LATVIJAS UNIVERSITĀTE

MAĢISTRA DARBS

RĪGA 2017

UNIVERSITY OF LATVIA

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF CONTRASTIVE STUDIES,

TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING

The Risks of the Interpreting Profession

Tulka profesijas riski

MASTER'S THESIS

Līva Suitiņa

Matriculation card No. ls09127

Adviser: Dr. paed. Ilze Norvele

RIGA 2017

ANOTĀCIJA

Šis maģistra darbs pēta riskus ar kuriem tulki saskaras darba laikā. Darba mērķis ir noskaidrot vai risks tulku dzīvībai un veselībai pastāv ne tikai ekstrēmos apstākļos, piemēram, kara laikā, bet arī miera apstākļos.

Tika veikta ne tikai ar šo tēmu saistīto zinātnisko darbu, mēdiju rakstu un blogu analīze, bet arī aptauja, lai noskaidrotu riska faktorus ar kuriem saskarās Latvijā strādājošie tulki.

Izpēte atklāja, ka kara tulki ir pakļauti pat nopietnākiem un daudzveidīgākiem riskiem, nekā domāts; turklāt tika noskaidrots, ka tulka veselībai (gan garīgajai, gan fiziskajai) un pat dzīvībai pastāv draudi arī miera apstākļos – aizstājošā trauma un verbāla pazemošana ir īpaši izplatītas; diemžēl, daudzi tulki par šiem draudiem nav informēti, it sevišķi topošie tulki.

ABSTRACT

This MA thesis examines the risks that interpreters face when performing their duties. The purpose of the work was to determine whether interpreters face serious risks not only in extreme circumstances, such as war, but also during peacetime.

Next to the analysis of scientific research papers, media articles and blogs on the subject, a survey was carried out to determine risk factors for interpreters working in Latvia.

Research shows that wartime interpreters face risks even greater and more complicated than expected; but more importantly, it showed that also during peacetime interpreters are subject to multiple and various risks that can be detrimental to their health (both mental and physical) or even life, e.g. vicarious trauma and verbal abuse being most widespread; unfortunately, many interpreters are unaware of these risks, especially the trainees.

Key words: wartime interpreting, work-induced trauma, vicarious trauma, compassion fatigue, medical interpreting, court interpreting.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Interpreters are vital in successful communication between two parties that have insufficient knowledge of a certain language. This broad potential market can place interpreters in about any sort of environment, each of them having their own risks, be it battle fields, hospitals, court rooms or conference rooms.

With the exception of wartime interpreting, both the general public and the majority of interpreters themselves are unaware of all the potential risks that interpreters can face in their profession – this ignorance can place interpreters in considerable danger, causing both mental and physical health problems or even death, since interpreters are unprepared, cannot often recognize the risks and do not know the ways to deal with them.

The goal of this MA thesis is to shed light on the more prominent risks of the profession, which include lesser known issues, and to determine the effects these risks can have on interpreters. To achieve this goal the following objectives were set: 1) review the literature on the subject of wartime and peacetime interpreting, 2) analyse news articles, blogs and forums that mention risks in the interpreting field, 3) create a survey on risks that interpreters face in the Latvian market.

Methods used to achieve the goals were both theoretical (e.g., analysis of research papers, news stories, media articles and blogs) and empirical – drafting survey questions, processing them and analysing the gained data.

The sources for theoretical analysis can be divided into two main groups – 1) scientific literature, including research papers and 2) media stories/articles, blogs and forums. Scientific literature devoted to the interpreting profession is indeed numerous, mostly concentrating on wartime interpreting, community interpreting and psychological aspects of the profession; some of the more revealing sources include Mona Baker's (2010) as well as Baigorri-Jalon's (2010) research on wartime interpreting, Tryuk's (2016) view on interpreters in Nazi concentration camps, White's (2012) research on interpreting trauma among medical interpreters, Lor's (2012) research on vicarious trauma and Zenizo's (2013) *Self-Care in the Field of Interpreting*. Among students at The University of Latvia, research on this subject has not been touched upon directly, but some works do mention certain aspects or fields of interpreting that hold risks to interpreters, e.g., *Interpreting for the Municipality* (Rezgalis, 2008), *The Role of Interpreters Working for the Police* (Kavinska, 2008), *Stress in Interpreting* (Horsta, 2009), *Psychological Aspects of Interpreting* (Tukāne, 2009), *The Influence of Emotions on the Perception, Interpreting and the Delivery of the Meaning in Simultaneous Interpreting* (Mengote, 2007).

Though informative and granting scientific data on the subject, the research papers do not provide a complete view of the problem, especially on the risks interpreters face in peacetime. News articles are the central component in showing types of attacks on interpreter's life (e.g. interpreting for the court and police); media articles, such as Packer's (2007) *Betrayed* exposes the devastating circumstances local interpreters faced in the war in Iraq; articles by interpreters themselves, such as Burns's (2010) *Stress busters for interpreters*, not only reveals how highly traumatic medical interpreting can be, but also offers solutions to deal with it; numerous blogs and forums allow a closer look at professional's daily worklife and personal stories, that reveal a complicated and diverse landscape of the many risks interpreters take while in the line of duty.

To determine the situation of interpreters working in Latvia, a survey was carried out. It included different questions connected to various dangers both to interpreter's mental and physical safety; the online survey had answers from thirty-two professionals with different amount of experience in the field.

The MA thesis consists of three main chapters. The first examines certain aspects of wartime interpreting, showing the extreme and shocking circumstances in which interpreters find themselves both during the war and after it; this chapter has a different perception of what an interpreter is, since in war the majority of interpreters are not professionals, but locals who are *used* simply because they know a certain language. The second chapter turns to risks that interpreters face in peacetime, showing the many mental and physical effects on health that the professionals are endangered by, especially in medical, court and police interpreting. The third chapter analyses and draws conclusions from the previously mentioned survey, revealing that more awareness of the risks to interpreters should be raised both among employers and interpreters themselves.

1. Interpreting at wartime

In comparison to peacetime wartime often implies different rules, different laws, and thus creates alternate standards. This also applies to the interpreting profession, since in war the definition of what is an interpreter and the rules of who can act as an interpreter are blurry at best. Even though we might see war as nothing but evil it ironically is the time when the field of interpreting thrives; when those with no education in this field (or sometimes any field) can become highly sought after by the greatest military powers on earth.

1.1. The importance of interpreters during war

It would seem odd, to one who is not connected to the interpreting profession, to read that interpreters are as important to the outcome of a military conflict as generals. We only read of one country going against another and others joining forces and forming alliances and one rarely thinks of how the representatives of sometimes two dozen countries could communicate in armies combined of millions. People's lack of understanding of how important interpreters are during armed conflicts is often connected to lack of understanding of the importance of communication during such conflicts. Most people perceive conversations with foreigners as a stressful experience, due to lack of vocabulary, grammar, fears of sounding ridiculous and cultural barriers. Now let's imagine that the content of the conversation is troop movements, information on wounded civilians or positions of land mines – one misunderstood detail, nuance or word can mean the difference between life and death. To presume that even half of those fighting in a war, from a common soldier to a general, know the language of the foreign country in which they are fighting is fairly ridiculous. So, if one understands how vital communication is during international armed conflicts one should also understand how vital interpreters are.

Even though wartime materials mention interpreters quite rarely, often just stating that an interpreter was present, there are several quotes showing that some of those in war understand the great importance of sufficient number of interpreters during war and the losses that result from lack of such support.

During the Korean War, where UN commanded an international force made up of military personnel from 22 countries: *Intelligence […] is only one of several areas in which language competence can be crucial to the success of a military operation. Logistical support, civil-military relations, operational planning, psychological operations, even command and*

control can be heavily influenced by the ability to communicate across cultures (Baigorri-Jalon, 2010).

Another comment from the same conflict that recognises that lack of interpreters can lead to deaths: *At the first major action in which the Turkish brigade took part, at Kunu-ri against the Chinese, the Turks suffered losses of twenty percent in killed, wounded, or missing in action. Losses in communications and vehicles were first estimated at up to ninety percent [..] The blame for this debacle was placed on misunderstandings resulting from language differences.* (ibid).

An American congressman Leon Panetta in 1981: *Knowledge of languages by the military should be considered as important as the development of a weapon, as important as the training of a man to fight in hand-to hand combat* (ibid.).

On war in Bosnia: *Well-trained, well-treated, knowledgeable and loyal local interpreters were force multipliers, making small numbers of troops more effective in peace enforcement than larger units without adequate language support* (C. Baker, 2010).

NATO's Ad Hoc Group in 1997: *There is need for a common language capability among units deployed on missions. This is essential to both the execution of the mission and the day-to-day administration of deployed forces. […] access to competent interpreters and translators is required as an integral part of the mission* (M. Baker, 2010)

It is clear from these quotes that interpreters are an essential part of war and any country or a group that decides to involve themselves in a military conflict should concern themselves with having enough interpreters as much as having enough air support, troops on ground or tanks. Nonetheless, researchers point out that even though war is a regular appearance in history, people rarely learn from past experience, since when a conflict starts, a *frantic search for translators and interpreters has to be launched*[1] (Baigorri-Jalon, 2010). Moreover, the interpreting services are not needed only during the actual war but also before (preparatory process, see p.10) and after. Of course, it is impossible for each country (especially for the smaller ones) to prepare hundreds of interpreters for each language combination that might come handy in a potential future conflict. Furthermore, each century and decade has its military hot points with different languages needed – German and Russian during the Cold War, Arabic,

[1] The author mentions the great lack of Arab-speaking personnel *after* the war in Gulf and Iraq had already began, pointing out that apparently, no one had thought ahead and did not think that such people would be needed if a conflict were to break out in the unstable region.

Farsi and Pashto after 9/11, and French due to recent instability in Northern Africa and the Middle East.

1.2. The origins of a wartime interpreter

As mentioned before, war has different rules, bringing us to recognise a different understanding of the term *interpreter*; in most cases, it means no longer using the word *professional* before the word *interpreter*. War is as old as civilisation itself and every war must have included someone who served in the role of what we might today recognise as an interpreter. Records show that in the ancient civilisations (such as Rome and Greece) interpreters were usually slaves, prisoners or people with mixed ancestry (Veisbergs, 2009), as well as soldiers and sailors (Online 1); so, the origins of interpreters can be connected both to military conflict (slaves as spoils of war), conquest and interaction amongst foreign cultures. In ancient times, military interpreters were the most numerous followed by commercial/trade interpreters (Online 1). If we look upon the wars of the last hundred years we will see many similarities with the interpreters of the ancient times, regardless of the fact that the 20th century was when professional interpreting saw its most rapid development. The dangers, obstacles, struggles, mistreatments, ethical questions, demands and tasks put upon war interpreters today are often closer to those of ancient interpreters rather than to those of modern professional interpreters.

There are five interpreter origin categories, starting form WWI to the current war in Syria:

- locals (inhabitants of the country/region where the conflict is taking place),
- prisoners,
- military personnel,
- volunteers,
- professional interpreters.

The numbers. Locals are by far the most represented category especially in the last few decades, followed by military personnel and prisoners (both captured soldiers and locals as well as inmates of concentration camps).

Geography. Locals (and partly prisoners) are most often required in regions culturally most distant to the invading forces (such as the Middle East). If France were to go to war with Britain, there would most likely be enough professional interpreters on both sides to secure the demand.

Personal connection to conflict.

In the first three out of the five origin groups, the beginning of a wartime interpreter is during a conflict that they themselves experience or are connected to. *People who participate in wars as interpreters respond to the rules of supply and demand. They are rarely professional interpreters and end up playing that role by chance, simply because they have a functional knowledge of the languages involved* (Baigorri-Jalon, 2010).

Each of these groups can be looked upon from several aspects – reasons for becoming an interpreter, was it voluntary or forced, during which type of conflict one or other group dominated, which one is more sufficient in time of war and most importantly which group faced most danger working as interpreters in war.

Locals

The both willing and unwilling growing involvement of locals, including as interpreters, is a trend that can be assigned mostly to modern wars[2] (Baigorri-Jalon 2010). The main reason for hiring locals is lack of supply for certain languages, in the last decades that being Arabic. NATO forces that invaded Iraq and Afghanistan had personnel from predominantly Western countries, where Arabic is not one of those languages taught at schools, and the fact that European NATO troops might have generally better foreign language knowledge in comparison to the U.S., where foreign language teaching has been neglected (Baigorri-Jalon, 2010) for years does not help, since Arabic is required and not French, German or Italian[3].

One of the key aspects is that locals are hired not only because of their language knowledge, but also because of their ethnicity and local cultural skills. War changes together with times and modern wars include guerrilla tactics, with enemies hiding in local populations. So, having someone working for you who not only speaks like the enemy but also looks like one has many benefits.

The reasons for joining the invading forces to be an interpreter can be different, including patriotism or simply for money. During the war in Iraq (2003-2011) many Iraqis joined the U.S. staff in hopes of a better future that the Americans could reassure; many young people saw their country as *one-way road leading to nothing*, many belonged to the wrong

[2] huge civilian casualties in wartime is a 20th century trend based in technological development and globalisation. If in former centuries you could easily escape death by not being a soldier or avoiding the path of troop movements than in the 20th century, especially starting from WWII, anyone could fear a sudden nuclear attack or drone strike no matter where they lived or if they were half a world away from the attackers.

[3] however, it most likely does help in the inner communication between UN soldiers.

social or religious group making them objects of discrimination and making them feel *like in exile in their own country* (Packer, 2007). Others did it to find sense of purpose that they could not find in Iraq. Many joined the Americans out of gratitude for them trying to free Iraq from Saddam's tyranny consequently leading to a better life and greater belief in oneself. This belief of making a difference lead thousands of Iraqis who new English to go to the Palestine Hotel[4] and the Green Zone[5] to become part of a greater future – most of Iraqis employed by the Americans became interpreters. Many were recruited right on the streets by the patrolling foreign soldiers (ibid.). These Iraqi men and women had learnt English thanks to their obsession with WWII documentaries, American politics, movies, jazz, the Beatles, some showing their love for the US by having a US flag as their screen saver. Some had even grown up in the States, but had moved to Iraq as adults.

Similarly, during the Bosnian war (1992-1995), interpreters were not professional interpreters but mostly trained translators or language teachers employed with no guarantee that they would be competent; some were just 19 years old, with only secondary school education (C. Baker, 2010).The invading forces offered very large salaries, attracting not only young people, but anyone who spoke English, resulting in the fact that *local judges and editors became drivers and interpreters at wages higher than cabinet ministers receive* (ibid.).

Prisoners

Lack of personnel and the incapability to provide sufficient numbers of interpreters lead to the inconvenient choice of turning to one's subdued enemy for help. Such examples are quite numerous especially during WWI and II, when the number of war prisoners was enormous and the possibility of ensuring the acquired help from the *right/winning* side was impossible.

Many stories of interpreters-prisoners come from WWII Nazi concentration camps were between 35-40 languages were represented in each, but the rules, orders and directions were always spoken in German. When arriving in Auschwitz, prisoners of different professions named interpreting as their profession in hopes of surviving longer (Tryuk, 2016). Most

[4] Starting with the Gulf War of 1991 and continuing through the 2003 invasion of Iraq, this was one of several hotels foreign media used to cover situations that developed in Iraq.

[5] The Green Zone is the most common name for the International Zone of Baghdad. It is a 10-square-kilometer area in the Karkh district of central Baghdad, Iraq, that was the governmental center of the Coalition Provisional Authority during the occupation of Iraq after the American-led 2003 invasion and remains the center of international presence in the city.

interpreting was form German into Polish, but there were groups of multilingual Jewish girls who participated in the interrogations of Czech, Slovakian, Hungarian prisoners (Tryuk, 2016).

Ironically, some prisoners who were obliged to interpret for their fellow countrymen in detention centres as well as concentration camps, saw the roles reversed at the end of the war, when they found themselves on the other side of the table – once former prisoners themselves, they now acted as interpreters in the interrogations of their (or their family's) prison guards (Baigorri-Jalon, 2010).

How the lives of those working as interpreters in concentration camps were endangered is quite different, since the risk to their lives, with some exceptions was first and foremost because they were Jews and Nazi prisoners. They did not enjoy any special treatment on the account of being interpreters, since it was but another task of many forced upon them, their position as interpreters did not assure them any additional food or better living standards, nor did it guarantee their survival – the first Auschwitz interpreter died in 1942 of hunger and exhaustion (Tryuk 2016). Some interpreters were threatened to be killed when the Nazi officers did not like their interpretation for some reason. One of the few advantages was firstly a relatively greater freedom of movement inside the camp (meaning greater degree of influence), and secondly the chance to help the inmates, sometimes saving their lives[6] or helping them to survive longer[7].

Volunteers

Volunteers can be described as people who join the conflict as interpreters out of their own free will, but usually have not had professional training as interpreters. When during WWII men volunteered to become soldiers oversees, the United States Army recruited women who spoke French, German, Russian, Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, Japanese and Italian to become interpreters, inviting in their radio announcements *to join for your country and for victory […] there is real opportunity for women of courage and patriotism* (Baigorri-Jalon 2010). Volunteers are also mentioned in connection to the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), where those loyal to the 2nd Republic came from different countries (including the Soviet Union), having command of different languages (Baigorri-Jalon 2010).

[6] One of the interpreters in Auschwitz prevented an inmate of betraying a group of Poles singing their national hymn in secret for which they would have received a death sentences (Tryuk 2016).

[7] Knowing German in the camp was essential for survival – all the rules, job descriptions and general information was given in German. There are statistics that show that those inmates having only their mother tongue survived shorter periods than those knowing German or any foreign language (higher chances of the camp interpreter knowing the language) (Tryuk, 2016).

Military personnel

Military interpreters can have different origins (Online 1):

1. military officers and regular members of the armed forces,
2. civilians who have some foreign experience and language skills such as former foreign service officers who have spent time abroad working in embassies and consular offices,
3. local foreigner civilians from the conflict area who speak the required language as their mother tongue and have proficiency in English (in this analysis this is a separate group – *Locals*[8]).

Unlike the modern military interpreter who undergoes professional training in both linguistic and military fields, most military interpreters in both World Wars were soldiers one day and interpreters the next, when commanders, by looking through soldiers's personal files, noticed knowledge of foreign languages. Some were moved to the Military Police, which was a much safer position; as one former soldier recalls *speaking German saved my neck. Otherwise I would have been in the battle of Bulge* (Zuege, 2014). When the US army (soldiers from a country not known for great foreign language skills) landed in Brittany during WWII, they were fortunate enough to have soldiers from Louisiana – they acted as interpreters since most had French as their mother tongue (Online 1)[9]. As WWII raged on, forces on both sides felt the increasing need for interpreters, so language schools and curses were established. For example, the U.S. Army made effort to ensure that their military personnel (including soldiers) would learn a foreign language, thus more than 500 intensive speaking courses covering 30 languages were established only to be closed after only a year owing to combat personnel needs in 1945; the Red Army made similar efforts training 4500 military interpreters during WWII (Baigorri-Jalon, 2010).

