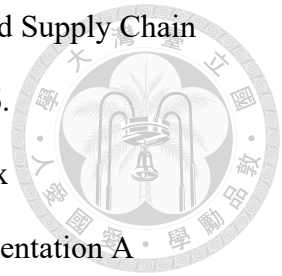
Appendix i. Interview Outline for Clients

(Translated version of the outline)

❶ How is an interpreter hired?

1. Which organisation do you belong to?

2. Did your organisation hire interpreters last year? A. No and never will. B. No but we are planning to this year. C. Yes, one to two times. D. Yes, three to four times. E. Yes, more than five times.

\>\> For those who never hires interpreters and never plans to

3. Why don't your organisation hire interpreters? A. Participants can communicate in the foreign language. B. Due to cost concerns. C. Others.

4. If interpreters can deepen and enhance the level of understanding between participants, will your organisation consider to hire one?

5. If the cost for hiring an interpreter is lowered, will your organisation consider to hire one?

\>\> For those who have hired interpreters before

3. Event type? A. Fairs or exhibitions B. Academic forums C. Workshops

4. Number of participants?

5. What expectation do you (or your organisation) have when hiring an interpreter?

6. Did the interpreter you hired meet your expectations (e.g. facilitate communication)?

7. Did the interpreter your hired exceed your expectations and achieved something that you've never thought of before? (e.g. promote sales?)

❷ What standards do your organisation apply to hire freelance interpreters

1. Are you the main decision maker when it comes to hiring interpreters?

2. How do you or your organisation plan the budget for interpreting service? A. Specifically list it in the annual budget B. Use part of the budget for a planned project C. Others

3. For interpreters you have never worked with before, how do you or your organisation screen them? Any standards or rules to be adhered to?

4. What backgrounds of interpreters do you or your organisation prefer working with? Please rank the following background attributes. A. Worked or educated in a country that

speaks the foreign language B. Received a degree in art or design C. Work experience in the art sector D. Trained by interpretation school

5. What kinds of interpreters do you or your organisation prefer working with? (open question)

6. Do interpreters' age and sex affect your hiring decision?

7. Do interpreters' outfits and dressing style affect your hiring decision?

8. Do interpreters' way of talking (voice, volume, sentence structure, content) affect your impression on an interpreter?

9. What's your experience working with interpreters?

10. What are the standards your organisation applied to hire an interpreter again? A. Visitors'/users' opinions expressed orally B. Visitors'/users' opinions expressed on feedback forms (either physical or digital) C. Judging by yourself (how then?) D. Supervisor's opinions E. others

11. What attributes of interpreters prompt you to hire them again?

12. For the interpreter you've worked with and will hire again, what can be improved to make the interpretation service even better?

13. For the interpreter you've worked with and will NOT hire again, what led you to make that decision?

❶ 了解口譯員聘僱狀況

1. 請問您所屬的單位為何？

2. 請問您所屬的單位，過去一年是否曾聘任口譯員？A. 從未聘任也無規劃聘任 B. 尚未聘任，但目前正規劃要聘任 C. 一年 1-2 次 D. 一年 3-4 次 E. 一年 5 次以上
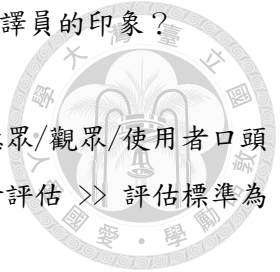

\>\> 從未聘任也無規劃聘任：

3. 不聘用口譯員的原因？A. 與會者可用該語言溝通 B. 經費考量 C. 其他

4. 若口譯員能協助擴大交流的深度或廣度，是否會考慮聘用口譯員？

5. 若口譯員的聘僱成本降低，是否會考慮聘用口譯員？

\>\> 有意或曾經聘任口譯員：

3. 聘任口譯員的活動類型？A. 展會活動 B. 學術會議 C. 工作坊

4. 曾聘任口譯員的活動中，參與的活動人數大約為何？A. 10人以下 B. 10-20人 C. 20-30人 D. 30-50人以上 E. 50人以上

5. 您對聘用口譯員的預期效果為何？

6. 您在聘任口譯員後，是否認為有達到預期效果（例如促進溝通）？

7. 您在聘任口譯員後，是否有達到其他未預期的效果，若有請簡述效果為何（例如業績增加、促成談判）？

❷ 了解各單位依據何種標準來篩選外部口譯員

1. 您是否為篩選口譯員的主要決策者？

2. 請問您（或您的所屬單位）如何規劃口譯預算？A. 年度預算有特別包含口譯項目 B. 年度預算僅包含口譯所屬之專案，從專案費用撥出部分為口譯所用 C. 其他

3. 請問針對未合作過的口譯員，您（或您的所屬單位）的篩選標準為何？

4. 您（或您的所屬單位）傾向與下列哪一背景的口譯員合作，請排序：A. 曾於使用該語種的國家求學或工作 B. 取得藝術或設計領域學士/碩士學位 C. 藝術/設計相關工作經驗 D. 受過正式口譯訓練