There were individuals from the military who joined the ranks of interpreters not during the war but after it, such as Richard Sonnenfeldt (chief interpreter for American interrogators of Nazi leaders): *Now just twenty-two* […] *a series of chance events, I had been spotted as a bilingual soldier in the exact right place and moment. I was being plucked from utter anonymity as a motor pool private to be thrust onto the stage of postwar history: the trials of the Nazis* (Baigorri-Jalon, 2010).

[8] All other mentions of the term military interpreter will thus refer only to the first two categories.

[9] The situation with the French language and other languages in the U.S. could have been better if it had not been for the government's determination to make English the only and supreme language in the U.S. instead of embracing all the languages that came to the country with the immigrants. For example, in 1916, there was a mandatory ruling that banned speaking French on Louisiana school grounds (Online 1).

Professional interpreters

Professional interpreters rarely act as war interpreters, and mostly are part of preparatory stage of war or its aftermath; e.g., as support for Spain in the aftermath of its civil war, the League of Nations detached professional interpreters from the Geneva headquarters (Baigorri-Jalon, 2010). But research shows that in the post WWII world (when professional interpreting was moulded) many of those who were seen as professional interpreters had been part of some military conflict in their past; a conflict that made them flee their home to another country consequently learning another language and using it to become professional interpreters later on in their lives. If we closer examine the latter scenario, the Nuremberg trials can serve as an example. Baigorri-Jalon (2010) points out that many of the interpreters joined the trial staff because *they had a knowledge of the languages required at right place at the right time*; some interpreters in these trials who worked in and out of Russian told how they had fled the Soviet Revolution of 1917 to settle down in Berlin or Paris. In the aftermath of Castro's revolution of 1959, many interpreters from Russia were *Hispano-Soviets* – interpreters of Spanish origin whose parents had send them to Russia to avoid the Spanish Civil War (1936-1937).

These and many other examples show that origins of the professional 20th century interpreter often lie in the *forced displacement of their families for political* and security reasons and that *war and other social cataclysms trigger the demand and supply for interpreters and other language experts* (Baigorri-Jalon, 2010).

1.3. The role of an interpreter during war

According to Baigorri-Jalon (2010), wartime interpreting can be divided into three sections with different tasks:

1) preparatory process – diplomacy and intelligence (recruitment through selection, training and mobilisation),
2) warfare – operations on land, at sea and in the air, interactions with local civilians, propaganda activities (so-called psychological warfare), contact with prisoners of war, control of occupied territories, evacuation of non-combatants, etc.,
3) the official end of hostilities – peace negotiations, management of mass population movements, demobilisation, rehabilitation and reintegration of combatants in civilian life, the resistance or the liberation movements, armistice negotiation and signing.

Even though it would seem that only the second stage could pose danger to interpreter's life, we should remember that such conclusion would only comply with professional interpreters (including professional military personnel). For local interpreters, the aftermath of the war can be even more dangerous, often with lethal outcomes.

There are prominent differences between the training and the tasks of the local interpreters (non-professional) and military interpreters (professional). By definition a military interpreter is a commissioned officer of an armed force who interprets and/or translates to facilitate military operations (Online 1). To perform these tasks mentioned above, a military interpreter must go through nine weeks of basic combat training including advanced individual training to learn the skills that are required to perform interpreter support in several areas such as checkpoints, medical support, training host nation armed forces, VIP escort, and cultural awareness (ibid.). One of the more prominent differences in comparison to peacetime interpreter is the fact that the modern military interpreters are armed and have to be prepared to shoot the people of the opposing side that they are also interpreting for (ibid.), to protect the representative of the invading forces. Of course, this is allowed only to military interpreters, not to local interpreters.

Baigorri-Jalon (2011) lists the situations in which military interpreters could find themselves – intelligence and counter intelligence activities (often bringing them behind-the-enemy line zones), liaisons with allied troops and local civilians, interrogation of prisoners and surrender to enemy units as well as frontline fighting; but this cannot be said for all interpreters working for the military in war, since during WWII, e.g., the U.S. Woman's Army Corps's interpreting tasks were limited to document translation and interpreting for military officials, rarely being in front lines (Baigorri-Jalon, 2011).

But task combinations could be very different; a former US soldier who served as an interpreter during WWII remembers how, after regaining ground from the Germans, he was tasked with helping the military restore order, prevent ransacking, as well as controlling German born interpreters to see if they were staying true to the source material (Zuege, 2014). Some interpreters in WWII acted as informants in the Nazi occupied France: *Hochstrasser was no mere translator. He understood the psychological value of studying the behaviour and mentality of those around him and also appreciated the importance of casual socialization with the Germans as a means of discovering their secrets, sorrows and weaknesses* (Baigorri-Jalon, 2011). Japanese second generation Americans *translated captured enemy documents, interrogated Japanese prisoners of war, persuaded Japanese soldiers and civilians to surrender, and participated in propaganda activities* (M. Baker, 2010).

Sometimes landmark events during war are based on achievements by interpreters. For example, a joint American/Australian intelligence taskforce called the *Allied Translator and Interpreter section* (ATIS) solely acquired the Japanese plan *Operation Z* which described Japanese plans to engage the Allies into a *devastating and decisive naval battle* (Brooks, 2016); with the help of ATIS, this battle was averted, greatly weakening Japan's position.

Regarding interpreting techniques, military interpreters use both consecutive, simultaneous as well as sight translation[10] (both traditional and summary). Combination of simultaneous and consecutive interpreting is most common – consecutive in question-answer situations between officer and the counterpart, chuchotage for other situations (Online 1).

Even though during WWII the tasks performed by interpreters were not so dangerous (mostly interrogation, sight translation of intercepted messages, negotiations with enemy commanders), in less formal settings, the order to shoot all soldiers wearing the enemy's uniform (that can include interpreters) still existed (Online 1).

Local interpreters became more common in armed conflict in the wars in Vietnam and Afghanistan, changing the rules and dynamic between interpreters and their employers. The West was now often fighting an unseen enemy without uniforms to set them apart, thus both close and trusting relationship with the locals could be essential for survival and eventual victory. Poehle (2014) writes that interpreters are the *key to success* and have to be close to the military to gain the trust of the locals and prevent cultural misunderstandings. Brooks (2016) emphasizes that interpreters, by performing additional tasks such as eavesdropping and cultural liaison, performed the same tasks as interpreters in Cortes's time[11]. In recent conflicts (Iraq and Afghanistan) the overwhelmingly largest group of interpreters involved were the locals; as such, their role could not be confined to simply language support. In addition to the previously mentioned tasks, the local interpreters advised the military on the history, culture, society of the country, gathered intelligence, as well as acted as guides and performed propaganda activities.

One of the more prominent differences between professional interpreters and local interpreters is that the locals often act as spies – they can more easily blend into the crowd and have knowledge of the city and its inhabitants. This is not an entirely new development; there

[10] Traditional sight translation – used for strategic and intelligence purposes. Summary sight translation – used during house searches, enemy searches, local civilian population searches (during the search an interpreter summarizes the found document(s) and his/her superior officer decides if a detailed sight translation or even written translation is needed) (Online 1).

[11] a Spanish *Conquistador* who led an expedition that caused the fall of the Aztec Empire and brought large portions of mainland Mexico under the rule of the King of Castile in the early 16th century.

are records that tell how Cajuns[12] from Louisiana used French to act as spies in WWI, infiltrated behind enemy lines, worked with the French resistance, provided effective means of communication with local authorities and inhabitants, thus providing critical support and intelligence to the Allied forces[13] (Thibodeaux, 2011).

Even though war interpreters often faced the same dangers that the soldiers did, their work apparently was not seen as equally tiring and they were not given leave as often; e.g., interpreters during the Spanish civil war had longer tours than tankers, pilots or advisors, sometimes extending up to a year (Baigorri-Jalon, 2011). Local interpreters often act as a connecting element because they often do not leave the job unless they are killed, kidnapped or must go into hiding. Usually the staff (excluding the locals) changes on regular bases in six-month rotations (M. Baker, 2010), in these cases, local interpreters are the ones informing the new staff or bringing up to speed those who return from long absences. *While many US soldiers have served multiple tours in Iraq, a core group of Iraqi interpreters have worked with the U.S. for almost the entire war. But unlike the soldiers that they work for, they don't leave. Rooted in the conflict, they've become the unofficial chroniclers of the war, watching its ups and downs, and passing along to military newcomers the story of the battle for Iraq* (Peter, 2008). In the case of the war in Iraq, the invading forces were quite detached from the real world of the foreign country around them, sometimes leaving their embassies or Green Zones only once a month[14] (Packer, 2007). This lead to a situation, where local interpreters were the representatives of the occupied country – they saw it through the eyes of the local Iraqi staff (mostly interpreters). Many tasks, including diplomatic ones, were left to the interpreters alone[15]. As Packer (2007) writes – Iraqi interpreters are cultural advisors, intelligence officers and policy analysts all in one. Researchers point out that detachment from the local population is dangerous on many levels. As one Iraqi said, *for all the technology, the Americans in Baghdad know far less about the Iraqis than those in Saigon knew about the Vietnamese. Intelligence is the first key to empathy* (Packer, 2007).

With the news and media revolution in the past decades, an important part of the war is also in news coverage; and it's here were interpreters have found yet another task working on

[12] an ethnic group mainly living in the U.S. state of Louisiana, consisting of the descendants of Acadian exiles.
[13] unlike the contribution of native American tribes (the Code talkers), the Cajuns' contribution has been ignored (Thibodeaux, 2011).
[14] most of the Green Zone U.S. born staff in Iraq admitted leaving the compound only six times a year.
[15] one local interpreter in Iraq remembers having to act as a go-between. He was sent alone to meetings with local government officials as well as the Shia clergy and then reported the content of the meeting to the Americans (Packer, 2007).

both sides of the medium – interpreters can be asked to participate in media relations with news agencies as well as listen to radio reports, watch local TV stations, and gather information from newspapers to gain insight into local issues (Online 1). M. Baker (2010) has researched the important role that interpreters have in shaping the narrative of the war, pointing out that interpreters are quite free in deciding how to present a situation or a conversation, also when talking to the media. Languages can help win wars in other ways too – when the U.S. entered WWI in 1917 it contributed to radio operator staff by bringing Choctaw tribe *interpreters* to confuse the enemy if they did intercept a message; this strategy not only earned them the title *code talkers* but also helped to sustain a near-dead language (Brooks, 2016). Interpreters and translators did work on code braking on both sides during WWI, but a language such as Choctaw found only in the U.S. reservations would not have been known to the Central Powers.

The US Government with its vast number of intelligence agencies is currently the world's largest employer of translators and interpreters; they emphasize that they are looking for linguists who are able *not only to translate, but to read the nuances in the voice of the vast array of tapped communications they now have access to in the post-9/11 world* (Brooks, 2016), showing that interpreters still listen to taped conversations.

With regards to concentration camps, they had their own rules and tasks for interpreters. Tryuk (2016) talks of three separate interpreter groups in the Auschwitz concentration camps:

1. SS men fluent in Polish mostly acted as interpreters during interrogations,
2. female inmates (mostly Slovak or Hungarian Jews) who worked in *Politische Abteilung* as registars (*Schreiberinnen*) and messengers (*Laeuferinnen*),
3. prisoners who new German (the only group actually called interpreters (*Dolmetscher*) by the Nazis in the camp).

The interpreters of the last group were present in all blocks, quarantine areas, camp hospitals as well as were responsible for order in their blocks; they assisted in hearings, translated inmates' letters, interpreted welcoming speeches, rules, punishments and helped those without any German knowledge.

From the gained information, one can conclude that wartime interpreters were assigned or forced to perform a great variety of tasks that clearly exceed those associated with professional (peacetime) interpreters. Many of these interpreters are untrained civilians who are mentally, professionally and physically unqualified for the assignments given to them.

1.4. Ethics

The norms that an interpreter should hold on to are reliability, morals beyond reproach, linguistic competence and expertise, faithfulness in translation and interpreting, impartiality and neutrality, awareness of social and cultural particularities, high resistance to stress, and observance of the rules of professional ethics (Tryuk, 2016) thus assuring trust. But these professional qualities often cannot be assigned to local interpreters since, as Baigorri-Jalon (2010) puts it, *the nature of the idea of an interpreter in conflict situations is so polysemic that we can hardly speak of a single profession, for two reasons: 1) because those who played the role of interpreters were more often than not "accidental linguists", and 2) because they did not identify themselves with the notion of a profession, or even a trade.*

Regarding military interpreting, there are several factors that can interfere with strictly professional and impartial interpreting since *they work under a different code of professional responsibility, their top priority and obligation is to his country and to fellow soldiers; thus rendition can and should suffer when the interpreter must take care of other priorities such as cover a fellow soldier, take cover himself, assist a wounded soldier, or comply with an order from a superior officer – they are not neutral communicators; they are partial and serve one side: their armed forces* (Online 1). Baigorri-Jalon (2010) points out that *military interpreters [operate] according to the best of their knowledge, which [is] not always adequate to meet current professional standards.*

The ethical conduct in wartime interpreting is a complicated subject, especially in the case of local interpreters, since they can be torn between the obligation to their employers and the interests of their family and country. During Bosnian war the employers were also concerned, since military language personnel were deeply involved in achieving military objectives and even local staff were supposed to identify their interests with their military employers (C. Baker, 2010). The mere fact of being a local interpreter could lead to self-censorship when interpreting (Baigorri-Jalon 2010).

Prisoners' ethical conduct is affected by their will to survive and the will to help others survive, so, *the ethics of interpreting loses power and the generally accepted norms and standards are no longer acceptable* concentration camp interpreters *role in such an extreme environment, their "potential" power and their active presence clearly defy the notion of impartiality or neutrality in the execution of their job.* (Tryuk, 2016).

So, it is important to take into account that wartime interpreters, often being only civilians (not professionals) or victims of an oppressor, are not capable or willing to follow professional ethical standards, since they are either forced by devastating circumstances, or their loyalty to their homeland, family or own beliefs serves as an obstacle.

1.5. Perception of wartime interpreters

Interpreter's safety in war is greatly dependant on not only the enemies understanding of the interpreter's role in war, but more importantly on their employer's regard and opinion of them and the worth put into them; whether the side they're working for really sees them as part of their group our simply as outsiders, that cannot be trusted, can mean life or death for the interpreter.

1.5.1. Society's view on wartime interpreters

The question of how safe interpreters are in war depends not only upon tasks assigned to them but more importantly whether they belong to the *winning side*. Professional military interpreters must guard themselves only from the opposing side, whereas local war interpreters can be threatened and betrayed by both sides in the conflict.

Military interpreters can be obliged to interpret whiles being fired at, their colleagues being fired at, or injured or other distressing factors like being surrounded by wounded people crying for help; they risk their lives even when in non-combatant situation, e.g., an American military interpreter was killed at a book give-away to local kids in Afghanistan (Online 1). In the last decades, military interpreters have been trained to be both linguistic and military professionals, but during most wars in the 20th century (WWI, WWII) the military interpreters were actually mostly civilians, who had gone through only a few weeks of military training to become soldiers with no interpreting training what so ever. This meant that, unlike locals who could often choose or refuse to become interpreters, those in the military were given a command by their superiors which could not be disobeyed since the chain of command had to followed. This could lead to stressful or even absurd situations when the soldier did not know the language at all or insufficiently[16] (Baigorri-Jalon, 2010). Nevertheless, sometimes going from soldier to

[16] A WWII soldier remembers an anecdotic situation when he was commanded to be a guide-interpreter to the Portuguese delegation. The soldier tried to explain to the colonel that, even though he likes listening to Portuguese music, he does not understand Portuguese at all, to which the colonel replied *"No, but you speak Spanish, French,*

interpreter could allow to climb the professional ladder a lot faster than imaginable[17], since these military interpreters were close to high ranking military personnel on regular bases.

In war trust among allies is paramount to survival. But locals overall don't enjoy such trust from their employers since they are not perceived as allies but rather as a *necessary evil* (M. Baker, 2010). They are *in-between*, thus enemy to both sides and protected by no one – a lethal position.

Baker (2010) points out several reasons to such distrust and wrong treatment of the local interpreters and other local employees during invasion. She mentions the principle of homogeneity, that neither of the sides in the conflict recognize an *in-between* space, that you cannot work for both sides which is what local interpreters do. The principle *you are either with us or against us* can be seen in all wars. Not trusting interpreters who are of the enemy's country is prevalent in many wars, e.g., in WWII Japanese-born translators were kept out of most code-breaking work during for security reasons (M. Baker, 2010). Being treated differently than employees from other countries was also the case in the war in Bosnia, where the staff were allotted into three groups (*I-III*) with group *I* (the least privileged) consisting solely of locals, who were not allowed to sleep in the same compound as the groups II-III out of security reasons (M. Baker, 2010); in addition, the locals had to deal with certain stereotypes involved in intercultural contact.

But it is not only the question of being a citizen of the enemy country, it's also about ethnicity. Even if the interpreters in Iraq were American citizens, born and raised on the American soil, they were still often looked upon with suspicion because of their ethnicity and were scorned or mistreated for being too obviously different (Foust, 2009); e.g., during the war in Iraq an American born woman of Afghani descent was not allowed in the meeting even though she had a clearance and was referred to *as that local* (M. Baker, 2010). Analogous situation could be observed with American born citizens of Japanese descent who were not trusted because of their *connection* to the enemy (Brooks, 2016) – during WWII a close eye was kept on *Nisei*[18] to make sure they were translating and interpreting accurately and not providing misleading or false information (M. Baker, 2010). Similar situation occurred

Italian and all of that stuff, and you'll certainly understand what they are saying […] Lieutenant, you seem to be under the impression that I am inviting you to be here tomorrow morning at nine o'clock. I am not. It's an order. See that you are here, and see that you are speaking Portuguese."

Another soldier remembers that he was assigned to be General Eisenhower's French interpreter even though he had no experience in interpreting except informally among fellow American and French soldiers who did not understand each other.

[17] Military interpreters just like other soldiers have their ranks, uniforms and can be promoted.

[18] second generation Japanese-Americans

regarding Germans, when the British had to use nationals in the British Occupation Zone of Germany – *they could only operate as war crime interpreters if they were supervised and moderated, they were never allowed to work alone* (M. Baker, 2010).

Sometimes an interpreter can be both of the same country and ethnicity yet still be looked upon with suspicion solely because they know a foreign language; e.g., referring to British nationals employed by the UK Intelligence – *It was almost as if the language abilities which had got them the jobs in the first place also gave them a quasi-foreign identity which the prevailing intelligence and service cultures could find occasionally unsettling. When Freddie Marshall, for example, first started translating intercepted German messages, he observed that his superiors regarded him, with complete disbelief and I was even charged with being a spy* (M. Baker, 2010). Baigorri-Jalon (2010) describes a case when an UN interpreter who was personally in line with the anticommunist Western positions, was accused by radio listeners *of being a Soviet agent because of his vehement rendition of Vishinsky's bombastic speeches against Western capitalism at the United Nations. The fact of being faithful to the contents and to the tone of the original speech is what made him suspect of being "one of them*".

The very language itself can be applied to the principle of homogeneity when one looks to anyone speaking a language foreign to you as a threat and a dangerous enemy; as Roosevelt said during the great influx of German immigrant in to the U.S. during WWI among anti-immigration stanza in the society: *"We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language… It would be not merely a misfortune but a crime to perpetuate differences of language in this country* (M. Baker, 2010). *Isn't it interesting that a language learned with great difficulty from school is considered a mark of culture, but a language learned naturally and spoken fluently from home is considered a problem*? (Brooks, 2016). This kind of attitude in the society could be paralleled with the *we fear what we don't understand*. But we must take into account that the Germans were the enemy of war as Iraqis were during the Iraq conflict, even though, the same as the German refugees, the Iraqi interpreters were only victims of the regime that created the conflict in the first place.

This distrust in the other side can interfere with achieving the necessary goals in war. An Iraqi interpreter recalls that, even though American soldiers that they worked with were friendly towards them, they did not heed the advice of their Iraqi employees (including interpreters) – they basically ignored information interpreters provided on names of insurgents

and the advice of buying certain locally assessible weapons so that the insurgents would not get to them first (Isherwood, 2008). Even though the Iraqi interpreters were loyal to the invading forces and risked their and their family's lives every day, they were treated with much distrust. To see that even when local interpreters were killed and kidnapped by insurgents for helping the enemy, they were still seen as untrustworthy – this deeply offended the interpreters. Even by the end of the war when some Iraqis had worked for the Americans several years, this distrust still remained. All Iraqi employees' cars were searched before they entered the compounds (which was the routine procedure for all), but when Iraqis finished work hours they would later find their cars searched again with often broken mirrors (M. Baker, 2010); as one interpreter put it – *we came to the Americans with true faces, complete loyalty […] but they didn't trust us* (Packer, 2007).

At the beginning of the occupation no one hid the fact that they wanted to work or worked for the invading forces, since most Iraqis wanted Sadam Hussein to fall, but with time, as the occupiers failed to bring about real change, distrust in the Americans and anyone who helped them grew exponentially. One of the groups turning the locals against Iraqi interpreters were the Baathists; they would tell that the interpreters give false information to the Americans, abuse Iraqis, steal houses and rape women, they would call every Iraqi interpreter *a traitor and thug*; this kind of action made the reputation of an *interpreter very low, even lower than that of the Americans* (Packer, 2007), and made them appear *as villains who deserve the same treatment as the Americans* (M. Baker, 2010). As a result, Iraqi interpreters became victims of sectarian violence, attacked by insurgents from both Shia and Sunni religious groups for cooperating with the invaders and foreigners as such (M. Baker, 2010).

When the attacks and threats started, Americans did not show any concern or interest to help. One interpreter recalls an incident that shocked and terrified both him and other fellow local interpreters.

> [I] initially worked the night shift at a base in [my] neighborhood and walked home by [myself] after midnight. In June 2003, the Americans mounted a huge floodlight at the front gate of the base, and when [I] left for home the light projected [my] shadow hundreds of feet down the street. "It's dangerous […] Can't you turn it off when we go out?" "Don't be scared," the soldiers told [me]. "There's a sniper protecting you all the way." A couple of weeks later, one of [my] Iraqi friends was hanging out with the snipers in the tower, and he thanked them. "For what?" the snipers asked. For looking out for us, [my] friend said. The snipers didn't know what he was talking about, and when he told them they started laughing. "We got freaked out," The message was clear: You Iraqis are on your own (Packer, 2007).

Multiple attacks on the Iraqi interpreters happened at the entrance to the Green Zone[19]. When the local interpreters asked to be allowed to enter through the *Priority Lane* (just like the American born employees) where they could not be targeted by suicide bombers as easily, they were refused, saying that *we [are] not willing to jeopardize Embassy security*; the interpreters understood that *this security did not extend to them – if anything, they were part of the threat* (M. Baker, 2010).

Regardless of the many local interpreters being killed, there was no response form the Americans. They did not see a real threat and did not listen to those saying the opposite; as one former interpreter said *these people would consider themselves too high to listen to a translator […] we were too inferior […] they lived in another world* (Packer, 2007). Americans refused to provide any protection, weapons permit or a place to live on the base or even a body armour which would have made the interpreters feel much safer whiles doing their duties (all foreign-born staff were provided with body armour). Feeling unwanted and threatened from both sides, they felt *as a person in between* (ibid.).

Those employing the Iraqis became infamous for their bad treatment towards the local interpreters – they informed D.C. that there are no problems and reassured that *the safety and welfare of all contract workers is the highest priority;* the reality was quite the opposite[20] (ibid.). The Iraqis couldn't count on help in case of being injured in their line of duty; one Iraqi interpreter was severely hurt in a bomb explosion while interpreting – his employers refused to compensate his recovery from the second-degree burns (ibid.). Iraqi interpreters were treated with *insensitivity and indifference, as second-class citizens, exploited by the military and the politicians* (M. Baker, 2010). By 2006 the kidnapping and murder of interpreters in *large numbers* had become a *commonplace* (M. Baker, 2010); at one moment in Baghdad the killings went out of control with the number of Iraqi staff members dropping by up to sixty percent in some Embassy departments (Packer, 2007).

Having to fear even one's employers or colleagues can present itself in other ways too. For example, in WWII the Allied forces recruited Japanese civilians for *behind the barbed wire*, consequently *Nisei linguists at the front often had bodyguards with them and ran the risk of friendly fire from fellow soldiers mistaking them for the enemy* (Baigorri-Jalon, 2011).

[19] Local interpreters had to wait in the line for one to two hours every day to get in together, just like other local Iraqis (civilians not working there). This was a great risk, since the line was an easy target for bombers who often targeted local interpreters as well spies who stood in the line only to identify Iraqis who work for the Americans (Packer, 2007).

[20] One Iraqi women who work for the Americans as an interpreter went to her employer and informed that she has received multiple treats on her life. When the employer said she should just stay home and the women answered that she will be killed for sure if she stayed at home the answer was: *That is not my business.*

During the War in Iraq local interpreters recall that they had to be *as alert as prey in a jungle of predators* (Paker 2007), when outside the Green Zone. Out of fear for their lives, some local interpreters used broken Arabic to appear foreign born, wore a mask or a shawl to hide their identity and kept their job a secret especially in their local neighbourhood, drove a different route to work every day, hid their work clothes, carried decoy phones where the numbers of friends and family were under code names (in case of kidnapping), sometimes slept in the car for days or stayed in series of rented room since it was too dangerous to return home, kept a small runaway bag, seldom went out into public, stopped seeing friends, watched cars driving behind, worrying when someone looked at the interpreter for too long on the street, received notes with death threats like *leave your job or we'll kill you* (Packer, 2007). One interpreter recalls a period when chaos broke out in Baghdad and interpreters, whose lives were in danger were evicted from the Green Zone to find room for friends of the political parties.

Most threats to the local interpreters in Afghanistan were made by the Taliban. One interpreter, who worked for Germany during the war, said that the Taliban threatened him directly three times, once they had placed an explosive charge in front of his house. According to AIIC[21] several hundred Afghan interpreters have been killed and several thousand injured since the start of the war in Afghanistan (Pöhle, 2014). As Taliban spokesperson pointed out: *We think that anyone who in any way helped the invading troops must be killed* (Online 2).

Iraqis grew to fear their employers due to some of them being summoned to talks with security agents and never returning to work (Packer, 2007). Americans suspected that the local interpreters were giving information to the local militia, not going as far as to understand that that very militia would kill the interpreters instantly if they knew that they were working for the Americans (ibid.). The deep distrust of the locals in Iraq was prominent on every step the local interpreters took; regular lie-detector test, not being allowed in the Embassy's food court, gym and military PX, and living with *petty humiliations* as security officers *easily crossed the line between vigilance and bullying* (ibid.). One interpreter remembers going to a meeting where a regional security officer told newly arrived Americans that *no Iraqi can be trusted* (ibid.). Many went to the Americans with hopes and good intentions, but were treated abominably, which scared away those who really wanted to help[22]. In 2006, after the Embassy

[21] AIIC is an international non-profit organisation representing professional conference interpreters worldwide.

[22] One day in late 2004, Laith, who had never given up hope of working for the American Embassy, did well on an interview in the Green Zone and was called to undergo a polygraph. After he was hooked up to the machine, the questions began: Have you ever lied to your family? Do you know any insurgents? At some point, he thought too hard about his answer; when the test was over, the technician called in a security officer and shouted at Laith:

had lost much of their Iraqi staff (killed, kidnapped or had fled the country), Americans brought in Jordanians as interpreters; unlike Iraqis they had the privilege of not being local and thus enjoyed the rights and protection that the Iraqi staff did not receive[23]; this angered the remaining Iraqi staff, not only because they felt betrayed, but also because the Jordanians had no cultural or political knowledge of Iraq, which was essential for doing the job right (ibid).

Some soldiers that had worked with the same interpreters for years had formed a friendship and did feel sorry for them, but could not do anything to improve the situation (with some exceptions), since it was their superiors who made the decisions regarding interpreters (Packer, 2007). Several articles in the media talk of this strong bond between soldiers and local interpreters, their friendships, the so called *bromance* (King, 2009), as well as the fear of leaving one of their *band of brothers*, whom *they trust with their lives*, in certain danger (M. Baker, 2010). Thus, a situation was created where the same interpreter was perceived by one group of invaders as reliable and trustworthy, but by the another as potential threat to security. But there is journalism that can do harm, as pointed out by Baker (2010) – it often depicts the Iraqis who attack the local interpreters as the only source of the problem and Americans as all being noble and caring thus feeding the concept that *we* (e.g., Americans) are good and *they* (e.g., Iraqis) are all the bad.

Journalist George Packer (2007) wrote that *America's failure to understand, trust, and protect its closest friends in Iraq is a small drama that contains the larger history of defeat.* The Iraqi interpreters started with hope, but ended with the feeling of being betrayed, angry because of their naïve trust in Americans and the belief that they will fix everything.

Even though they were on their own, in constant danger both at day and night, on duty or off it, with no protection before, during or after an attack on their lives, interpreting while they themselves and their families received constant threats and could be kidnapped, tortured or/and killed at any moment, most of them never thought of quitting. As one former interpret said, *at that time, I believed more in my cause, so if I died for it, be it.* (Packer, 2007), others described themselves as *a homeless population* (ibid.). Some did not give up their job both

"Do you think you can f*ck with the United States? Who sent you here?" Laith was hustled out to the gate, where the technician promised to tell his employers at the National Endowment for Democracy to fire him. "That was the first time I hated the Americans," Laith said (Packer, 2007).

[23] Jordanians could be housed in the Green Zone without fear (Iraqis could secure temporary housing for only a limited time) they were issued badges that allowed them into the Embassy without being searched; they were not subject to threat and blackmail, because they lived inside the Green Zone.

because of the salary as well as hopes of gaining citizenship in the West when the conflict would end (Brooks, 2016) or getting a scholarship in the U.S. (Packer, 2007).

Regardless of the reasons for staying in the job, the local interpreters show great courage regardless of enormous danger and in spite of mistreatment from their employers.

1.5.2. Portrayal of war interpreters in popular culture

Even though the media does pay attention to the problems faced by interpreters and inform of the mistreatment from the governments regarding their safety, it is not the only medium that offers insight. There are other means of informing the society of the role of interpreters and what it holds, namely, film and television. One might presume that firstly, these media cannot be trusted with accurately and faithfully representing the profession and secondly, that interpreters do not make for an exciting material. But there are multiple examples both from the big and the small screen that show interpreters in different situations, points of view, risks they face, and can be a useful source to understand the dangers that wartime interpreters are presented with.

In the South Korean drama titled *K2* the leading male character is haunted by the memories of his Middle-eastern fiancée, an interpreter, who was killed in front of his eyes; the female interpreter was killed on the orders of her employers because she knew the military sensitive information that she interpreted as part of her job[24]. This makes one think, that there might be situations where interpreters interpreter sensitive information, which, when possibly interpreting in the private sector, could be dangerous to know.

Zero Dark Thirty is an Oscar winning movie about the capture of Osama bin Laden. One of the people in the CIA group working to catch him is a CIA SAD/SOG operative of Pakistani descent called Hakim. Even though he is not a local but rather an American born operative with the same job description as many other characters, in this movie, he is mostly showed in the role of an interpreter. In the story, he plays an important role in gathering information in Pakistan; both his knowledge of the Pakistani language *and* his ethnicity are vital for this task, since he can disguise himself as a local and gather intelligence much faster. In the latter part of the movie we can see the dangers and the advantages of Hazim belonging to both the *us* and the *them* groups. When he and two other CIA agents are ambushed in a narrow

[24] South Korean dramas are relatively unknown in Latvia but they are wildly popular in the US, and especially in China, where they are viewed by hundreds of millions of people.

Pakistani alley by armed locals, Hazim is the one who can reason with them and not get shot, because he is of the same ethnicity as those who are holding him at a gunpoint.

During the last act of the movie, the capturing of bin Laden in his hiding place, the inner conflict of the character is clearly shown. When civilians, that have to be kept back, are enclosing, Hazim shouts to them – *if you come any closer they* (the Americans) *will kill you.* He does not use the words *we* or *I* even though he is an American citizen working for the CIA and is himself holding a gun. When he walks through the ransacked compound minutes after bin Laden's assassination, he sees how the survivors are mistreated and how the bodies of the just shot Pakistanis are handled not as human beings but dead animals. The movie shows clearly that Hakim's compatriots have complete trust in him and after all he does stay loyal to the US cause, but the story reveals the price for standing *in between*.

Season One of the American hit series *Homeland*, which depicts the work of a female CIA agent working in the Middle East, shows the capture and immediate execution of the agent's Iraqi interpreter, who is hanged by the neck from a bridge by a mob in front of the agent's eyes; his crime was cooperating with the westerners and thus the betrayal of his county. Since it is also shown that both had a close relationship (platonic), this example reveals both the risks that the locals are facing by cooperating with the invading forces as well as the strong bonds that can form.

Movies and TV-series are not the only artistic area where the profession and its problems are depicted. The suffering of Iraqis who have risked everything to help the American government and military in Iraq, and yet receive insufficient protection in return, is shown in the play *Betrayed* by George Packer[25]. The play reflects on the lives of Iraqi interpreters both during and after the conflict, depicting how they risked their lives being in constant danger, since both Sunnis and Shias saw them as traitors to their people (Isherwood, 2008).

1.6. After the war

From the five wartime interpreter groups, the locals are the group in most danger after the war has ended. Military interpreters, volunteers and professional interpreters can just leave the country escaping the threat to their lives mentioned in the prior chapter. Most war interpreters are mobilised only temporarily and are demobilised by their employers immediately

[25] American journalist, novelist and playwright (b.1960)

after the hostilities are over (Baigorri-Jalon, 2011). The prospects for military interpreters (professionals), who served, e.g.,in Afghanistan, are often quite good since they have highly required language combinations as well as the fact that they are used to working under a lot of pressure and stress in very tough conditions; these interpreters can potentially greatly impact the civilian language services all around the world (Online 1).

Those discussing the future of military interpreting have pointed out that the Western nations must have a united stanza on how to act in situation when local interpreters are in danger and whether to evacuate them, because the current indecisiveness could badly affect the future recruitment of war interpreters (Online 1). Many local interpreters in Afghanistan and Iraq continued to receive death threats and notes like we *will cut off your heads and throw them in the garbage* after the war had ended (Packer, 2007). They were in great danger and feared for their lives every day; as Baghdad sank into chaos it divided itself into blocks controlled by different religious or political fractions that all attacked interpreters *picking them one by one* (ibid.). During this time, Americans commented *that like all residents of Baghdad, our local employees must attempt to maintain their daily routines despite the disruptions caused by terrorists, extremists, and criminals* (ibid.). Instead of a visa or evacuation, the Americans offered thanksgiving dinners, salary increases, for some housing in the Green Zone for a week in critical cases. Others were offered a month's leave with pay in case of threats (Packer 2007). Al Jazeera aired a segment in 2005 on how Americans acted during the evacuation of Saigon in the Vietnam war, showing Americans at the Embassy kicking and punching old people and children as they tried to climb onto helicopters; Iraqi employees commented that nothing like that would ever be done to them by the Americans (ibid.). Some officials said *that if we have people in danger we think the evacuation would happen* (ibid.). In later interviews the officials remarked that *if I worked at the Hungarian Embassy in Washington, would the Hungarians evacuate me from the US,* forgetting that unlike the Iraqis, the Americans would not behead you (ibid.). German media reported of an Afghan man, who had worked for German forces as an interpreter, was killed just a month before he was to emigrate to Germany; it is suspected that the ones who strangled the man and left his body in a car were the Taliban (Online 3).

Between 2005 and 2006 the U.S. admitted only two hundred and two refugees when by the end of 2006 two million Iraqis had fled Iraq as refugees. The U.S. continued to turn down almost all visa applications, thinking that once the situation improves in Iraq the applications would stop coming in. Some Iraqis pointed out that the U.S. would not help them *since for the U.S. to give asylum for an Iraqi, it means they have failed in Iraq* (Packer, 2007). When the Americans refused to grant visas to the Iraqis, local interpreters tried to secure visas to European

countries sometimes succeeding or fled to the Middle East countries like the United Arab Emirates, where they faced the difficulty of finding a job once it was made known that they *worked for the Americans and betrayed Sadam* (ibid.). One local interpreter told that he *contacted many American companies, thinking that they, at least, would look favorably on his service. He wasn't granted a single interview. The only work he could find was as a gofer in the office of a Dubai cleaning company* (ibid.). Even though some did manage to flee to the neighboring countries, they could not always stay there as their visas expired – once they had no more legal options left, they eventually were faced with the decision to return home which some local interpreters compared to *taking the decision to commit suicide* (Packer, 2007). Other interpreters had fled to Egypt by having payed traffickers twelve thousand dollars to smuggle them from Baghdad to Alexandria, but were eventually stranded there (ibid.).

The gravity of the situation and the injustice of it can be seen in the story of an Iraqi women who had worked for the coalition; she had a recommendation letter form Bernard Kerik, the Iraq's acting Minister of the Interior in 2003, that stated that *your courage to support the Coalition forces has sent home an irrefutable message: that terror will not rule, that liberty will triumph, and that the seeds of freedom will be planted into the hearts of the great citizens of Iraq*. The woman did not receive any help when her life was in danger and ended up as a refugee in Amman (Packer, 2007).