5. 您（或您的所屬單位）傾向與下列哪一類型的口譯員合作：（分析談話內容，找出是否有以下特質）

6. 口譯員的性別、年齡是否是您選擇口譯員的條件？

7. 口譯員的服裝打扮是否會影響您對口譯員的印象？

8. 口譯員的說話方式（嗓音、音量、句構、內容等）是否會影響您對口譯員的印象？

9. 請問針對合作過的口譯員，您的合作經驗如何？

10. 針對合作過的口譯員，您（或您的所屬單位）的續聘標準為何？A. 聽眾/觀眾/使用者口頭回饋 B. 聽眾/觀眾/使用者書面調查（紙本或網路皆算在內）C. 自行評估 >> 評估標準為何？ D. 長官意見 E. 其他

11. 針對合作過的口譯員，您（或您的所屬單位）認為有哪些特質是您續聘的關鍵？

12. 針對合作過且有打算再次合作的口譯員，您（或您的所屬單位）認為有哪些方面可以再改進，使口譯服務更臻完美？

13. 針對合作過且未打算再次合作的口譯員，您（或您的所屬單位）認為有哪些特質是您決定不續聘的關鍵？

Appendix ii. Interview Outline for Interpreters

(Translated version of the outline)

❶ How is an interpreter hired?

1. Did you get hired by an art institution in Taiwan as an interpreter last year? A. Never and not interested in working for the sector. B. Never but interested in this domain. C. Yes, no more than three times a year. D. Yes, four to six time a year. E. Yes, more than seven times a year

2. Event type? A. Fairs or exhibitions B. Academic forums C. workshops

3. Number of participants?

4. Do you reckon the interpretation service helps participants in an expected way? (e.g. facilitate communication)

5. Do you reckon the interpretation service has additional benefits for the organisation? If yes, what are they? (e.g. promote sales)

❷ What standards do these organisations apply to hire freelance interpreters like you

1. Is this organisation your direct client or you got the job through an agent? What are their hiring criterion in your eyes?

2. In your opinion, what backgrounds of interpreters do this organisation prefer working with? Please rank the following attributes. A. Worked or educated in a country that speaks the foreign language B. Received a degree in art or design C. Work experience in the art sector D. Trained by interpretation school

3. What kinds of interpreters do this organisation prefer working with? (open question)

4. In your opinion, do interpreters' age and sex affect the hiring decision?

5. In your opinion, do interpreters' outfits and dressing style affect the hiring decision?

6. In your opinion, do interpreters' way of talking (voice, volume, sentence structure, content) affect clients' impression on interpreters?

7. What's your experience working with art institutes in general?

8. In your opinion, if an art institute stops working with certain interpreters, what might be the reasons?

❶ 了解口譯員聘僱狀況

1. 請問您過去一年是否曾受藝術機構聘任為口譯員？A. 從未也不想投入該領域 B. 尚未合作，但有興趣合作 C. 有，一年 3 場以內 D. 有，一年 4-6 場 E. 有，一年 7 場以上

2. 曾任藝術領域口譯員的活動類型？A. 展會活動 B. 學術會議 C. 工作坊

3. 曾任藝術領域口譯員的活動中，參與的活動人數大約為何？A. 10人以下 B. 10-20人 C. 20-30人 D. 30-50人以上 E. 50人以上

4. 您認為本場口譯是否有達到預期效果（例如促進溝通）？

5. 您認為本場口譯是否有達到其他未預期的效果，若有請簡述效果為何（例如業績增加、促成談判）？

❷ 了解各單位依據何種標準來篩選外部口譯員

1. 您服務的藝術機構是直客還是仲介引薦？

2. 您認為該機構傾向與下列哪一背景的口譯員合作，請排序：A. 曾於使用該語種的國家求學或工作 B. 取得藝術或設計領域學士/碩士學位 C. 藝術/設計相關工作經驗D. 受過正式口譯訓練