Other nations that participated in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan had similar dilemmas. Because of the threat to the local interpreters employed by the British Government, the *Locally Engaged Staff Assistance Scheme* (LESAS) was set up to relocate translators/interpreters and their dependents within the UK; not all politicians agreed and those who had been given citizenship *have often criticised the living conditions and job prospects they are left with upon arriving in the UK* (Brooks, 2016). Some Afghan local interpreters fled their home and entered UK illegally only to be deported (ibid.).

By 2014 Germany had received 1084 applications resulting in 174 former locals employed by Germany in the war in Afghanistan, being allowed to enter the country (Pöhle, 2014). Most of them were interpreters who were allowed to bring their spouses and children with them as they immigrated (Online 2). André Lindemann, the president of BDÜ[26] emphasized that *it's an obligation to secure a life of safety* [to the Afghan interpreters] *in Germany after the withdrawal of the troops* (Online 4). France employed approximately 700 local interpreters in Afghanistan – by 2016 there were 200 applications for asylum in France

[26] Bundesverband der Dolmetscher und Übersetzer – Federal Association for Interpreters and Translators.

but only 30 had been granted; a French lawyer team is fighting for more Afghans being allowed to enter France (Online 5).

Journalists have pointed out that during other conflicts, such as the Vietnam war, the American institution were equally unresponsive to the issue of evacuation, but that in Vietnam an individual aspect changed the outcome, since Americans had *Vietnamese girlfriends, wives, friends, whereas Americans and Iraqis have established only work relationships, which end when the Americans rotate out after six months or a year. So, [in the case of Vietnam] they broke rules and risked their lives to save people close to them* (Packer, 2007).

It indicates *that to admit that Iraqis who worked with Americans needed to be evacuated would blow a hole in the Administration's vision of the war* (Packer, 2007). The U.S. position was that they *want the good Iraqi people to stay in the country*, apparently forgetting that many of them will be killed if they do not leave (ibid.). Nevertheless, not all in America would have greeted Iraqi refugees with opened arms – ever since 9/11 the fear of Islamic terrorism and distrust of anyone coming from Iraq and other Muslim countries was prevalent.

Some former American employees that had worked in Baghdad tried to help after hearing of the misfortunes of Iraqis that they had known. One of them was Kirk Johnson who wrote detailed accounts of the local interpreters in danger and sent them to politicians, wrote articles for newspapers and eventually launched *The List Project*, a not-for-profit foundation that helps Iraqi refugees, who previously worked for the U.S. government during the Iraq War. His efforts have been described as having had a snowball effect and lead to more Iraqis obtaining visas (Packer, 2007). Even after the change in the U.S. stanza on Iraqi refugees, there were other problems such as actually getting to U.N.H.C.R. office to file for a visa (Packer 2007), with the closest office often being in a different country than the one the interpreters were hiding in. There were others who fought for the Iraqis, establishing organizations like *CheckpointOne Foundation* (named after a gate outside the Green Zone where several interpreters have been killed) to help Iraqi and Afghan interpreters obtain visas to the U.S. (M. Baker, 2010).

Organisations like AIIC protect and fight for the rights of interpreters, including fighting for a UN-Resolution, that already protects for journalists and Red Cross employees, of the intactness and political neutrality of interpreters and translators, to change the fact that local interpreters' fellow countrymen see them as spies (Pöhle, 2014). Linda Fitchett, the president of AIIC, said that *the current praxis is for the interpreter to show actual evidence of being threatened such as note for example. This can't always be done. The Afghan interpreters live in constant danger. We think that it's Germany's obligation to grant the rights of residence to*

all who served Germany by employing the article §22 based on granting residence on urgent humanitarian grounds (Online 4). AIIC and BDÜ wrote a letter to Angela Merkel in 2013 to ask for simpler asylum procedures for Afghan interpreters, since the interministerial work group responsible for granting asylum had denied all the applications (Online 6).

Perhaps due to the geographical as well as the race aspect, local interpreters after the end of Bosnian war had more favourable prospects. If some saw their interpreting jobs only as *short-term interruptions and side-lines*, others embraced the professional development pathway and went on to work for the NATO and other international organisations using both professional and personal contacts gained during the war (C. Baker, 2010).

The treatment of local interpreters both during and after the conflict is a complicated problem due to political, national and ethnical reasons, but they have to be resolved as soon as possible to prevent loss of life in conflicts to come.

2. Peacetime

The reason for interpreters being at risk during wartime is that they basically are soldiers in an army fighting a war were casualties are expected in all ranks – they become individuals of a group whose profession is violent and dangerous. One would presume that such danger is non-existent in peacetime due to lack of insurgent threats and murder attempts. But danger to interpreter's life and health also exist outside warzones. The interpreting profession is not a reclusive one, it is always in service to others, bringing interpreters not only to booths in well secured international institution buildings but also to police stations, hospitals, prisons and refugee centres. Being an intermediator in these settings can subject interpreters to the same risks as professionals working in the mentioned fields; however, interpreters are often in even more danger since they rarely benefit from the same protection mechanisms as doctors or police men if their life or health are in danger. As interpreters who give voice to those for whom they interpret, they can face the same level of danger as the clients themselves, be those heads of state or religious leaders, since if there have been death threats to those people, then being close to them an interpreter becomes a target as well; as one interpreter points out, *the fact that most of us have to go through security checkpoints several times a day should tell us something about the risks we take just by doing our job* (Online 12).

Physical risks that interpreters[27] face include:

- injuries gained due to unsafe working environment, e.g. equipment, machinery etc.
- physical health issues caused by stress,
- infections,
- injuries caused by individuals connected to interpreter's work,
- death.

Psychological risks:

- vicarious trauma,
- posttraumatic stress,
- compassion fatigue,

[27] sign language interpreters are a separate category – they can suffer from *repetitive strain injury* and cumulative trauma disorder, both connected to extensive and repetitive use of muscles and ligaments in fingers, wrists and arms.

- emotional harassment,
- psychological health issues caused by stress.

2.1. Danger to freedom and legal risks

Lack of precise communication can have severe consequences in many areas serviced by interpreters. The job is demanding and full of potential mistakes and to avoid all of them is quite impossible. Most of these mistakes do not have devastating consequences for either the interpreter or the client while some can have severe or even lethal results. The fact that one wrong word from the interpreter can lead to someone's death is supported by a 3-million-dollar wrongful death law suit against a Spanish 9-1-1 telephone interpreter, who had translated the address from Spanish 2601 111th Avenue into English 2601 101th Avenue, resulting in the fact that the medics arrived at the wrong address not getting to the patient before she stopped breathing (Online 7). There are ways how interpreters can protect themselves legally, namely, by purchasing liability insurance that gives coverage for mistranslation of information, and legal fees that arise from lawsuits while on the job, but it does not protect against the enormous guilt that the interpreter faces, knowing that his or her mistake has caused irreversible damage to someone's health or even death. In some cases, interpreter's mistake has led to the professional's imprisonment (Online 24).

Often the interpreter is the only person to whom a refugee, an immigrant or any other client feels reliant enough to ask for help; unfortunately, this trust is quite often broken, when interpreters misuse their position. Interpreters have been charged with providing illegal immigration advice facing imprisonment (Online 8), with pretending to be prosecutors (Online 9) and demanding payment for bribery (DeSantis, 2014), inappropriate conduct with minors (Caldwell, 2016), extortion (DeSantis, 2014), abuse of office (Online 10) and fraud (Stegall, 2014). There have been numerous cases where interpreters have taken advantage of those unfamiliar with the language, culture and the legal system of the country to gain profits for themselves.

2.2. Physical risks

There are some risks that all interpreters should be informed of – risks that are present regardless of the interpreting field. These include (Online 11):

1) lack of ventilation in the booth, leading to prolonged exposure to CO_2, which means that interpreter can feel fatigued, and have respiratory problems;
2) insufficient lighting in the booth, leading to eyestrain and headaches,
3) long working hours that can have impact on health over the years,
4) frequent travelling leads to jet lag, often changes of climate, diet and bodily rhythm, all potentially creating risks to health.

2.2.1 Stress

There has been much research in the field of stress in interpreting, most likely because it is one of the problems that interpreters themselves perceive as one of the greatest if not the greatest disturbing factors in their job. Some research suggests that the stress levels do not significantly differ between trainees and professional interpreters with experience (Kurz, 2003) – the difference might be in the way the latter group deals with the consequences of stress on their rendition. Some of the factors that diminish stress levels with trainees is support and cooperation between fellow students (Huprich, 2012), e.g., sharing problems, talking about fear and stress, suggesting that the same method would help professional interpreters – unfortunately, when leaving the training stage, the number of people with whom one can share diminishes visibly, sometimes disappearing completely; thus, the consequences of stress can have a much greater toll on health and private life. Prolonged exposure to a lot of stress can lead to chronic stress, which in turn can lead to irritability, sleeplessness, headaches, anxiety, increased blood pressure, decreased immunity (Huprich, 2012) as well as very serious health problems, including a higher risk of cardiovascular disease and diabetes (Collingwood, n.d.). When under stress, interpreters make more mistakes, have difficulty processing information, ask for more frequent repetitions, have trouble maintaining accuracy and completeness, find it difficult to manage the flow of conversation, lose objectivity and become emotionally affected by the emotions of those around them (Burns, 2010). Stress can be caused also by interpreter's own efforts of perfectionism, when high standards clash with interpreter's negative appraisals of their performance, leading, amongst other things, to burnout and physical exhaustion (Zenizo, 2013).

2.2.2. Infections and danger to life

Like any profession that is connected to coming into contact with different people and environments, interpreters can often be exposed to different illnesses in uncontrolled

environment (e.g., an open conference) or controlled (hospital); and there is often an even higher risk of catching an infection (even if minor) from one's colleagues, because of lack of ventilation and air exchange in the booth. But there are environments, such as hospitals, jails, detention centres as well as immigration courts, where interpreters are in danger of being exposed to serious contagious diseases – the risks are greater in the mentioned places both because of greater numbers of sick people (sometimes with very serious and contagious diseases., e.g., in hospitals), and because of higher concentration of individuals (e.g., in refugee centres, immigration courts) originating from countries with not only specific diseases, but also illnesses that, unlike in the developed world, are still common, e.g., tuberculosis (Online 12).

Interpreters' lives are as safe as those around them. The interpreter might also have to work with dangerous criminals who could attack them, or appear on the radar of those seeking revenge on the criminals. Interpreters also work in environments that are more likely to be target of criminal activity or terrorist attacks, e.g., meetings of high ranking officials or heads of state. As a result, interpreters coming close to death outside warzones is not unheard of.

2.3. Psychological risks

Physical risks to interpreter's health are only one side of the story – there are numerous psychological risks that interpreters face while working. But unlike physical risks that are quite clear and obvious to interpreters themselves and in most cases also to the employers, the psychological risks, including serious mental traumas, can cause even greater damage, since most interpreters are not informed of these risks, might not know that they are suffering from a certain trauma and as a result do not seek medical help.

2.3.1. Vicarious trauma

Vicarious trauma (also known as secondary trauma) can be described as *indirect exposure to a traumatic event through first-hand account or narrative of that event* (Online 13). It has been described as the interpreting profession's *dirty secret* (Online 14). Those suffering are usually from the so called helping professions, e.g., counsellors, therapists, rescue workers, police officers, doctors, lawyers (Online 13) but also interpreters. It can be anyone who is on daily bases exposed to helping or cooperating with people who themselves

have gone through a traumatic experience, e.g., there has been research in connection to the refugee crisis and how interpreters working with asylum seekers can experience vicarious posttraumatic growth (Online 15). Many interpreters, feeling the responsibility to help their clients, *absorb the trauma and stress of their clients experiencing it through the transformation of their inner sense of identity and experience* (Online 16). Interpreters, *hearing intense feelings of loss, pain, grief, trauma or suffering, [when] helping to process communication, can potentially experience parallel emotions* (Zenizo, 2013). Feelings of the victims can be transferred to the professionals, plaguing them long after the work on the particular case has ended. Whether the interpreter or any professional will suffer from the effects of this trauma depends highly on their personality and individual experiences (e.g., a similar event in their own lives, that can bring back unpleasant memories and feelings), their own *internal struggles about their own challenges* (Zenizo, 2013), but most importantly whether one is *empathetically engaged with clients' trauma material* (Perlman, W.Saakvitne, 1995; emphases added). Some interpreters cannot stop themselves from *internalizing the information they process* […] *situations are perceived through their eyes, processed through their voices* (Zenizo, 2013). Researchers point out that such repeated exposure to the trauma of other people *can lead to long-term problems regarding the way one experiences and deals with one's own life situations and the world* (Zenizo, 2013).

A survey of interpreters in the State of Victoria (Australia) showed that 78% of the interpreters there have experienced distress following an assignment involving traumatic material, 25% reported emotional distress so severe it reduced the quality of their performance, 16% said, that as a consequence they felt a loss of interest in interpreting (Carisbrooke, 2015). And this can also affect translators, as seen in a comment made by one translator: *I worked as a translator with UN documents pertaining to crimes against humanity – the first year of my work it hit me hard and at times I very nearly quit* (Online 17).

The symptoms include (Online 13):

- emotional symptoms - lasting feelings of grief, anxiety, sadness, anger, some individuals can become frequently distracted, experience changes in mood or sense of humour and feel generally unsafe;
- behavioural symptoms - isolation, increase in alcohol or substance consumption, altered eating habits, difficulty sleeping, risky behaviour, difficulty separating work and personal life, some may increase their workload and avoid people or tasks;

- physiological symptoms – headaches, rashes, ulcers, heartburn, insomnia;
- cognitive symptoms – cynicism and negativity, difficulty concentrating, remembering, or making decisions in daily life;
- spiritual symptoms – loss of hope, a decreased sense of purpose, feelings of disconnection from others and the world in general, feelings of unworthiness of love, losing sight of one own's life purpose.

Other symptoms may include depression, alienation from friends, colleagues and family, and professional impairment (Perlman, W.Saakvitne, 1995).

Having access to psychologists or trauma treatment is commonplace for soldiers, policemen, firemen and doctors, but interpreters are not seen as a profession group needing such care. Such neglect is dangerous since, if not treated, interpreters might show the same symptoms as the victims (Perlman, W.Saakvitne, 1995). Some researchers also mention *projective identification* (Zenizo, 2013), an unconscious act of attributing something inside ourselves to someone else, e.g., unwanted emotions (Online 18). Interpreters often work as *filters* between the victim and those helping the victim (doctors, judges, police officers); if the interpreter is the only one in the room who understands the language of the victim, most of the emotional burden and heaviness of the traumatic event falls on the interpreter – the other side receives the less emotionally charged version. During traumatic assignments, the quality of the interpretation can deteriorate, which has a biological explanation – when we are faced with a traumatic experience, our limbic system, which is responsible for emotions among other things, take over the brain, with left side becoming less active and the right side more active; this can lead to decreased quality, since most tasks connected to interpreting are controlled by the left side (Online 17).

2.3.2. Compassion fatigue

Compassion fatigue is a state experienced by those helping people or animals in distress – it is an extreme state of tension and preoccupation with the suffering of those being helped (Online 19). Though similar to vicarious trauma, compassion fatigue is more dependent on professional's own characteristics, namely as the term implies – the level of compassion that they feel for the people they work for. If vicarious trauma is activated primary through external events, with professionals themselves often not being aware of the cause, then

compassion fatigue holds a toll over professionals due to their own incapability to control their emotions over a long period of time.

Symptoms (Online 19):

- excessive blaming, bottled up emotions, apathy, sadness, incapability of finding activities pleasurable, problem denying, difficulty concentrating;
- isolation from others (withdrawal from colleagues, family and friends (Zenizo, 2013)) compulsive behaviours such as overspending, overeating, gambling, sexual addictions, legal problems, indebtedness;
- the interpreter receives unusual amount of complaints from others, voices excessive complaints about administrative functions;
- poor self-care (e.g., hygiene, appearance), mental and physical fatigue, chronic physical ailments such as gastrointestinal problems and recurrent colds, reoccurrence of nightmares and flashbacks to traumatic events, substance abuse used to mask feelings.

Unlike vicarious trauma, that can also be caused by only one encounter with the victim, compassion fatigue develops over time with prolonged exposure to either one victim or multiple victims, causing unbroken cycle of exposure. So, in a way, vicarious trauma is more dangerous since it can cause mental health problems even only after one encounter, but plague the interpreter for a long time, even if afterwards he or she is no longer in contact with the victim or has any assignment that is potentially traumatic. In such scenarios, the cause of the symptoms is harder to identify, unlike in the case of compassion fatigue.

Table 2.1.

	Vicarious trauma	Compassion fatigue
trigger	interaction with the victim	prolonged interaction with the victim
onset of illness	personal experience or strong identification with the victim	strong sense of compassion
incubation period	mostly short-term	mostly long-term
period of contact with the victims	short-term/long-term	long-term

Not all interpreters work with victims or refugees on daily bases and not all who do would experience compassion fatigue; the problem is more known amongst doctors, refugee workers or counsellors, primarily because of their compassion for others or as the leading traumatologist Eric Gentry suggests - *people who are attracted to care giving often enter the field already compassion fatigued; a strong identification with helpless, suffering, or traumatized people or animals is possibly the motive; simply put, these are people who were taught at an early age to care for the needs of others before caring for their own needs* (Online 19). Even though some interpreters might be characterised under such definition, most interpreters do not become professionals out of compassion for the clients. So, even though compassion fatigue is a risk that interpreters and interpreters to be should take into to consideration, the interpreting profession itself can only act as the trigger, but whether working with traumatised individuals or victims can lead to problems for the interpreter, depends more on his or her overall personality.

2.3.3. Dealing with vicarious trauma, compassion fatigue and stress

Both of these traumas are not rare, since according to research to a certain extent, almost all community interpreters, court and general interpreters experience symptoms of vicarious trauma, emotional exhaustion, compassion fatigue, or severe stress because of their repeated exposure to traumatic information and stories (Online 16). Interpreters themselves have pointed out that they could do a better job if they received a briefing both before the event (Collingwood, n.d.) to prepare themselves emotionally and after the event (Online 17) to be able to talk to someone about the seen and heard; or the agencies could provide information about the emotional content of the case, so that a potentially better fit could be found in an interpreter that feels confident enough to deal with the content. Some healthcare providers have started to practice longer breaks[28] as well as ten-minute sessions with interpreters after the assignment, discussing issues relevant to the case, while other employers provide weekly fifteen-minute massages to help interpreters relax (Zenizo, 2013). Sometimes it is enough to inform the interpreter at least a few moments before the assignment starts, as one interpreter working at social services pointed out, *I am always thankful when a judge or a prison guard gives me the "heads up" on any possibility of "trouble ahead", then I can quickly prepare myself mentally* (Online 17). Lately, special interpreting training programs have been launched that concentrate especially on victim services interpreting, by preparing trainees to work with survivors of

[28] some researchers have advised to include a break every 45-60 minutes, which would allow the interpreter to recover, e.g., from a traumatic session (Zenizo, 2013).

violent crime, sexual assault and domestic violence (Online 14); unfortunately, this is a solution only for countries with large markets, and would not work for the small and limited Latvian market. But special training, if only limited, should be provided in all training programs, as Dr Heydon pointed out, *I'm calling for curriculum on interpreter training courses to be altered to put greater emphases on the impact […] the trauma can have, and how [interpreters] can get help* (Carisbrooke, n.d.); interpreters need guidance to manage their emotions (Online 14). Other sites mention multiple ways how to decrease possible distress when working with victims: inform oneself about the case as much as possible beforehand, have boundary rituals (e.g., putting on a special bracelet or scarf for assignments that means something to the interpreter and offers mental reassurance), prepare interpreting body parts and terms of violence, practise interpreting coarse and obscene language in a mirror, establish a distress signal with the provider (who can call for a brake), avoid eye contact with the victim, plan for visualization of peaceful imagery (the so-called "safe place"), engage a boundary ritual before and after a tough encounter (a phrase, mantra, prayer, song, or suite of movements), learn relaxation exercises, switch from first person to third person, write a journal on interpreting experiences and rehearse deep breathing (Online 14). One of the ways of dealing with the traumas or avoiding them is to form special interpreter council groups, that meet in person or on video conferences, where interpreters can discuss challenging issues, *brainstorm environmental, internal conflicts, interactions with consumers and colleagues* (Zenizo, 2013) at the same time gaining a different perspective (Stewardson, 2016). These can be actual situations that interpreters have gone through or invented scenarios (Zenizo, 2013). This growing trend is also called the employment of the demand-control scheme (DC-S) – a way to collectively discuss and analyse specific demands of the interpreting profession; professionals have pointed out that this practice has a positive effect, not only on the new ideas and practices that are shared, but also on the sense of safety of sharing the dilemmas that interpreters face [..] it provides the grounds for turning away from isolation (Zenizo, 2013).

Dealing with stress

Professionals mention three main steps to deal with stress (Burns, 2010):

1) being well informed about stress, since even though we know that stress can be detrimental to our health, many do not know all the problems that stress can cause – sometimes trying to find other causes for the deterioration of their health, rather than trying to deal with stress that is the basis of the illness;

2) focussing on oneself – getting enough sleep, adhering to a nutritious diet, practising relaxation techniques, e.g., yoga or Jin Shin Jyusu (acupressure), finding more times for hobbies (Zenizo, 2013),
3) using special techniques, e.g., *HertMath's Coherence Technique*, which helps to control stress levels by concentrating on one's pulse.

2.3.4. Code of professional conduct as a risk factor

Researchers have pointed out that the rules of professional conduct that state that interpreters should refrain from *providing counsel, advice, or personal opinions*, can lead to frustration, since the *inability to interject one's own thoughts or opinions puts interpreters at high risk for stress-related illness, including cumulative trauma disorder and burnout* (Zeniza, 2013). Another important aspect of the code of professional conduct is the fact that often interpreters, even if the work has been in some way frustrating or even traumatic, are not allowed to reveal[29] certain details about the case, leaving the interpreters to deal with their problems alone, if professional help is not provided. Interpreters often complain that they have *nowhere to turn* with their experiences, since *agencies don't care* and *[interpreters] are supposed to forget [the event]* (Collingwood, n.d.). A research study carried out by *Breaking Silence* programme showed that when working with victims, interpreters often overstep their boundaries – *many interpreters lost control and interjected comments; some broke down and cried, some couldn't interpret grisly details, or softened or edited them. One interpreter spent more than 30 minutes lecturing a victim about domestic violence. Others advised victims to leave – or stay with – their abusers* (Online 14). Interpreters also need to control their own antipathies, e.g. interpreting for gay/lesbian victims or offenders, in case they feel prejudiced based on their religious, cultural or personal beliefs.

It is clear that even during peacetime interpreters face multiple kinds of dangers of different magnitude – dangers ranging from physical to psychological, from minor injuries to death, from unknown to well-established. One of the least known dangers to interpreters themselves is vicarious trauma, that can cause serious health problems; knowledge of this trauma should be

[29] mostly concerning confidentiality interpreters are allowed to discuss the information on as-needed basis, which could include supervisors, interpreter team members, members of the educational team, hiring entities (Zenizo, 2013). This does not guarantee that all interpreters have access to such groups and often family and friends are the only ones an interpreter can talk to about such problems, but cannot do it because of conduct rules.

more established both amongst professional interpreters as well as trainees, so that they would recognise the symptoms and avoid far-reaching medical issues.

2.4. The more dangerous interpreting fields

The interpreter's career path in the profession can highly affect their level of exposure to the more dangerous risks in the profession. There are some interpreting fields where interpreters can work for their whole lives and never suffer from any serious mental and physical trauma because of their work, but there are others that lead interpreters into desperation.

2.4.1. Medical interpreting

Medical interpreting is one of the most demanding interpreting fields not only because of terminological difficulties and the pressure of being highly accurate, but also due to psychological strain of working in an environment surrounded by suffering. But interpreters are the decisive factor for successful treatment when the patient does not speak the language of the doctor, so medical interpreters are highly sought after, especially in countries with populous immigrant societies. In the U.S., for example, nearly one in five people speak other language than English at home and at least one in 11 say they speak English less than well (Price-Wise, 2008), amounting to approx. 33 million people who could not communicate adequately if brought to a U.S. hospital; the numbers are increasing – in the last two decades the increase has been 158%, with some regions such as California having as much as 44% of the inhabitants with other language than English as their mother tongue (Rice, 2014). Still, many medics do not understand the importance of professional medical interpreters, sometimes there is time pressure, procedural difficulties in arranging interpreters or they are not always available; this leads to using the so called *ad hoc* interpreters such as family members (especially children), friends, untrained staff or strangers from the waiting room, which means significantly more mistakes and omission of valuable information (Price-Wise, 2008), misunderstandings in medication reconciliation, and discharge instructions (Rice, 2014), poorer adherence to treatment and follow-up for chronic illness – this decreases patient's comprehension of their diagnoses and increases medical complications (Leah, 2007). There are many instances when doctors do not use interpreting services even though the hospital has secured them, since they think their own language knowledge sufficient, which is rarely the case.

Receiving patients with insufficient language knowledge is not some rear occurrence – e.g. *Northside Hospital* in Atlanta (U.S.) has 230 interpretation encounters daily; this leads to large interpreting costs, but not providing such services can lead to court trials where hospitals have to pay millions in settlements, since lack of an interpreter has, on multiple occasions, lead to permanent health damages, amputations, organ damage and death (Rice, 2014). These examples also show the pressure placed upon medical interpreters, since any mistake can potentially harm the patient, some mistakes even leading to fatal outcomes. But research has clearly shown that the employment of medical interpreters leads to better health care, as well as the fact that medical errors, lack of informed consent and readmission levels were more common among patients with language barriers (ibid.).

There are many examples of how lack of professional language services can harm a patient. The case of Willie Ramirez is one of the most famous examples among medical interpreters. The patient was of Spanish origin, and, being brought in unconscious, it was his family and friends who interpreted for the doctor; unfortunately, their English was not fluent and they repeatedly used the word *intoxicado* which does not mean the same thing as intoxicated (drug use) – in Spanish the word also means food poisoning. Since the doctor thought his Spanish good enough he did not ask for an interpreter and administered treatment for drug overdose. In the end, it had turn out to be a intracerebellar haemorrhage – the mistake in treatment lead to permanent health damage (Price-Wise, 2008). There are many other opportunities for misunderstandings, e.g. *embarazada* in Spanish means pregnant, not embarrassed. These are mistakes that can easily be made by a non-professional or even a trained interpreter who has not specifically specialised in medical interpreting. But research shows that even professionally trained medical interpreters make mistakes – they omit, add, substitute words, add their own perspectives, use idioms, words or phrases that did not exist in the patient's language (Rice, 2014). Unlike most of the interpreting fields, such mistakes are more dangerous, since it can lead to serious consequences or loss of life.

Medical interpreting can subject interpreters to numerous unpleasant experiences, including heart-breaking medical conditions and death, which can lead to vicarious trauma – health care interpreters face multiple sources of stress that can affect their job performance and long-term health and well-being. Neurological research too suggests that first-person interpreting may cause vicarious trauma, resulting in symptoms and reactions similar to post traumatic stress disorder (Burns, 2010).

An interpreter who worked with terminal cancer patients remembers that after the interpretation she had felt taken over by *a range of emotional states*, and, as the assignment was

over, a certain period of time she felt she was *not able to cope and nearly quit.* She also ads that every time at the end of the session she felt *very abandoned,* and looked for psychological help at the hospital, but was refused (Online 17). This example shows that medical interpreting can cause situations that lead to great distress when professional help is not guaranteed when an interpreter asks for it.

Another medical interpreter recalls working with an HIV-AIDS patient for three weeks, during which time people involved in arranging the patient, consulted the interpreter in all matters; he comments this deep involvement with the words: *so, in a way, I felt as though I had become him.* He was called in one Christmas morning and informed by the doctor to tell the patient that he had two days to live. The interpreter points out that the doctor did not say and *left without another word,* adding that *If I think about what happened, I still get absolutely furious [..] A pre and post briefing should have taken place. The doctor should have stayed with me while I spoke to the patient. I spent several hours with the patient before saying a final farewell* (Online 17). This shows that prolonged connection to a gravely ill patient can lead to an emotional link between patient and an interpreter; it also reveals that doctors themselves do not understand the role and responsibilities of an interpreter – doctor, who unlike the interpreter is trained to handle these kind of situations, should have herself informed the patient, since the interpreter is only a mediator, meaning that both parties have to be present. In this scenario, the interpreter performed not only the role of an interpreter, but also that of a doctor, which, as we can see, was a traumatic experience, that angered the interpreter even after a long period of time.

Medical interpreter Julie Burns reveals her traumatic experience that points out how pressured and emotionally wrecking the work of medical interpreters can be, and that even one day of interpreting at an hospital can be enough to push a professional over the edge (Burns, 2010):

After trying to interpret over the dim of a screaming child and his three unruly siblings at a routine follow-up appointment, my nerves were getting a bit frayed. Barely catching my breath, I scurried across campus to the saddest part of the hospital: the children oncology ward [..] I stepped into the patient's room and was immediately engulfed by the sorrow of all her extended family. My assignment: to interpret the last rites for the Catholic chaplain. I struggled with my own sense of sadness and futility. Barely recovering from that heart-wrenching experience, I spent the rest of my day in a blur. My last appointment with a woman in the delivery room labouring to give birth to a stillborn baby pushed me over the edge. I ended my

day by locking myself in the bathroom, sobbing uncontrollably, and wondering why I had chosen this profession.

Interpreters should know their own limits – if one has decided to become a medical interpreter, one should evaluate the risks and the enormous responsibility, and understand whether one is prepared to face the environment of the gravely ill and dying. Interpreters that are not specifically trained for medical interpreting should acquaint themselves with the possibly devastating damages they can cause because of lack of training – both terminological and psychological.

2.4.2. Court interpreting

Precise communication is vital in the courtroom, and those with lack of knowledge of the language used in the proceeding can find themselves in a vulnerable position – these people cannot interact with the legal system without language services; many, who do not know they have the rights to an interpreter or cannot afford one, feel humiliated, disempowered, dehumanized and unprotected by the system, since they often even cannot understand what they are being accused of or how the process of their case is handled by both sides when their freedom or livelihood is at stake (Online 20).

The field of court interpreting has some similarities with that of the situation of local interpreters during wartime. Namely, each side in the trial can see the interpreter not as an independent and impartial party, but rather as one of the group of the opposing side, thus subjecting interpreters to the same dangers attributed to lawyers, investigators and judges, with the difference that the mentioned groups receive more protection in case of any danger.

There are multiple cases when an interpreter's life has been at risk because of attacks from the side of the plaintiff or defendant. In the case of 20 men accused of plotting to overthrow the government of the Democratic Republic of Congo, an interpreter was attacked by three men (DRC nationalists supporting the accused) outside the courthouse threatening the interpreter and saying to *leave the case alone* (Sello, 2013). Another interpreter in Bangkok was attacked by four men and was threatened to be deported if he continued to interpret for the defendants, who were tried for the 2014 Bangkok bombing – they said to *stop helping two Uighurs escape* (Mokkhasen, 2016). This shows how interpreters are seen as allies of the opposing side, as part of the one or other group, not as impartial parties just doing their job. But the danger exists also inside the courtroom, a place that should be safe. A defendant in a Munich court put a headlock on his Russian interpreter pressing a 20-cm nail, that the he had retrieved from his cell, to the interpreter's neck (Online 21). Attacks can happen also during the investigation process – a

crowd attacked a team of UN investigators and an interpreter, who had entered a hospital in Beirut to retrieve certain lists of phone calls. Both the investigators and the interpreter had to receive medical attention (Online 30). One interpreter recalls that a U.S. marshal warned that an interpreter *should never sit next to a defendant in court,* as well as *should always sit around the corner of the table in case one needed to dock or run;* he also warned to be *aware of what is left on top of the table – a stapler or a pencil in the hands of a criminal can turn in to a murder weapon in a matter of seconds* (Online 12).

Other sources show that interpreters need to be careful not only of the accused but also of their co-workers in the courtroom. Some interpreters are ordered by the judge to perform tasks unrelated to their work, and are afraid to refuse out of fear of retribution– one judge made the interpreter sell tickets to an auction event organised by a judge-owned company (Online 22). Another interpreter felt humiliated when a judge and the court decided to play a prank on the interpreter and to hold her in contempt for being late – when she arrived in the hallway outside the courtroom, a public area where people were present, *the judge's bailiff handcuffed the interpreter over her protests and resistance and took her into the courtroom* (Online 22).

Interpreters point out that the difficulty is not only working in the presence of the accused or the pressure to be absolutely correct when interpreting, but also the specific language attributed to all those connected to court; as one court interpreter pointed out – *I have to be a judge, I have to be an attorney, I have to be a doctor, I have to be a layperson, I have to be a gang member, and I have to be an expert witness, and I have to have all of that vocabulary at the tip of my tongue in a different language* (Foley, 2016).

An interpreter should also be very careful not to make any mistakes in the courtroom, since someone's freedom or justice is on line – in such setting certain words can make the difference between imprisoning someone or letting them go. As one court interpreter comments, *it is a high-stake business, a single mistake can lead to an interpreter losing his or her licence, or worse. Even if I know the story behind a case, I have to be careful I don't add any words and only say what the person I am translating for says. In court everything is recorded, and they can take the tape out and check it* (Snowdon, 2014). Mistakes can even result in an overturned conviction, leading to a lot of lost time and funds (Online 23). One interpreter mentions a case of a court interpreter sent to prison for eight months after a defending party got the material proofread. Others recall the case of Spanish-English interpreter with 20 years' experience – while she was interpreting, a juror, who spoke a little Spanish, pointed out that the interpreter had made a mistake, which later on turned out not to be the case – the proceeding was stopped and the interpreter was ordered to retake the state certification test (Online 24).

Comments by court interpreters themselves on professional interpreter forums show the struggles that they face; one of these sites, named *indeed.com* (Online 24), provides an interesting inside look on how court interpreters perceive their job – most of the comment show frustration and signs of vicarious trauma. Some interpreters emphasise the unpleasant work atmosphere due to not only the criminals but also the attitude of other professionals in the courtroom.

The job requires an extremely low level of self-esteem. An ability to suffer verbal and physical abuse at the hands of criminals on daily bases […] Then there are the defendants to deal with. You will also need to possess the ability to grovel shamelessly and pretend that that fat slob of an attorney wearing the cheap black robe is actually a descendant of King Wilhelm of Prussia and thus worthy of flattery and adulation amen.

*Court interpreting [..] is very similar to food server in many ways. Working with ego-centric attorneys, judges and other self-important azzh*les is demanding and subservient. You cannot have self-respect and work for the courts at the same time.*

In other comments a certain level of frustration with the court system altogether is notable, as well as struggles with the fact that, being bound by professional ethical conduct, they cannot object in case of unjust situations.

Even though you are a human being with opinions, feelings, thoughts, emotions and experiences as a court interpreter you must set all that aside and act as if you didn't even exist while you help the U.S. court system abuse people day in and day out. Only someone with no self-esteem would accept working like this.

It's seeing this injustice on a daily basis while trying to do your job merits outrage.

You'll see all [your] beliefs routinely violated in the course of your daily work.

One interpreter points out the consequences of working in an environment with the mentioned disturbing elements.

We live the job every moment, every day. We are more alcoholic and more depressed than almost any other professional group because of it.

Some, on the other hand, prefer court interpreting saying that *the best thing about the job is that I'm just a shadow* (Online 24) and describe interpreting for criminals in the court with the *words I don't feel anything. It's a job*, yet adding *I don't feel ready to do child cases* (Snowdon, 2014). So, even though some interpreters seem to be comfortable enough in the

court setting, they themselves are well aware that there are areas they know they cannot handle, because of their own personalities and character.

Since in most cases interpreters are funded by the state or municipality, economic problems automatically lead to lack of adequate interpreting services. Many court interpreters all around the world leave the field since their salaries have greatly decreased and unqualified personnel are employed – both court interpreters and other professionals involved in the system point out that this unavoidably leads to worse circumstances for immigrants and refugees if and when they end up in court where *one's life relays on one's ability to relay a story* (Foley, 2016). Interpreters complain not only about the pay, but also of not being reimbursed for travelling expenses, cancelled trials, long hours; others describe the situation in court interpreting as *draconian* […] and with *horrifying working conditions* (Online 25). There are interpreters that fight back, e.g., in protest, UK court interpreters on one occasion decided to leave the courthouse collectively (Online 25), but many are afraid to speak out, since they have been warned by contractor agents not to speak ill of the company they work for or *they will suffer consequences* (Online 26).

Interpreters should be careful not to overstep their boundaries; out of compassion and wanting to help, some interpreters decide to give legal advice and tell clients what they should or should not do; this can have unwelcome consequences, since interpreters are not equipped with the needed legal knowledge and often just do more harm to the client (DeSantis, 2014).