3. 您認為該機構傾向與下列哪一類型的口譯員合作：（分析談話內容，找出是否有以下特質）

4. 口譯員的性別、年齡是否為您獲選為本場次口譯員的條件？

5. 口譯員的服裝打扮是否會影響該聘僱機構對口譯員的印象？

6. 口譯員的說話方式（嗓音、音量、句構、內容等）是否會影響該聘僱機構對口譯員的印象？

7. 請問針對合作過的單位，您的合作經驗如何？

8. 您認為該聘僱機構若不在與某一位口譯員合作，背後可能的原因為何？

訪談同意書

親愛的受訪者您好：

　　我是國立臺灣大學翻譯碩士學位學程的研究生林庭如。目前正以「臺灣視覺藝術產業的口譯員聘僱模型」為題，撰寫碩士學位論文。本研究是關於藝術圈聘雇口譯員的研究，旨在瞭解藝術機構或專業人士篩選合作口譯員的條件與考量，以利未來有志進入藝術領域服務的口譯學生了解並提升必要技能，希望邀請藝術圈相關人士、口譯員及口譯服務使用者分享他們的看法。本研究將以一對一進行訪談，時間約一小時左右。

　　為記錄正確的資料，訪談過程中會進行全程錄音，於訪談後將錄音資料彙整為逐字稿，並請您協助確認。研究者會負對錄音資錄及逐字稿負起保密責任，該資料將只用於本研究。過程中，若您感到不舒服，想要暫停或退出研究，研究者會完全尊重您的意願。即便研究結束，有任何問題都歡迎與我聯絡。

　　另外，為保障您在研究中的權益，您在訪談所提及的內容與資料僅供本研究使用，研究者會恪守研究倫理，妥善處理資料及保密，並在研究成果中以匿名方式呈現，不會透露出您的真實姓名，也會盡力避免他人從其他資訊辨識出您的身份。

　　若您同意上述關於訪談目的、進行方式、在過程中錄音及資料保密原則的說明，並同意接受訪，請在此同意書上簽名。

　　最後非常感謝您對本研究的參與及協助，祝您平安順利。

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指導教授　范家銘　博士

研究生　　　林庭如　敬上

西元　2023　年　3　月　14　日

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我了解並且同意以上敘述，願意簽名表示願意參與研究。

研究參與者簽名：　　　　　　　　　　　　日期：2023年　　月　　日

我承諾以上敘述，並保障研究參與者在研究中之權益。

研究者簽名：　　　　　　　　　　　　　　日期：2023年　　月　　日

Appendix iv. Categories and codes

Age and gender: young female interpreters, Korean speakers, irrelevant

Overseas experience: language proficiency, subtle differences in words, speakers' tone

Work experience in the art sector: domain-specific interpreting experience, referrals, recommended by art professors, understanding art, regular exposure to art, the nature of art events, curation, marketing, hands-on experience

Art education: internship in art museums, understanding art, regular exposure to art, artwork installation, art supplies, creating artworks, assistant

Formal interpreting training: interpreting experience, note-taking skills, graduated from foreign language department, streamlined preparation

Voice quality: pleasing voice, lower voice, an additional benefit, no personal emotion

Professionalism: two-way communication, rich background knowledge, regular exposure to art, accuracy, precision, Q&A session, long-term collaboration, note-taking skills

Accuracy: proper names, precision, accurately referencing, art history, appropriation, contemporary art, rich background knowledge, regular exposure to art, instant production, instant comprehension, art movements

Presentation: fluency, instant production, good enunciation, pacing, segmentation

Personal characteristics: poised, extrovertedness, flexible, quick responses, attitudes, receiving artists

Extrovertedness: taking care of foreign guests, accompanying foreign guests, understanding foreign guests, outgoing, talkative, not determinant, cheerful, irrelevant for simultaneous interpretation, consecutive, workshops

Quick responses: short reaction time, contingencies

Flexibility: easy-going, not emotional, peaceful minds

Attitude: preparation, hard-working, customer relations, extra effort

Outfits: dressed appropriately, neat and clean, neat casual, smart casual, shirts, suits, trousers, dark outfits, neural, standard

Negative impact: errors, unnatural Chinese expressions, awkward interactions, repeatedly confirming meanings with speakers, redundancies, delays, delaying event schedule, word-for-word interpretation, overdressed