2.4.3. Interpreting for the police

Countries or regions with high levels of immigration or refugee influx automatically have more foreign individuals breaking the law – be it illegal immigration, unfamiliarity with the law or belonging to criminal circles or gangs formed of individuals from the same origin country or religion. This poses the same problems as in the medical sector – the police have to interrogate not only the suspects but also family members, witnesses or anyone else involved in the crime or accident, with one police station often coming into contact with two dozen different languages every week. The languages acquired from the interpreters differ from city to city and are directly affected by political developments. In 2006 Bavaria alone had 83, 000 suspects of non-German origin (Online 27), but the situation has changed since the refugee crisis, with Arabic becoming more heard in police stations, unlike before when the regional languages, e.g., Italian, Slovenian, Albanian, Croatian, Serbian (Online 27), EU new member state languages as well as Turkish were more needed. In most parts of the U.S. the language

situation is also very colourful, with Spanish being the most prominent foreign language. Even though to ensure the process in different languages is very costly, not providing an interpreter for someone who has been detained can result in a lot of expense afterwards – a city in the U.S. had to pay $80,000 to a woman who was wrongfully arrested because she had no access to an interpreter (Bekiempis, 2016).

But working for the police poses many challenges and can be as dangerous as working in a hospital or in the court. As a result, some interpreters, even after decades of working in the field, decide to quit interpreting for the police. A former interpreter, who also quit, mentioned reasons such as being called at any time at night to come to in, low pay (in Germany in can drop below 20 Euros an hour), unpleasant environment that interferes with interpreting e.g., noise and fuss in the police station, as well as the fact that *the suspects <u>often</u> behave dangerously* (Online 27). Many interpreters are frustrated that the police are turning to the grey market, where interpreters are ready to work for very low charge leading to low quality. Others feel offended, since they are seen by the police only *as translating machines* even though they basically are *forced to the role of a policeman* (ibid.). The mentioned aggression of the suspects can also be potentially life threatening – even though occupied by dozens of policemen, the police stations are not as safe as some presume. An interpreter in Germany was attacked by a Montenegro asylum seeker with a knife, gaining neck injuries that were described as severe and life-threatening (Online 28). Apparently not all suspects are searched for weapons before interrogation. The media informed of another incident when an Afghan asylum seeker, having already assaulted several civilians, was detained and attacked both a policeman and an interpreter at the police station (Online 29).

An interpreter with 20 years of experience working for the police recalls traumatic interpreting assignments, pointing out the lack any formal debriefs after the end of the assignment, unlike police officers involved in the case:

And he was covered in blood…scratches… He was still shaking, and he was incoherent. I can still remember the smell of the blood and the whole atmosphere in that room. It was very confronting. It's very difficult to switch off. And you can't tell people what you just experienced. I mean it's a professional life […] I think most interpreters are not trained or have skills to cope with this (Carisbrooke, 2015).

2.4.4. Working in environments with refugees

Refugees are a vulnerable group if we consider language difficulties– in the case of recent refugee influx into Europe, most of them have no knowledge of the language of the country they go to. So, they are very dependent on those who interpret for them, since it affects their health, well-being and chances to gain asylum. Their ethnicity and religious beliefs can cause danger – recently there have been cases of interpreters overstepping their ethical code and giving false information to one or both sides, only because the refugees they come into contact belong to an opposing religious group (happens also if the interpreter is of Muslim faith), and express their personal antipathies by aimfully interpreting falsely (Snowdon, 2014), e.g., hiding information of abuse and vital medical information when it comes to refugee children; the victims almost always keep silent of this misconduct out of fear of retribution (Snowdon, 2014.).

Working as an interpreter, one should always take into account the environment and the circumstances surrounding the particular assignment. Not analysing potential risks, an interpreter can lower his or her guard and put their life in danger. An interpreter should always take into account the people for whom they are interpreting, understand their values and perceptions and cultural standards. A female interpreter working on a documentary about underage refugees in the so-called *Calais jungle-camps* was raped by a trio of refugees while the camera man was held under a knife (Allen, 2016). The interpreter should have better understood the risks of going in a camp with thousands of Muslim men, who are not known for their egalitarian views towards women, with only one man accompanying her. Working with refugees can also cause vicarious trauma or compassion fatigue; that is why some agencies concentrate on hiring interpreters who themselves have been immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers – having themselves dealt with the problems their clients are experiencing can create better environment for both groups.

It is clear that many interpreting fields can be dangerous to interpreters' health and life, especially in the medical and legal settings. Evidence shows that many interpreters do not know of these risks (at least not all of them) and are not prepared to deal with the psychological consequences. Interpreters often want to accept all jobs given to them, but one should never forget the aggravated risks because of the environment as well as of one's gender, religion or race, and remember that one's health and life are not worth a few dozen Euros that one would earn on a certain assignment. Interpreters should not only themselves understand the risks, but

should inform their employers and clients – *it is one of those intangibles that we must include in our fee, not as a separate item, but as a part of what you quantify during the process of preparing* (Online 12).

3. Risks faced by the interpreters in Latvia (based on a survey)

The situation of the interpreting market in Latvia is not particularly stable. The reasons for this are numerous, such as 1) general development of the profession in Latvia, 2) market being flooded with amateurs, 3) misconceptions by the employers about the profession and its role and 4) price dumping, to name a few. Since many employers, searching interpreters for a certain event, do not place quality as the main objective, unprofessional interpreters, who agree to lower wages, are employed, leading to price dumping. This results in a more unstable situation for professional interpreters, since they have less job opportunities and often have to put up with low pay, bad or even harmful working conditions, long hours and working without a partner. Interpreters are also less protected against other kinds of mistreatment from the employers, such as often not receiving compensation for travel expenses and cancelled events.

3.1. Survey questions

To determine the prevalence of certain risks to the interpreters working in Latvia, a survey with seven questions was launched on the site *VisiDati.lv*, a site that specialises on surveys. The survey was accessible to all who had the link, for the durations of 71 days, and resulted in the accumulation of 32 answers. The survey was presented to the participants in Latvian (see Appendix 1 for Latvian and English versions).

The first question asks the interpreter to state their gender; this was done not only to determine the possible gender proportions of the profession, but also in connection to survey questions on verbal/physical sexual abuse, that would presumably be attributed only to the female interpreters.

The second question was on years of experience in the interpreting profession, dividing interpreters into three groups on level of experience; this was done to avoid drawing wrong conclusions, since if the large majority of the participants were to be trainees or interpreters who have not been in the profession for a very long time (which means having little contact with environments containing the surveyed risks), the results would possibly show a distorted picture of the work conditions – the same can be said if the participants were predominantly with many years of experience.

The third question asks the respondents to reveal the frequency of exposure to certain risks. This includes such risks as physical trauma due to unsafe environment conditions (heavy

machinery, falling objects, out of place sharp objects etc.), since interpreters may be asked to work not only in conference rooms, but also in slaughter houses, construction sites or other unsafe environments; physical trauma caused directly by the client might occur in the proximity of sick patients or criminals (working for the police and court house) and can be both intentional and unintentional; both physical and verbal sexual assault can be experienced, at least in theory, by both female and male interpreters in basically any setting and can be caused by clients as well as employers and even colleagues; verbal assault can take many forms and be experienced in any work environment.

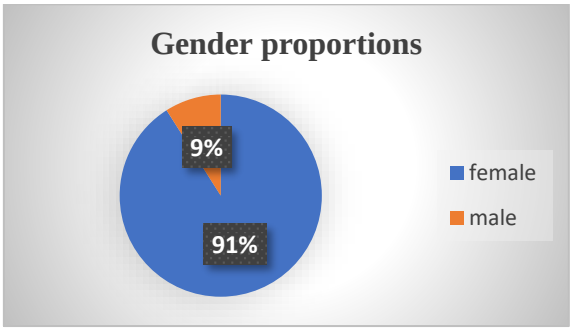
The fourth and fifth question determines the severity of the trauma and whether interpreters sought compensation for the harm done to them – the demand to compensate is especially popular in the U.S., for example. The sixth question, on whether interpreters have received threats during worktime, is due to the research showing such occurrence in other countries and most prominently in court interpreting. The seventh was an open question where interpreters could leave more detailed comments on risks they have faced working as interpreters. This question was included in hopes to gain a closer look and examples of professionals' work life risks.

3.2. Results of the survey

Gender proportions

Even though the number of participants was not extencive, the results show the general trend that the interpreting profession in Latvia is dominated by female interpreters.

Figure 3.1.

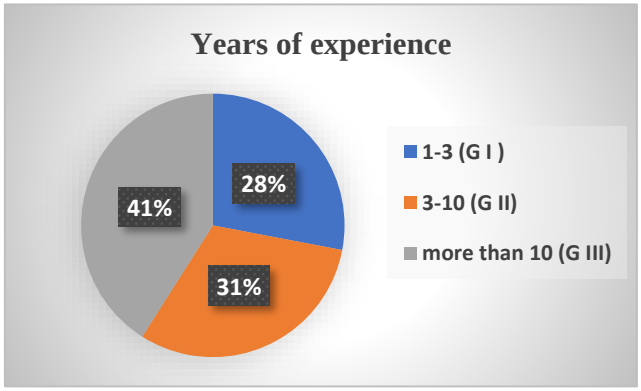


Years of experience

For the reasons mentioned in the last subchapter, it was important to determine the amount of experience for each of the participants of the survey; to determine how the frequency of exposure to different kind of trauma changes with more years in the profession, some of the

results from the next questions will be viewed separately for each group, with G-I representing participants with least experience and G-III representing those with most. Of course, more years on the job does not automatically ensure more experience, since each interpreter has different workloads. Still, it is unlikely that G-III would have less experience than G-I.

Figure 3.2.



Physical trauma due to unsafe environment

The acquired data shows that 1) this type of trauma is existent in all three groups, 2) frequency increases with time, 3) regardless of the group, the trauma is not experienced frequently for each interpreter individually, 4) almost half (42%) of the interpreters from G-III have experienced this type of trauma.

Figure 3.3.

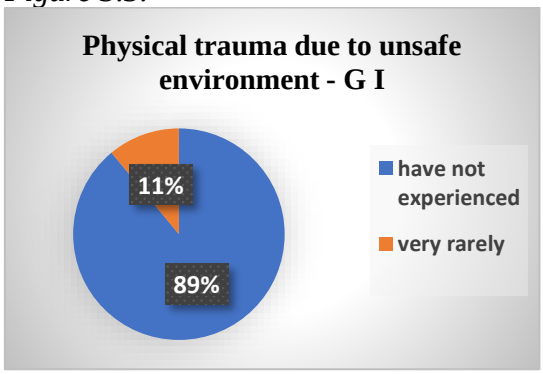


Figure 3.4.

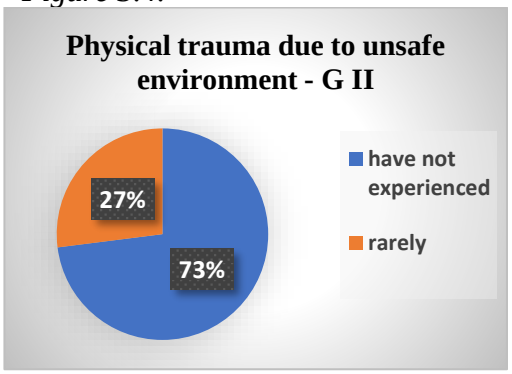
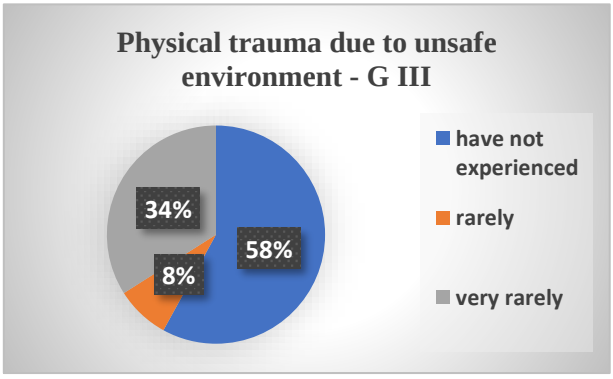


Figure 3.5.



Trauma caused directly by the client

The results show that such trauma is very rare – it is not pevelant in either G-I or G-III, causing to think that the 13% in G-II has been an exeptional case.

Figure 3.6.

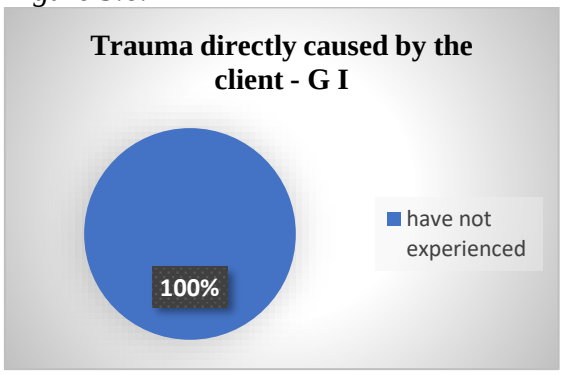


Figure 3.7.

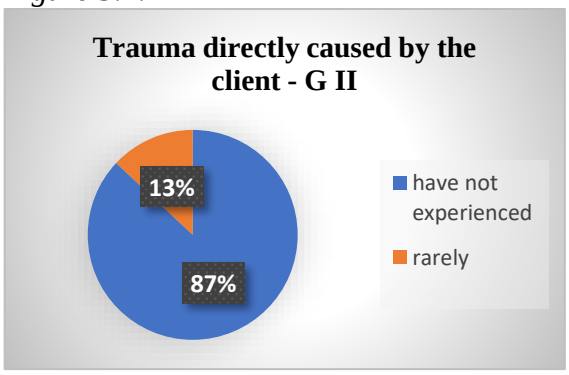
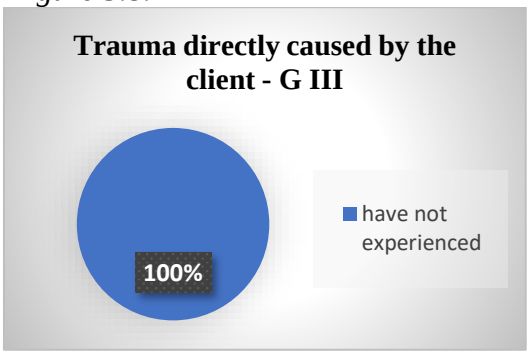


Figure 3.8.



Verbal sexual assault

The results show that 1) verbal sexual assault is found in G-II with 26% and G-III with 33%, 2) this type of assualt is not prevelant in the worklives of interpreters with little experience, 3) even though the percentages are not small, individually, interpreters experience such assault only rarely or very rarely.

Figure 3.9.

Figure 3.10.

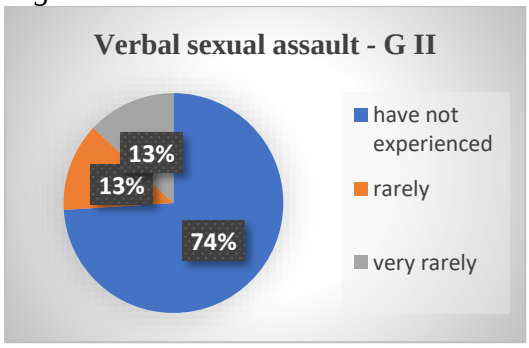
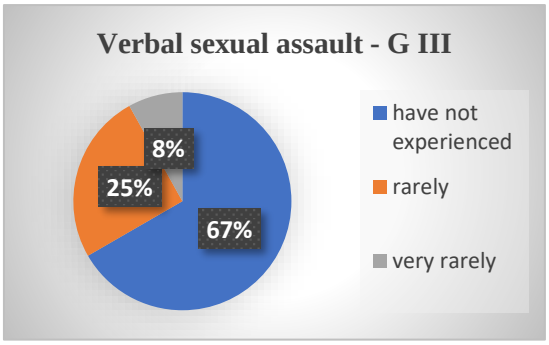


Figure 3.11.



Physical sexual assault

The data shows that 1) 26% of G-II[30] interpreters and 17% of G-III interpreters have experienced physical sexual assualt, 2) G-I interpreters have not experienced any physical assault, 3) while G-III participants experienced such assault only very rarely, G-II participants reported both very rare and rare occurrence, 4) physical sexual assaul is less common than verbal sexual assault.

Figure 3.12.

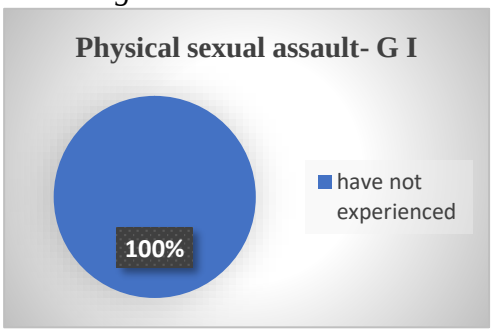


Figure 3.13.

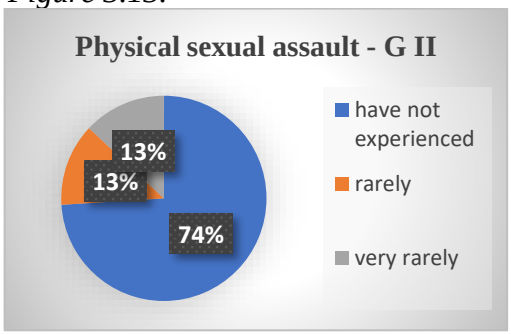
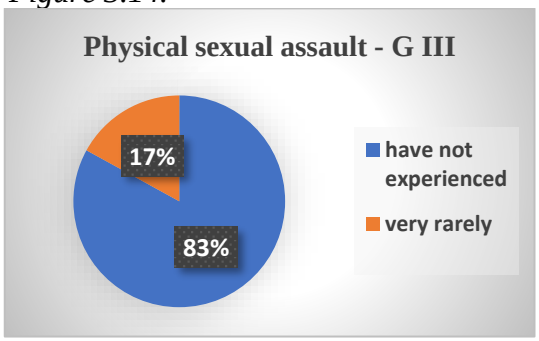


Figure 3.14.



[30] The fact that interpreters with 3-10-year experience (G-II) have been victim to physical sexual assault more often that interpreters with more than 10-year experience (G-III) is either circumstantial (due to the small number of participants) or shows correlation between age and possibility to be subjugated to such assault, presuming that G-II interpreters are of younger age and thus more likely to fall victim. Even so, it does not comply with the data of verbal sexual assault, which is more prominent in G-III; another explanation would be that physical sexual assault is a relatively recent development, thus touching the G-II more (again, providing that G-II is younger in age).

Verbal assault

Results show that 1) verbal assault is present in all groups, regardless of years of experience, 2) verbal assault is by far the most common risk (from those mentioned in the survey) in G-III with 43 % of the participating professionals having experienced it, 3) verbal assault is the only risk mentioned to be *very frequent*.

Figure 3.15.

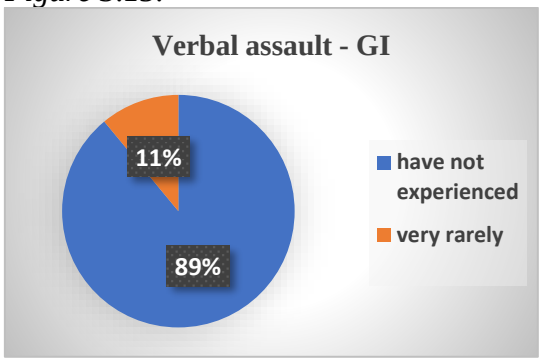


Figure 3.16.

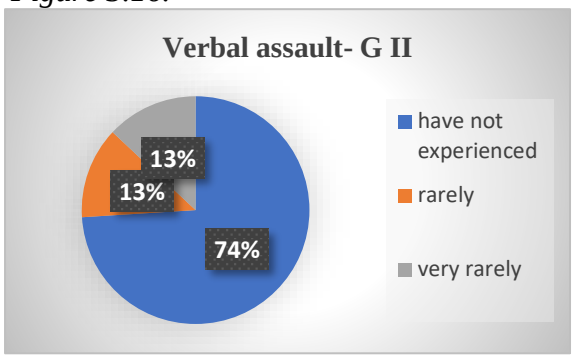
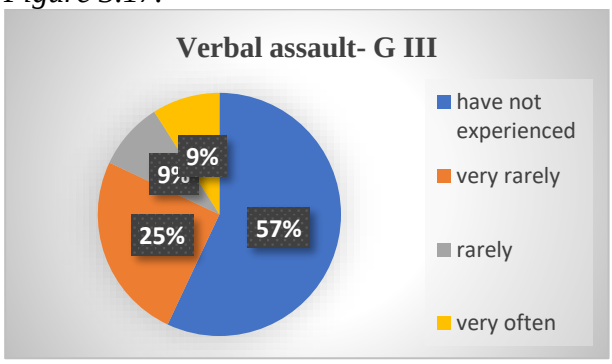


Figure 3.17.



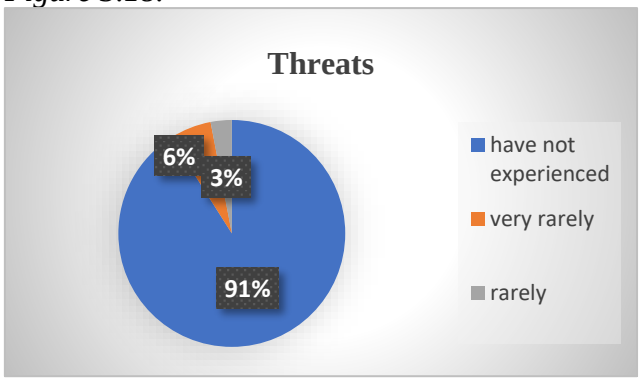
Seriousness of the injury and compensation

From those interpreters who revealed that day have experienced certain kind of trauma, 38% responded that the trauma was serious enough to seek professional medical attention, but 62% replied that the trauma was so minor that no medical assistance was needed; all those who had experienced trauma responded not to have asked for any compensation.

Threats

Of the 32 respondents, three (from each group one) responded to have experienced threats when at work.

Figure 3.18.



Comments on experienced trauma

The comments can be separated in certain groups:

Physical trauma or possibility of such trauma:

Respondent from G-III: *in a large event, due to the carelessness of a security guard, a was hit with microphone in the teeth (the person jumped onto me backwards), another time a woman, when trying not to fall, pierced my foot with her heel*.

Respondent from G-II: *traumas are due to carrying objects needed for interpreting (the work place was not prepared); the carrying of the equipment was under the instructions of the client (the interpreter is being forced by employer's psychological abuse methods to perform the work of the technical personnel)*; [have gained trauma] *due to dangerous/untidy environment at the access to the event; decrease in awareness because of exhaustion from too long shifts or shifts without a break.*

Respondent from G-III*: I have once been left alone with an inmate in a prison interview room and the inmate became infuriated by the fact that the policeman had not had the courage to appear in person when I had to read out some decision for him. He became so aggressive that I was really terrified but luckily, he did not turn his aggression on me. After a while, the prison guards noticed on the surveillance cameras what was going on, came and calmed him down.*

Verbal assault/humiliation:

Respondent from G-III: *Unfortunately, there are a lot of bad interpreters in the market, and clients say offensive generalised statements about all interpreters. I have received very serious offences because of the weak performance of other interpreters*.

Respondent form G-III: *Organisations humiliate interpreters on regular bases. I would like to*

specially mention The Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia, that don't see interpreters as human beings and perceive interpreters' work as entertainment rather than work.

Respondent from G-III: *the assaults and threats were coming from (some) fellow interpreters [..] When I found a suitable term, it was put into doubt and never apologised when it turned out to be correct. [..] I am traumatised by the inhuman attitude of some (majority are nice) fellow interpreters who are just nasty in order to have all well-paying jobs for them. So, my psychological traumas are related to colleagues and nothing else during my long interpreter worktime. However, these traumas are very serious and I have come to mistrust even those colleagues who are nice.*

Emotionally tense or frustrating situations

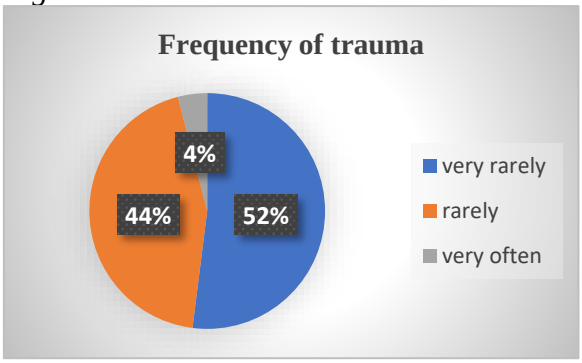
Respondent from G-III: *I have been involved in some events where the emotions have run high. However, everybody has always understood that as an interpreter I am just doing my job and I am not involved personally either in favour or against the parties concerned.*

Respondent from G-III: *The interpreting profession is a huge risk you should never even think of taking. You will be very unlikely to get a proper job and as a freelancer you will be struggling to make a living in today's market dominated by big companies. The days when interpreters made a decent living and were respected are gone. Today interpreting is seen as semi-profession nobody takes seriously.*

Conclusions

From the collected data, one can conclude that different kind of trauma is detectable in the Latvian interpreting market, but these traumas are not widespread. Even though in some categories, especially G-III, the percentages of those that have experienced certain kind of trauma are sometimes quite high, the frequency at which these traumas are experienced individually are not often. From all the affirmative answers 96% were with answers *very rare* and *rare*.

Figure 3.19.



The group that can more correctly[31] reveal the overall situation in the market is G-III, since the participants of this group have worked in the field the longest and have interpreted in most diverse situations; it is from this group that trainees and interpreters that have just started in the profession can learn of the possible risks and trauma one might experience during the career. If one is to expect working as an interpreter for at least ten years, then possibilities of traumatic experience are as follows, starting with most probable: verbal assault at 43%, physical trauma due to unsafe environment at 42%, verbal sexual assault at 33% (for female interpreters), physical sexual assault at 17% (for female interpreters[32]) and receiving threats at 9%, with very little possibility of gaining injuries directly caused by the client. Still, the possibility of experiencing at least one of the six traumas mentioned[33] in survey is at 83%; nevertheless, half of the G-III participants have experienced only one of the traumas, with no interpreter reporting more than three different categories.

Figure 3.20.

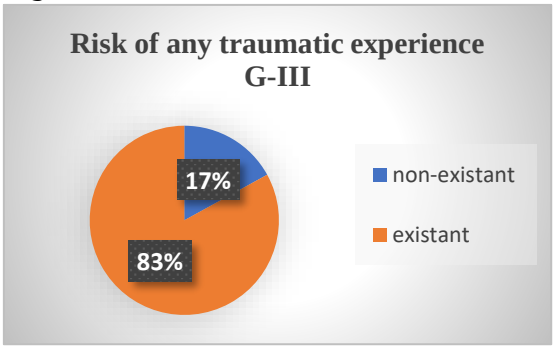
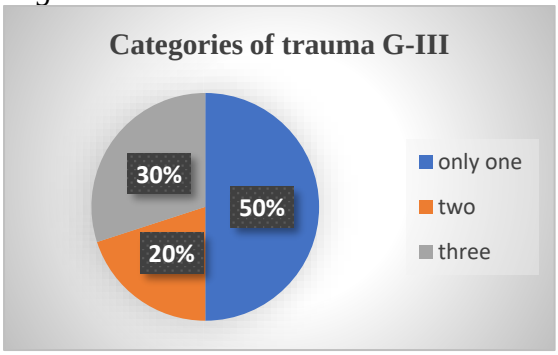


Figure 3.21.



[31] There are some inconsistencies in the respondent answers, since some interpreters, who had revealed having experienced at least one of the traumas mentioned in the third question, later in question four responded that they have not experienced any trauma; this could be explained with carelessness of the respondent, if not for the inconsistences being found in several answers. Another explanation is that verbal assault, verbal sexual assault and verbal physical assault are not seen as traumas (but even this does not explain why one interpreter from G-III, who had revealed to have experienced physical trauma due to unsafe environment, gave a negative answer in question four).

[32] According to the survey, the risk is non-existent for male interpreters, but number one male participants was too little to draw any conclusions.

[33] Physical trauma due to unsafe environment, verbal physical assault, physical sexual assault, verbal assault, trauma directly caused by the client and threats.

The experiences, that the interpreters shared in the survey, mention both physical trauma and mental traumatic experiences. The main cause for interpreters gaining physical trauma at work is due to employer's demand to move equipment, most likely the interpreting equipment (action directly towards the interpreter as a representative of the profession), as well accidents caused by the environment or other persons present (not directed towards the interpreter as a professional; could happen regardless of one's profession). Mental traumatic or simply unpleasant experiences are more diverse. Several interpreters mention the overall low regard for interpreters in the Latvian market, leading to disrespectful attitude towards both the profession and the interpreters; market being flooded with unqualified interpreters is mentioned as one of the main factors. One comment mentions client's aggressive behaviour in prison, fortunately not directed at the interpreter; interestingly, the reason for the aggression was that the employing side did not consider interpreter's role, leaving the interpreter in the role of a police man, even though an interpreter should only be a mediator with both parties present. But danger can come not only from the employers, but also from colleagues, with reported unfair and undignified attitude towards fellow colleagues, with some interpreters stating that they have altogether started mistrusting any interpreter they have to work with; interesting, that unlike other reports (listed in chapter two) that mention the accused or their supporters/opponents being the ones to threaten interpreters, the only mention of threats from the respondents are in connection to one's colleagues, not clients.

Conclusions

Both practicing interpreters and trainees should be informed of all the risks their profession might imply. Interpreters are often the key to successful communication between people and cultures, but are rarely knowledgeable of most problems they themselves or their fellow interpreters are forced to encounter as part of their daily routine. The goal of this MA thesis is to gain a more detailed look at both the mental and physical risks interpreters come into contact with in different interpreting fields, and whether these risks are detectable both in wartime as well as peacetime situations.

The first chapter shows how wartime interpreters have been and are an integral and inalienable part of a military conflict, not only providing fluent communication between different parties of the war, but also acting as spies and informants by infiltrating the enemy circles or the local population. In the more recent wars (Iraq, Afghanistan) most of the interpreters are local civilians, who have not been trained as professionals. But by working for the opposing side they face ethical dilemmas, often being torn between their duty to their family and work, as well as find themselves in a highly vulnerable position with danger to their life, when they are mistrusted and mistreated by their employers and despised and attacked by their fellow countrymen.

Like in any profession, the level of our safety is determined by the environment we work in and the amount of care and protection that is ensured by the employers. Chapter two of the work reveals the risks both to mental and physical health that interpreters are subjugated to, mostly in such interpreting fields as medical, court and police interpreting. Interpreters might get injured or be attacked by defendants in court or the police station, as well as get infected with different kind of diseases when being in close contact with the clients in any of the mentioned environments. Although interpreters do face physical risks, they are not as prominent as various mental traumas gained while interpreting; these risks can prove to be even more dangerous, such as vicarious trauma and compassion fatigue, since interpreters often themselves are not aware that it is their work that has caused distress both at work and private life, due to symptoms being numerous and appearing seemingly unrelated to work. These environments in themselves can prove to be quite stressful providing extraordinary situations, and with the majority of interpreters not being trained to deal with the metal strain and not receiving any help from their employers, serious mental traumas are not an exception among the professionals. Ethical code that interpreters are obliged to follow as professionals can also

serve as reason for great distress, since not being allowed to express one's opinion, give advice, and console or emotionally connect with the client, can mentally greatly affect an interpreter over time, especially in such setting as hospitals or courtrooms. This begs to think of the problem that interpreters themselves mention, namely, being seen as mere *interpreting machines* by their employers; but basically, to follow all the aspects of interpreter professional code often implies being such a *machine,* if only for the time of the interpreting session. What causes problems is the treatment of interpreters before and after the session, when both interpreters themselves and most importantly their employers should find ways to discuss, if necessary with a professional, the possibly traumatic experiences during the session. Support in these situations, also from fellow interpreters, is essential.

The third chapter of the MA thesis reveals some of the physical and metal risks that interpreters in Latvia are subjected to. Thirty-two professional interpreters participated in the survey consisting of seven questions; these included inquiries into physical traumas gained during worktime as well as the various mentally potentially traumatic experiences – verbal harassment, verbal or physical sexual assault and threats. The results revealed that even though the majority of interpreters during their careers do experience at least one of the mentioned traumas, they are not frequent. Unlike the previous chapter that showed the client as the main cause for trauma, survey participants mention their employers' as well as their fellow interpreters' negative and disrespectful attitude as the main cause for distress.

Further research with greater number of participants should be carried out to more closely determine the risks, especially mental health risks, that interpreters in Latvia face, both among all the professionals as one group and interpreters that mainly work in medical and court interpreting. Interpreting programmes should inform the trainees more in detail of the possible health risks.

Theses

1) Interpreters face dangers to their physical and mental health and life in peacetime conditions as well as wartime environment.
2) Wartime interpreters, who are mostly civilians local to the land being invaded, perform tasks far outside those assigned to peacetime professional interpreters, and act also as spies, informants, diplomats and cultural advisors.
3) Being citizens of the invaded country but at the same time working for the invading forces places local interpreters in an *in-between zone*, as part of both groups; it poses various ethical dilemmas for the interpreters and places them in a position where both sides mistreat and distrust them.
4) Local wartime interpreters are often kidnapped, tortured and/or killed by their fellow countrymen for being labelled traitors for working with the enemy; their employers (the invading forces) show close to no interest in helping them, which has lead to devastatingly high number of local interpreter casualties in the recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.
5) The level of danger during peacetime greatly depends on the interpreting field – most risks present themselves in medical, court and police interpreting.
6) Physical risks include health issues from chronic stress, being attacked and injured by a defendant in courtroom or detainees in police station, as well as contracting certain diseases in hospitals or environments with refugees and migrants.
7) Some of the more serious mental health risks for interpreters include vicarious trauma (trauma from victim partly passes to the interpreter, causing similar symptoms) and compassion fatigue (causes extreme state of tension by constant preoccupation with the suffering of the victim/client), that left untreated can lead to serious health issues.
8) Interpreters, regardless of the field, often experience mental distress both due to mistreatment or lack of support from their employers and disrespectful attitude from their colleagues (both interpreters and other colleagues, e.g., lawyers, judges and doctors).
9) Ethical professional code can also be the reason for great distress for interpreters, since they cannot express their opinion, give advice or interfere; but if interpreters disregard the code, they are at the risk of causing a lot of damage, mostly because of their lack of knowledge of the situation they are interpreting for, e.g., legal or medical knowledge.

10) The results of the survey carried out for the purpose of this MA thesis showed that both mental and physical traumas are not widespread in the work of interpreters in Latvia, but, if the career span exceeds ten years, the possibility of experiencing at least one of the analysed traumas is 83%.
11) The possibility of experiencing certain traumas during own's career as an interpreter are as follows: verbal assault at 43%, physical trauma due to unsafe environment at 42%, verbal sexual assault at 33%, physical sexual assault at 17% and receiving threats at 9%, with very little possibility of gaining injuries directly caused by the client.
12) Interpreters in Latvia mention being forced to move equipment for interpreting events, being mistreated by their interpreting colleagues, being verbally humiliated by their employers and working long hours with no breaks.
13) Interpreters should be better informed of all the risks connected to their work; interpreting programmes should include lectures about these risks and ways how to deal with them.

References

Allen, Peter (2016) Calais Jungle rape suspects held after female TV channel interpreter is subjected to sickening sex attack. Available from http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/world-news/calais-jungle-rape-suspects-held-9193394 [Accessed on 15 February 2017]

Baigorri-Jalon, Jesus (2010) Wars, languages and the role(s) of interpreters. *Les liaisons dangereuses: langues, traduction, interpretation*. Available from https://hal-confremo.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00599599/document [Accessed on 12 February 2017]

Baker, Mona (2010) Interpreters and Translators in the War Zone. *The Translator*, 16 (2): 197-222 http://www.academia.edu/228635/Interpreters_and_Translators_in_the_War_Zone_Narrated_and_Narrators [Accessed on 27 February 2017]

Baker, Catherine (2010) The care and feeding of linguists: the working environment of interpreters, translators and linguists during peacekeeping in Bosnia-Herzegovina. *War & Society*, 29:2. Available from https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/fcb0/70bc1b452404cbc9545c9bb101d448e94546.pdf [Accessed on 10 February 2017]

Bekiempis, Victoria (2016) EXCLUSIVE: Deaf woman who accused NYPD cops of wrongful arrest, denying her interpreter gets $80G from city. Available from http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/deaf-woman-80g-wrongful-arrest-suit-nypd-article-1.2912383 [Accessed on 7 March 2017]

Brooks, Richard (2016) Translators at War. Available from http://www.k-international.com/blog/translators-at-war/ [Accessed on 2 March 2017]

Burns, Julia (2010) Stress Busters for Interpreters. The ATA Chronicle, 2010. Available from http://www.imiaweb.org/uploads/docs/interpreterstress_julie_burns.pdf [Accessed on 22 February 2017]

Caldwell, Jasmin (2016) Sign Language interpreter arrested for inappropriate conduct with student. Available from http://www.newsplex.com/content/news/Sign-Language-interpreter-arrested-for-inappropriate-conduct-with-student--395465681.html [Accessed on 3 April 2017]

Carisbrooke, Phillippa (2015) Trauma takes toll on interpreters in confronting cases. Available from http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2015/02/10/trauma-takes-toll-interpreters-confronting-cases [Accessed on 19 February 2017]

Carty, Breda (2010) *Interpreters in our midst*. Available from http://blog.ablio.com/the-interpreter-in-popular-culture/ [Accessed on 2 March 2017]

Collingwood, Jane (n.d.) The Physical Effects of Long-Term Stress. Available from https://psychcentral.com/lib/the-physical-effects-of-long-term-stress/ [Accessed on 14 February 2017]

Conley, Kirstan (2014) Court interpreter attacked, robbed in three-man ambush. Available from http://nypost.com/2014/01/02/court-interpreter-attacked-robbed-in-three-man-ambush/ [Accessed on 26 February 2017]

Darwish, Ali (2008) Occupational Hazards in a Hazardous Occupation: Issues of Heath and Safety in Translation and Interpreting. *Translation Watch Quarterly*, 4 (2): 74-79. Available from http://www.translocutions.com/turjuman/papers/translation_watch_quarterly_December2008_issue_darwish.pdf [Accessed on 7 March 2017]

DeSantis, John (2014) Lost in Translation: Court interpreter's arrest highlights system shortcomings. Available from https://www.houmatimes.com/news/lost-in-translation-court-interpreter-s-arrest-highlights-system-shortcomings/article_162047e6-1cd0-11e4-8abe-001a4bcf887a.html [Accessed on 22 February 2017]

Faler, Jason (2009) Saving Iraqi Interpreters. Available at http://weekendamerica.publicradio.org/display/web/2009/01/10/saving_interpreters.html [Accessed on 17 March 2017]

Foley, Elisa (2016) Court Interpreters Say When They're Mistreated, Immigrants Suffer Too. Available from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/immigration-court-interpreters_us_5846ef38e4b016eb81d82ef3 [Accessed on 22 February 2017]

Fouzder, Monidipa (2017) Government fee cut blamed for interpreter mistake. Available from https://www.lawgazette.co.uk/law/government-fee-cut-blamed-for-interpreter-mistake/5059322.article [Accessed on 27 February 2017]

Foustsept, Joshua (2009) Maladies of Interpreters. Available from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/22/opinion/22foust.html?_r=1&ref=global-home [Accessed on 2 March 2017]

Gaiba, Francesca (1998) The Origins of Simultaneous Interpretation: The Nuremberg Trial. Ottawa: Universitiy of Ottawa Press, p.25-32. Available from https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=qP2PQkhDVbcC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false [Accessed on 14 February 2017]

Huprich, Lisa (2012) Stressfaktoren beim Simultandolmetschen, Wien, 2012 Available from http://othes.univie.ac.at/20365/1/2012-05-18_0307124.pdf [Accessed on 15 February 2017]

Isherwood, Charles (2008) Seduced and Abandoned by Promises of Freedom http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/07/theater/reviews/07betr.html [Accessed on 2 March 2017]

Karliner, Leah S, Elizabeth A Jacobs, Alice Hm Chen, and Sunita Mutha (2007) Do Professional Interpreters Improve Clinical Care for Patients with Limited English Proficiency? A Systematic Review of the Literature. *Health Serv Res*.; 42(2): 727–754. Available from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1955368/ [Accessed on 7 March 2017]

Kurz, Ingrid (2003) Physiologocal Stree During Simulateneous Interpreting: A comparison of Exprets and Novices. University of Vienna, 2003. Available from https://dspace.sba.units.it/dspace/bitstream/10077/2472/1/03.pdf [Accessed on 19 February 2017]

Lor, Mailee (2012) Effects of Client Trauma on Interpreters: An Exploratory Study of Vicarious Trauma. Available from http://sophia.stkate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1053&context=msw_papers [Accessed on 17 March 2017]

Meinhart, Edith (2015) Mustafa Hadi: Der Dolmetscher der Republik https://www.profil.at/oesterreich/mustafa-hadi-dolmetscher-republik-5940672 [Accessed on 27 March 2017]

Moerman, Ellen (2005) Interpreters under Fire. Available at https://aiic.net/page/2977/interpreters-under-fire/lang/1 [Accessed on 16 February 2017]

Mokkhasen, Sasiwan (2016) Bombing Suspect Interpreter Arrested After Telling Court 'I Worry About My Life'. Available from http://www.khaosodenglish.com/news/crimecourtscalamity/courts/2016/06/01/bombing-suspect-interpreter-arrested-after-telling-court-i-worry-about-my-life/ [Accessed on 7 March 2017]

Monacelli, Claudia (2010) Interpreters for peace. In G. Garzone, M. Viezzi (eds) *Interpreting in the 21st Century Challenges and opportunities.* Selected papers from the 1st Forlì Conference on Interpreting Studies, 9–11 November 2000. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. Available from http://dlx.bookzz.org/genesis/451000/f1b28a2eaa6669f2657b3c4e1e27a68c/_as/ [Accessed on 15 February 2017]

Moser-Mercer, Barbara and Bali,Grégoire (2009) Interpreting in zones of crisis and war. Available from https://aiic.net/page/2979 [Accessed on 2 March 2017]

Oslay, Theodore, Cumulative Trauma Injury. Available from http://www.dynamicchiropractic.com/mpacms/dc/article.php?id=43239 [Accessed on 17 February 2017]

Packer, George (2007) Betrayed. Available from http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2007/03/26/betrayed-2 [Accessed on 24 February 2017]

Paweł Korpal (2016) Linguistic and psychological indicators of stress in simultaneous interpreting. Poznań. p.50.-51., 86.-87., 124.-125., 172-174. Available from https://repozytorium.amu.edu.pl/bitstream/10593/14590/1/Pawel%20Korpal%20PhD.pdf [Accessed on 3 April 2017]

Peter, Tom (2008) An Iraqi interpreter as chronicler of the war. Available from http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2008/0813/p06s01-wome.html [Accessed on 15 February 2017]

Pöhle, Sven (2014) Dolmetscher zwischen den Fronten. Available from http://www.dw.com/de/dolmetscher-zwischen-den-fronten/a-17835906 [Accessed on 13 April 2017]

Price-Wise, Gail (2008) Language, Culture, And Medical Tragedy: The Case Of Willie Ramirez. Available from http://healthaffairs.org/blog/2008/11/19/language-culture-and-medical-tragedy-the-case-of-willie-ramirez/ [Accessed on 16 February 2017]

Read, Russ (2016) *Left Behind: Iraqi Interpreter Faces Death Threats For Helping US Troops* Available from http://dailycaller.com/2016/04/20/left-behind-iraqi-interpreter-faces-death-threats-for-helping-us-troops/ [Accessed on 7 March 2017]

Rice, Sabriya (2014) Hospitals often ignore policies on using qualified medical interpreters. Available from http://www.modernhealthcare.com/article/20140830/MAGAZINE/308309945 [Accessed on 3 April 2017]

Rosado, Tony (2017) A promise tot he Iraqi interpreters. Available at https://rpstranslations.wordpress.com/?s=attack [Accessed on 27 March 2017]

Rosendo, Ruiz, L. & Persaud, C. (2016). Interpreting in conflict zones throughout history. Linguistica Antverpiensia, New Series: Themes in Translation Studies, 15, 1–35. Available from https://lans-tts.uantwerpen.be/index.php/LANS-TTS/article/view/428/370 [Accessed on 23 April 2017]

Sello, Lenyaro (2013) Interpreter attacked as alleged rebels appear in court. Available from http://www.enca.com/south-africa-africa/interpreter-attacked-alleged-rebels-appear-court

Snowdon, Graham (2014) The interpreter: Lost in translation. Available from https://www.theguardian.com/money/2010/apr/10/an-interpreter [Accessed on 2 March 2017]

Stegall, Albert (2014) Sheriff: Spanish interpreter for Public Defender's office arrested for fraud. Available from http://www.wafb.com/story/26096281/sheriff-spanish-interpreter-for-public-defenders-office-arrested-for-fraud [Accessed on 17 March 2017]

Stewardson, Jill (2016) Interpreter Trauma. Available from http://www.aslstew.com/single-post/2016/03/26/Interpreter-Trauma [Accessed on 7 March 2017]

Thibodeaux, William (2011) World War II Spies, Interpreters and Heroes. Available from http://patmire.com/press/world-war-ii-spies-interpreters-and-heroes/ [Accessed on 3 May 2017]

Tryuk, M. (2016). Interpreting and translating in Nazi concentration camps during World War II. Linguistica Antverpiensia, New Series: Themes in Translation Studies, 15, 121–141. Available from https://lans-tts.uantwerpen.be/index.php/LANS-TTS/article/view/386/368 [Accessed on 2 March 2017]

Veisbergs, Andrejs (2009) Konferenču tulkošana. Rīga: Zinātne

White, Jennifer W. (2012). Interpreting trauma: exploring the experience of compassion fatigue among professional medical interpreters : a project based on responses from the voluntary participation of professional medical interpreters at several major urban health care facilities (2012). Theses, Dissertations, and Projects. 886. Available from http://scholarworks.smith.edu/theses/886/ [Accessed on 3 April 2017]

Zenizo, Amy Lyn (2013) Self-Care in the Field of Interpreting. Master's Theses. Paper 3. http://digitalcommons.wou.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=theses [Accessed on 3 April 2017]

Zuege, Unsie (2014) WWII vet recalls his service as interpreter http://www.swnewsmedia.com/big_fish_lifestyle/living/wwii-vet-recalls-his-service-as-interpreter/article_8e882089-ea93-528a-bead-12d66e4f56b2.html [Accessed on 3 May 2017]

Internet sources

1) Military Interpreting: For many interpreters the least known part of the profession (2014) Rosado Professional Solutions (RPS) Available from https://rpstranslations.wordpress.com/2014/11/10/military-interpreting-for-many-interpreters-the-least-known-part-of-the-profession/

2) Aufnahme afghanischer Ortskräfte oft abgelehnt (2014) Available from http://www.dw.com/de/aufnahme-afghanischer-ortskräfte-oft-abgelehnt/a-17601669 [Accessed on 17 March 2017]

3) Afghanischer Bundeswehr-Übersetzer getötet 2013 Available from http://www.dw.com/de/afghanischer-bundeswehr-übersetzer-getötet/a-17248831 [Accessed on 2 March 2017]

4) Berufsverbände für Dolmetscher fordern humanitäres Asylverfahren für afghanische Kollegen (2013) Available from http://www.bdue.de/de/fuer-presse-medien/presseinformationen/pm-detail/berufsverbaende-fuer-dolmetscher-fordern-humanitaeres-asylverfahren-fuer-afghanische-kollegen/ [Accessed on 7 March 2017]

5) France: un collectif d'avocats à l'attaque pour défendre les interprètes afghans (2016) Available from http://www.rfi.fr/france/20160404-collectif-avocats-passe-attaque-defendre-interpretes-afghans [Accessed on 12 May 2017]

6) Berufsverbände für Dolmetscher fordern humanitäres Asylverfahren für afghanische Kollegen (2013) Available from https://aiic.de/press/berufsverbaende-fuer-dolmetscher-fordern-humanitaeres-asylverfahren-fuer-afghanische-kollegen/ [Accessed on 2 March 2017]

7) Telephone Interpreter Sued for Life-and-Death Address Error (2014) Available from http://www.responsivetranslation.com/blog/telephone-interpreter-sued-for-life-and-death-address-error/ [Accessed on 12 May 2017]

8) Interpreter imprisoned for providing illegal immigration advice (2016) Available from https://www.gov.uk/government/news/interpreter-imprisoned-for-providing-illegal-immigration-advice [Accessed on 27 March 2017]

9) Court interpreter arrested (2016) Available from http://www.observer.co.za/court-interpreter-arrested/ [Accessed on 12 May 2017]

10) Court interpreter arrested for corruption (2010) Available from http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/court-interpreter-arrested-for-corruption-489130 [Accessed on 17 March 2017]

11) Factors that affect interpreters' health (2000) Available from https://aiic.net/page/134/factors-that-affect-interpreters-health/lang/1 [Accessed on 7 March 2017]

12) RPS (2016) How safe are we as interpreters? Available from https://rpstranslations.wordpress.com/tag/jail/ [Accessed on 2 March 2017]

13) Vicarious Trauma (2016). Available from http://www.goodtherapy.org/blog/psychpedia/vicarious-trauma [Accessed on 12 May 2017]

14) Breaking Silence: What Interpreters Need to Know About Victim. Services Interpreting. Available from http://www.atanet.org/chronicle-online/cover-feature/breaking-silence-what-interpreters-need-to-know-about-victim%E2%80%A8services-interpreting/ [Accessed on 27 March 2017]

16) Vicarious Trauma in Interpreters Serving Survivors (2015) Available from http://voice-of-love.org/vicarious-trauma-in-interpreters-serving-survivors/ [Accessed on 12 May 2017]

17) Vicarious Trauma in Interpreting (2012) Available from http://www.expresslanguagesolutions.com/blog/2012/07/vicarious-trauma-in-interpreting/ [Accessed on 12 May 2017]

18) What is Projective Identification? Available from http://drsoleary.com/Projective_Identification.htm [Accessed on 7 March 2017]

19) Recognizing Compassion Fatigue. Available from http://www.compassionfatigue.org/pages/symptoms.html [Accessed on 2 March 2017]

20) Interpreting Justice: Introduction Available from http://www.legalservicesnyc.org/what-we-do/practice-areas-and-projects/civil-rights-initiative/interpreting-justice-language-access-in-the-new-york-courts/introduction [Accessed on 12 May 2017]

21) Interpreter attacked in Munich court (2005). Available from http://transblawg.eu/2005/10/13/interpreter-attacked-in-munich-courtdolmetscherin-wird-von-tv-anwalt-gerettet/ [Accessed on 2 May 2017]

22)Judicial Misconduct Involving Court Interpreters (2015) State of California Commission on Judicial Performance. Available from http://www.courts.ca.gov/documents/BTB23_FRI_How_to_Improve_3.pdf [Accessed on 12 May 2017]

23) Arkansas Translation Error by Court Interpreter Leads to New Trial (2012) Available from https://www.legallanguage.com/legal-articles/court-interpreter-arkansas/ [Accessed on 12 May 2017]

24) Forum on court interpreting, created (2008) https://www.indeed.com/forum/job/spanish-interpreter/Court-Interpreting-Sucks-Let-me-count-ways/t142460/p2 [Accessed on 12 May 2017]

25) Rosado Professional solutions (2015) Disrespecting the (immigration) interpreter Available from https://rpstranslations.wordpress.com/2015/08/31/disrespecting-the-immigration-interpreter/ [Accessed on 1May 2017]

26)Rosado Professional solutions (2016) Government contractor continues to humiliate U.S. interpreters. Available from https://rpstranslations.wordpress.com/2016/01/25/government-contractor-continues-to-humiliate-u-s-interpreters/ [Accessed on 27 March 2017]

27) Viele Dolmetscher wollen nicht mehr für die Polizei arbeiten (2009). Available from https://www.merkur.de/lokales/muenchen/stadt-muenchen/viele-dolmetscher-wollen-nicht-mehr-polizei-arbeiten-294462.html [Accessed on 7 March 2017]

28) Mann sticht Dolmetscher Messer in den Hals (2015) Available from https://www.blickpunkt-nienburg.de/nienburg/44-jaehriger-mann-geschlossene-abteilung-eingewiesen-5539356.html [Accessed on 12 May 2017]

29) Faustschläge, Stalking, Onanieren: 17-Jähriger rastet aus (2017) Available from http://www.heute.at/oesterreich/salzburg/story/14742563 [Accessed on 12 April 2017]

30) Crowd attacks UN's Hariri's case investigators in Beirut (2010) https://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2010/10/27/123930.html [Accessed on 2 March 2017]

APPENDIX 1

Latvian version:

1. Jūsu dzimums

☐ Sieviete

☐ Vīrietis

2. Cik ilgi esat bijis/-usi tulks

☐ 1-3 gadus

☐ 3-10 gadus

☐ vairāk nekā 10 gadus

3. Vai ir nācies saskarties ar kādu no zemāk minētajām fiziskajām vai emocionālajām traumām, pildot darba pienākumus?

	nekad	ļoti reti	reti	regulāri	ļoti bieži
Fiziska trauma bīstamas vides dēļ (smagā tehnika, asi objekti, krītoši objekti un tml.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Klienta tieši radīta fiziska trauma	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fiziska seksuālā uzmākšanās	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Verbāla seksuālā uzmākšanās	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Verbāla pazemošana	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. Trauma(s) bija (vairākas atbildes iespējamas)

☐ Maznozīmīga (nebija vajadzīga ārsta palīdzība)

☐ Ne pārāk nopietna, bet bija vajadzīga ārsta palīdzība

☐ Nopietna (hospitalizācija)

☐ Neesmu saskāries/-usies ar iepriekš minētajām traumām

☐ Cits ☐

5. Vai prasījāt kompensāciju par nodarīto kaitējumu veselībai?

☐ Nē

☐ Jā, bet kompensāciju nesaņēmu

☐ Jā, un kompensāciju saņēmu

☐ Neesmu saskāries/-usies ar iepriekš minētajām traumām

☐ Cits

---

6. Vai esat darba laikā saņēmis draudus?

	nekad	ļoti reti	reti	regulāri	ļoti bieži
Draudu biežums	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. Ja ir nācies saskarties ar kādu no iepriekš minētajām traumām, tuvāki komentāri par gadījumu būtu noderīgi. Visa iegūtā informācija ir konfidenciāla. Nav nepieciešams pieminēt organizāciju vai cilvēku vārdus.
(atbilde uz jautājumu nav obligāta)

English version:

1. Are you

☐ female

☐ male

2. How long have you been an interpreter

☐ 1-3 years

☐ 3-10 years

☐ more than 10 years

3. Have you ever experienced any of these physical or emotional traumas during worktime?

	never	very rarely	rarely	often	very often
Physical trauma due to unsafe environment conditions (heavy machinery, falling objects, out of place sharp objects etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Physical trauma caused directly by the client	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Physical sexual assault	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Verbal sexual assault	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Verbal assault	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

---

4. The trauma was

☐ light (did not require professional medical attention)

☐ was not serious but I did seek professional medical attention

☐ was very serious – I was hospitalized

☐ did not experience any trauma

5. Did you seek compensation for the damage done to your health?

☐ no

☐ yes, but didn't get the compensation

☐ yes, and I received the compensation

☐ did not experience any trauma

6. Have you received threats because of your work?

	never	very rarely	rarely	often	very often
Frequency of threats	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. Please comment on your experience. All received information will be confidential. It is not necessary to mention names or organizations involved.

Dokumentārā lapa

Maģistra darbs “The Risks of the Interpreting Profession” (Tulka profesijas riski) izstrādāts LU Humanitāro zinātņu fakultātē.

Ar savu parakstu apliecinu, ka pētījums veikts patstāvīgi, izmantoti tikai tajā norādītie informācijas avoti un iesniegtā darba elektroniskā kopija atbilst izdrukai.

Autors: Līva Suitiņa 02.06.2017.

Rekomendēju darbu aizstāvēšanai

Vadītāja: Dr.paed. Ilze Norvele

Recenzents:

Darbs iesniegts Anglistikas/Sastatāmās valodniecības un tulkošanas nodaļā 02.06.2017.

Lietvede/Studiju metodiķe:

Darbs aizstāvēts maģistra gala pārbaudījuma komisijas sēdē

…… prot. Nr. ….., vērtējums ……..

Komisijas sekretāre: