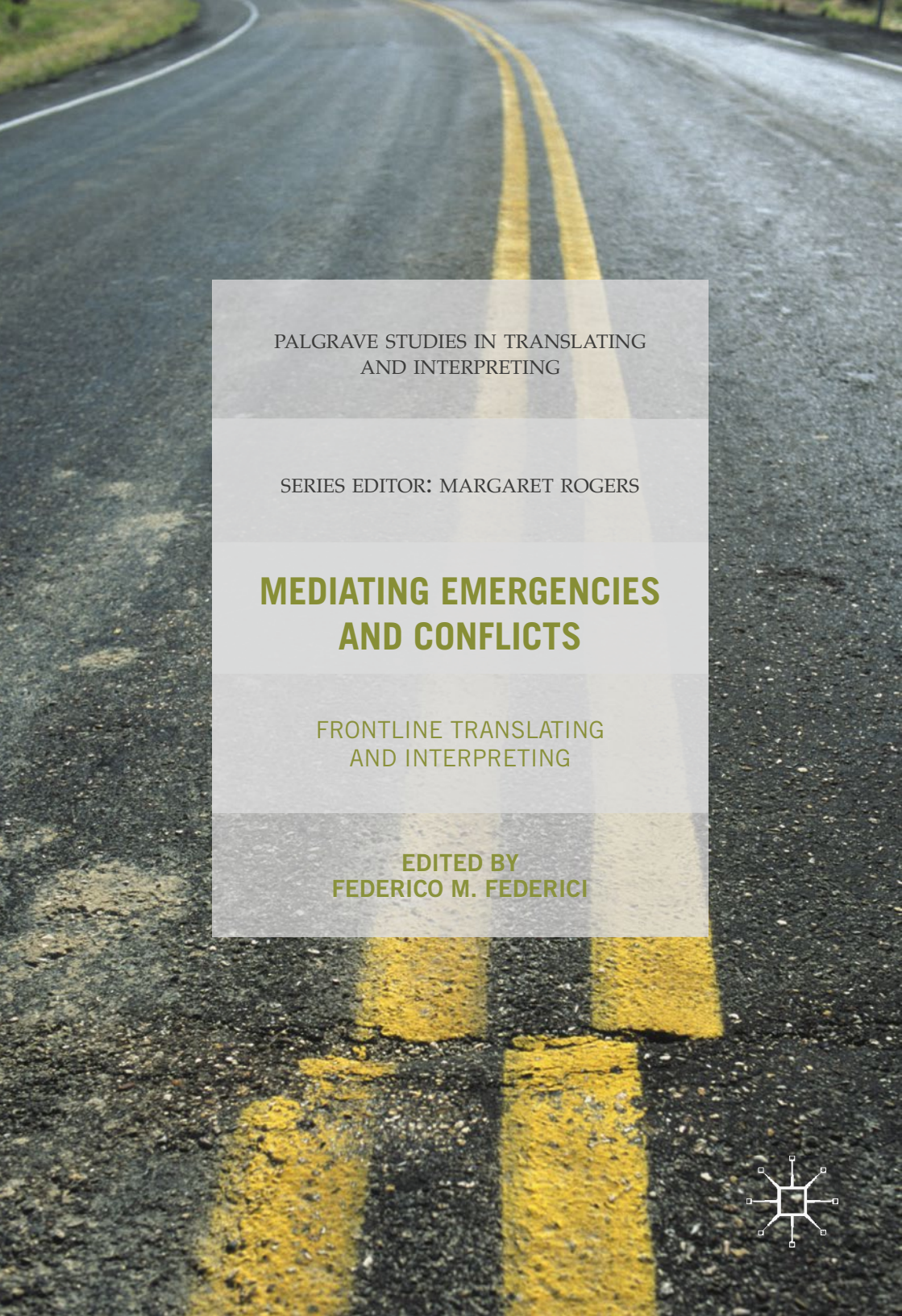

PALGRAVE STUDIES IN TRANSLATING AND INTERPRETING

SERIES EDITOR: MARGARET ROGERS

MEDIATING EMERGENCIES AND CONFLICTS

FRONTLINE TRANSLATING AND INTERPRETING

EDITED BY
FEDERICO M. FEDERICI

Palgrave Studies in Translating and Interpreting

Series Editor

Margaret Rogers
Department of Languages and Translation
University of Surrey
Guildford, UK

This series examines the crucial role that translation and interpreting in their myriad forms play at all levels of communication in today's world, from the local to the global. Whilst this role is being increasingly recognised in some quarters (for example, through European Union legislation), in others it remains controversial for economic, political and social reasons. The rapidly changing landscape of translation and interpreting practice is accompanied by equally challenging developments in their academic study, often in an interdisciplinary framework and increasingly reflecting commonalities between what were once considered to be separate disciplines. The books in this series address specific issues in both translation and interpreting with the aim not only of charting but also of shaping the discipline with respect to contemporary practice and research. Margaret Rogers is Professor Emerita at the University of Surrey http://www.surrey.ac.uk/englishandlanguages/staff_list/complete_staff_list/margaret_rogers/index.htm

More information about this series at
http://www.springer.com/series/14574

Federico M. Federici
Editor

Mediating Emergencies and Conflicts

Frontline Translating and Interpreting

palgrave
macmillan

Editor
Federico M. Federici
University College London
London, United Kingdom

Palgrave Studies in Translating and Interpreting
ISBN 978-1-137-55350-8 ISBN 978-1-137-55351-5 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55351-5

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016937722

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016
The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.
This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.
The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.
The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made.

Cover illustration: © Chris Selby / Alamy Stock Photo
Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd. London

Acknowledgements

Mediating emergencies was a project initially conceived in conversations with colleagues in 2012 when some MA students asked the question on how military interpreters receive their training and whether or not they all need to be in the army. The notion of emergencies soon prevailed over that of translation in conflict, as in discussions with colleagues such a Binghan Zheng, Sergey Tyulenev, and also Dario Tessicini, the interest in both the diachronic and synchronic dimensions of the issue constantly grew, especially because of the dearth of in-depth research projects focusing on this dimension of linguistic mediations. As such, the volume was thought as an attempt to raise some more questions that the excellent contributors will certainly try to answer but also in the hope to generate interest in researchers-to-be, as solid, grounded, and committed research is needed in this area rich of intellectual and moral incentives.

By collecting materials, I cannot but thank the contributors who eagerly submitted drafts of their work which humbled me for the privilege in learning so much from their work and also for their constructive responses to the feedback they received. Their respective contributions represent differences and diversity in approaches, perspectives, and methodologies; one constant interrelation is the consideration that we urgently need to conduct more research of interdisciplinary nature in this area.

The generosity of friends and colleagues and fellow researchers never ceases to surprise me: they entered into a dialogue with the ideas as well as

the papers, with the theme and its difficulties, with the minutiae and the volume as a whole. My gratitude for their patience in reading pages of my introduction and papers in the volume wholeheartedly goes to Theresa Federici. Theresa extensively commented on my ideas and the introduction with the intellectual honesty, the enthusing interest, and passion for form and well-argued discussion papers that distinguish her. With her, Samuel Strong, Jacob Blakesley, Denise Filmer, Christophe Declercq, and Ahmed Mustafa too engaged with the contributions in this volume.

I am particularly grateful to the anonymous readers that Palgrave appointed to review my initial proposal. I thank them for their comments and their punctual criticisms to the proposal were extremely helpful in depleting the project of redundant and weak ideas and allowed me to focus my editing on ensuring that the volume's unity in difference would become more evident for the readers. I thank the Series Editor Margaret Rogers for her insightful comments, observations, and criticism to initial drafts of the chapters; her helpful and perceptive eye assisted me in ensuring this edited volume would reflect the values of the series. Elizabeth Forrest and Chloe Fitzsimmons at Palgrave Macmillan deserve my gratitude for the attention and enthusiasm with which they supported this project in its longer than expected gestation.

Contents

Notes on Contributors

Khaled Al-Shehari is an assistant professor at Sultan Qaboos University in Oman. Dr Al-Shehari completed an MSc (1998) and a PhD (2001) in Translation Studies at the University of Manchester. He previously worked at Durham University, UK (2007–2015). He is currently working on innovative methods of teaching translation and how such pedagogical innovations can make teaching translation more dynamic and interactive. He is also working on the study of issues related to the decisions taken by interpreters in politically-sensitive assignments. His interest in corpus-based studies extends to the study of legal translation. On-going research projects focus on building up a translational legal corpus that can help trainers of legal translators, their trainees, and practitioners of legal translation in solving mediation problems.

Olga Bartashova is the Chair of Linguistics and Interpreting at Saint-Petersburg State University of Economics. She is the author of 12 textbooks on Business English and Pragmatics and over 80 articles dealing with various aspects of intercultural studies and translation. She is a member of the Union of Translators of Russia, TESOL, IATEFL, and member of the Dissertation Panel awarding PhD in Linguistics.

Antoon Cox is a doctoral researcher at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel and King's College London. Antoon Cox holds an MA in Applied Linguistics from Erasmus University College, an MA in Communication and Journalism from the Université Catholique de Louvain, and a teacher-training certificate from Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. His research focuses on intercultural and

multilingual communication in the emergency department. Antoon trains and examines community interpreters at the Department of Applied Linguistics at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel and at the Flemish Centre for Community interpreting (COC). Before working full-time as a researcher, Antoon was a language teacher (Dutch, English, and Spanish) at different levels in secondary, adult, and higher education. In his free time, he makes films and hosts a radio show.

Aymil Doğan is an associate professor in the Department of Translation and Interpretation at Hacettepe University (Turkey), and she has been a conference interpreter for 25 years. She holds a BA in English Language and Literature and an MA in Psychological Counselling and Guidance from Hacettepe University. Her PhD in Educational Sciences was equally awarded by Hacettepe University. Her research focuses on the psycholinguistic, cognitive, and affective aspects of all modalities of interpreting and discourse analysis. In 2007, she was awarded an MAS degree in teacher-training programme from the École de Traduction et Interprétation at the Université de Genève. She is the Ankara leader of the Emergency and Disaster Interpreting Initiative of Turkey and the author of many articles, chapters, papers, and two books entitled *Sozlu Ceviri: Calismalari ve Uygulamalari* [Interpreting: Studies and Practices, 3rd edition] (2011) and *Sozlu ve Yazılı Çeviri Odaklı Soylem Çozumlemesi* [Translation and Interpreting Based Discourse Analysis] (2014).

Caroline Gaunt is a doctoral researcher at Durham University, UK. She holds a BA in Modern Languages from Durham University (2011) and a PGDip in Translation Studies (2012) from the University of Manchester, UK. Her doctoral research focuses on the discursive features (rhetoric devices as well as visual cues) connected with the representation of interpreters in military conflicts; in particular, she focuses on media representations and on representations drawn from autobiographies of former military personnel.

Raquel Lázaro Gutiérrez is an assistant professor at the University of Alcalá, Spain. She lectures for and is part of the coordination team of the European Master's Degree in Intercultural Communication and Public Service Interpreting and Translation. She belongs to the Spanish FITISPos-UAH Group (Training and Research in Public Service Interpreting and Translation). Her research interests focus on the analysis of communication in public settings with foreign populations, with a special emphasis on medical encounters and interactions with gender violence victims; innovative training for public service translators and interpreters (PSIT); and professionalization and ethics of PSIT.

Sharon O'Brien is a senior lecturer in the School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies of Dublin City University, Ireland. Her research interests are in translation technology with a specific focus on Controlled Language, Machine Translation, Post-Editing, and Localization. She is also interested in end users of translation and in concepts such as translatability, usability, readability, comprehensibility, and the measurement of cognitive load. Author of many articles in the areas above, she has co-authored books on research methods in translation studies and on interdisciplinarity in research in translation studies. She has also collaborated on numerous projects with industry (Symantec, Alchemy, VistaTEC, and the Translation Automation User Society), specifically on the topics of machine translation, post-editing, and the dynamic framework for quality assessment in the localization industry.

Veronica Razumovskaya currently holds the position of Chair of Translation Studies and Professor in the Department of Business Communication at the Siberian University in Krasnoyarsk, Russia. She graduated from the Krasnoyarsk State Pedagogic Institute and was awarded a Diploma with honours in English and German. She was a postgraduate student at Leningrad University where she also completed her PhD in Philology in 1985. She has authored many publications including articles focusing on theoretical and practical issues of translations. She is a member of the Union of Translators of Russia, TESOL, and IATEFL.

Olena Skorokhod was awarded a PhD in Translation Studies by the University of East Anglia, UK, in 2015. Her research focuses on mistranslation and recontextualization in news translation within the framework of political and military conflicts. Other research interests include translation in the media and political discourse, critical discourse analysis, and pragmatics and cognitive linguistics.

List of Figures

List of Tables

1

Introduction: A State of Emergency for Crisis Communication

Federico M. Federici

In an interconnected and globalized world, it is difficult to distinguish the end of one emergency from the beginning of the next, so much so that Mihata postulated in the late 1990s that the world now lives in a state of emergency (Mihata 1997). Even though not all regions and populations are necessarily simultaneously affected by an emergency, it is not absurd to theorize the existence of a permanent *sense of a state of emergency* in the ways in which the world is *represented* in the twenty-first century—especially given the growth of the 24/7 news channels and of the rolling news cycle in the late 1980s (Silvia 2001; Zelizer and Allan 2010: 86). In fact, complexity theorists and sociologists have long *perceived* a state of permanent emergency in modern societies (Luhmann 1990; Bauman and Bordoni 2014). It would however be absurd to consider that a world forced into globalized economies, whose interconnections mean that any event generates ripples in instantaneous chain reactions (Kaufmann

F.M. Federici
University College London, CenTraS, 50 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PQ, UK

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

F.M. Federici (ed.), *Mediating Emergencies and Conflicts*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55351-5_1

2013), would and could then completely discard any form of awareness of global events. This very interconnectedness feeds the need for instantaneous news reports on world emergencies, and the conflicts which often generate new ones, that is plausibly one of the key features of a world that has been brought communicatively and culturally closer. It is also an emotive closeness for many. Susan Sontag (2003: 16) observes that 'being a spectator of calamities taking place in another country is a quintessential modern experience'. The fact that such calamities and their ensuing emergencies take place in other countries, other cultures, and to speakers of other languages is often underestimated. Yet, this twenty-first-century phenomenon of accentuated global awareness and, at times, of far-reaching humanitarian solidarity is not by any means an entirely new phenomenon—news agencies that boomed in the late nineteenth century also clamoured for knowledge (Bielsa 2007: 135–137) with the same sense of urgency. The scale of the phenomenon has changed, however, and is indicative of the features of interconnectedness that characterize our modernity. And as interconnected as the current world is, it has been noted that the world often remains as culturally distant as it has always been (Cronin 2006).

An operational definition of emergencies is used here, as it is beyond the scope of this chapter to offer a comprehensive definition and of 'crisis communication' (a superordinate term to discuss all forms of communication in extreme conditions, be they conflicts, disasters, emergencies, or crisis, a broader concept I borrow from O'Brien's contribution in this volume). The observations in this chapter rather intend to remind readers of the many questions we should be asking about the relationship between international response and intercultural communication, or lack thereof. In attempting to understand connected yet culturally remote events, we are continuously in need of mediation; here, the term is intended in its linguistic and cultural sense, whereby native speakers and educated experts of the affected culture allow others to enter the threshold of a different speaking community—the notion of language and culture mediators considered here includes and goes beyond the professional profiles of translators and interpreters. It intends to encourage readers of this volume to expand on these questions from original methodological, as much as ethical perspectives, and on the related multidisciplinary settings

that should be used to investigate the complexity of emergency management by including considerations on language barriers. One of the manifestations of the feeling of interconnectedness is in the immediacy of world reactions to emergencies. There are immediate response and rescue teams that arrive in areas of natural disasters, and there are other forms of responses to conflict, which are by their very existence more convoluted in nature and type.

The observations that follow aim to discuss the urgent need to establish a concerted and multidisciplinary debate on the role of intercultural communication in international multilingual missions that respond to emergencies across the world, with reference also to examples of conflict-related emergencies and their representation in translation in the media. Hence, it is subdivided into sections as follows: I offer a set of reflections that review the lacunae in the literature on translation and interpreting in the gap between common notions of resilience, preparedness, planning for crisis response, and the absence of considerations about intercultural communication in crisis and emergencies even within translation research. I then outline the concept behind this collection, prior to introducing the thread that weaves together the chapters from very different voices and angles, which come together in this volume.

Translation and Interpreting Research Related to Emergencies and Crisis Communication

Translator and interpreter trainers have responded with ad-hoc solutions over the last three to four decades (or arguably since the Nuremberg trials) to the unprecedented need for linguistic mediation. In legal emergencies involving interpreting of trials, the notion of response to finding large numbers of skilled legal interpreters in a short amount of time has begun to be scrutinized (see Braun and Taylor 2012; Hertog and van Gucht 2008). Other forms of crisis communication and uses of translation and interpreting in emergencies need to attract more research to investigate the many open issues. Professional initiatives have grown in the last ten years with significant projects taking shapes (as in the project 'Words of Relief' by Translators Without Borders (TwB), discussed by O'Brien in

this volume). The web page of Words of Relief articulates the scenario in which emergency responses operate in the twenty-first century:

> Words of Relief is a translation crisis relief network intended to improve communications when the crisis-response aid workers and affected populations do not speak the same language. It is a tool to be used prior to a crisis (when there is a warning of impending crisis), during the first 72 hours, and then in the three months following the initial crisis.

Some core issues with crisis communication are central to this perspective: there is a need to be ready; there are instruments to become readier; there are ways of supporting responses to crises in multilingual environments. There is growing awareness in the humanitarian response about the role of communication. One humanitarian organization, the Communicating with Disaster-Affected Community Network,[1] notes that 'Communicating with disaster affected communities is a growing field of humanitarian response that helps to meet the information and communication needs of people affected by crisis' (CDAC 2014). Communicating to and with communities affected by emergencies, and among humanitarian entities during emergencies, is growing in prominence. In the strategic framework of the TwB initiative (which was supported among others by O'Brien and discussed in this volume), a clear indication is provided of the proportions that the multilingual scenarios immediately assume.

The network focuses on three key components:

- Translating key crisis and disaster messages into 15 world languages before crises occur (the pilot will focus on Swahili and Somali);
- Building a spider network of diaspora who can translate from one of the 15 world languages into regional languages and who are trained to assist right away; and
- Creating a crowdsourced, online (and mobile) application that connects the translation team with aid workers and data aggregators who need immediate help.

[1] 'The CDAC Network aims to ensure that communities affected by, and prone to, crisis are better able to withstand and recover from humanitarian emergencies, and are actively engaged in decisions about the relief and recovery efforts in their country', see http://www.cdacnetwork.org/.

The most important elements beyond the significant solidarity and empathy implied in this humanitarian approach correspond to the many studies on 'emergency planning' and 'crisis management'—these terms are differently defined in many disciplines, but the core elements are the temporal dimensions that include preparedness to respond. Any response is a complex combination of new ideas to deal with unprecedented issues and the application of defined mechanisms or procedures of reaction that guarantee a prompt response. In relation to planning, preparedness, training, resilience, and crisis management as they are considered among international and national bodies, the issue of intercultural communication seems to remain as the notable absentee. Networks of practitioners and researchers from multiple backgrounds have to date not succeeded in addressing this lacuna—the link between research endeavours and the broader picture of disaster management and emergency studies has not yet established a connection with those involved in intercultural communication. In order to address it, we need to question what we should study, why, and how.

The aspirations of this volume reflect to a small extent these bigger multidisciplinary questions. The book concept emerged from the observation that most sciences and many modelling techniques especially in advanced computing have been used in the last three decades to contribute to the management of coordinated responses in disasters and emergencies. These models are often focused on unpredictable agents (people); however, in their programming, they ignore or downplay the distance that languages and cultures make in crisis management. Among translation and interpreting specialists, that interest is now emerging. However, whereas research in interpreting and translation in conflict (be they war or post-war conflicts) and in ideological settings of opposition has been steadily growing for over a decade, very few studies exist on the matter of translation and interpreting in emergencies. The agency of translators and interpreters, from the political and ideological, to the ethical perspectives in conflict settings has been successfully and richly explored from several angles. All these angles are relevant in the discussion of conflict-related emergencies (see Apter 2001; Baker 2006, 2010; Dragovic-Drouet 2007; Footitt and Kelly 2012a, b; Footitt and Tobia 2013; Inghilleri 2008, 2009; Inghilleri and Harding 2010; Harding 2011; Kelly and Baker

2013; Palmer 2007; Rafael 2007, 2009; Stahuljak 2000, 2009; Takeda 2008). Studies have so far included personal accounts of interpreters in war zones (see Goldfarb 2005; Hari 2008) and at least one account from a peace and relief mission negotiator (Edwards 2002). The most extensive studies explicitly focused on the use of translation in crises emerging after the 2010 Haiti Earthquake (see Hester et al. 2010; Lewis 2010; Lewis et al. 2011; Sutherlin 2013; Morrow et al. 2011; Munro 2013) and following the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake (Cadwell 2014; Kaigo 2012; Mizuno 2012; Naito 2012).

In the last five years, new studies on the relevance of computer-aided solutions for translation in humanitarian contexts have emerged (in particular Hester et al. 2010; Lewis 2010; Lewis et al. 2011). Possibly the greatest exception refers to the 10-year activities of the InZone research team. Ground-breaking work focusing on education and training challenges when supporting populations living through the aftermath of emergencies has been conducted by the InZone research group, which is based at the University of Geneva in Switzerland under the directorship of Barbara Moser Mercer. However, compared to other areas, in terms of studies entirely focused on translating, interpreting, and forms of cultural mediation in emergencies, there appears to be a dearth of research. Paradoxically, the lack of research seems to be almost in inverse proportion to the increase in operations and activities in which interpreters and translators take the lead (as in the example of the project 'Words of Relief' led by TwB), see Translators Without Borders 2015 and the growing awareness of communication as a core obstacle to effective humanitarian operations among the main actors. A few papers have paved the way towards intensifying the shift of focus onto translating and interpreting in emergencies (see Moser-Mercer et al. 2014). There is an urgency to conduct research on the vast array of issues related to any discussion on emergencies and crises of a humanitarian nature—these do not exclude conflicts or their aftermath, but ought to extend to issues of preparedness and planning for those many disasters that affect specific regions for reasons of geomorphology (e.g. those subject to earthquakes, floods, tsunamis, and so on). The role of language mediation in a wide range of emergencies, the challenges of coordinating rescue teams, and the challenges of supporting any logistical aspects of international responses to calamities come with many com-

plex questions to answer, which deserve urgent and immediate attention from a wider community of researchers in translation and interpreting. Indeed, professionally and ethically, these operational scenarios are what Maier calls 'limit situations' (2007: 264), a definition she offered in relation to translators in conflict situations. Further ethical issues derive from the use (or training) of non-professional linguists in crises. In this sense, two chapters of this book (Gaunt and Skorokhod) also discuss the issue of representation and prejudice towards interpreters embedded in the discourse of their former military commanders. Such long-established depictions of language professionals undeniably continue to hamper any potential inclusion of linguists in the operational planning, in preparedness activities, and in the review of responses to emergencies that would in turn also support changes to training modes, increase the frequency of training, and diminish the use of ad-hoc solutions (such as those detailed in Kelly and Baker 2013).

The Absence of Language and Culture Mediators in Emergency Planning

In social sciences, study areas such as emergency planning and preparedness represent important areas in which strategic and tactical decisions can be discussed at a higher level and with attention to analysing data collected on previous responses to crises (be they natural disasters or man-made humanitarian emergencies). This higher-level scrutiny leads to enhancements in many aspects of planning and response; it includes complex computer-assisted modelling and has benefitted concerted multiagent responses to disasters. In other words, studies of real natural and social phenomena connected with emergencies, and the responses they prompt, have generated an essential area of objective and quantitative evaluation and reflection, which in turn has led to improvements to responses in the field. Practitioners' reports underline that the issue of communication (among relief operators, affected communities, and all the parties involved) affects the significance and diminish the reach of humanitarian activities. Yet the discourse on 'language barriers' (an overused term, adopted here for expediency) and the issues of intercultural communication in emergencies stands out

for its almost complete absence in both research and evaluative reports of current practices (with some exceptions, Bulut and Kurultay 2001; Casadei and Franceschetti 2009).

For instance, studies on national contexts such as Preston et al. (2011) have considered the ways in which the discourse on preparing for emergencies introduced UK audiences to a new form of planning for a resilient society after the bombings of 7 July 2005 in London. Their work highlights the controversial position of racial and cultural differences in the discourse on security as communicated by a government to its citizens; it also directly links a heightened attention to the response and logistics of emergencies. Their work takes a critical view of public education campaigns related to security as speech acts (in Austin's terms [1962]) that establish a limiting discourse on security, according to which many agents and actors (state, society, or individuals), who ought to work on establishing mechanisms of a coordinated response, are in fact made to feel separated and disconnected from the institutions whose core activities focus on security. This study shows how discursively some linguistic and cultural elements can be investigated at least to consider ways in which preparedness is postulated by authorities and institutions. The performance of these speech acts by specific state actors in the public preparedness campaign targeted UK audiences with the intent of creating the conditions by which society is considered to be 'threatened'. Similar discursive efforts should be directed towards lobbying national and international authorities so that a positive discourse on considering linguistic differences and cultural distance can be adopted to further help to plan responses to emergencies (to both natural crises and those resulting from conflicts). If all arguments fail, effective communication is both a life-saving and more prosaically a budget-saving option to maximize the political value of being involved in international humanitarian operations and being part of this new form of international solidarity. However, securitization theory has been critiqued for its concentration on speech acts and actors (primarily state actors) rather than considering the audience for security (Taurecka 2006). The use of discourse here is undisputedly one 'bound up with ideology […] a set of beliefs and values which inform an individual's or institution's view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts and

other aspects of experience' (Mason 2009: 86). The discourse on security recognizes, however, a constant among variables: it is possible to improve the response mechanisms adopted in the past.

Whether or not a globalized world is a multicultural world is highly debatable from the perspective of studies in intercultural communication (and not only from this perspective). Emergency or crisis contexts vary immensely, but they are becoming more and more visible in terms of their international dimension. This is a constant factor; hence, from the resilience and preparedness perspective, a known factor is one that could be managed in planning. With international responses (be they civil or military), the need for translators and interpreters to mediate international responses to emergencies is common. A simple definition in UK English of 'emergency', from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, can serve as a starting point for scoping the field of study: 'a juncture that arises or "turns up": esp. a state of things unexpectedly arising, and urgently demanding immediate action'. This conceptualization does, however, understate the complex relation between the two key components, the 'unexpected' nature of the event and its derivative 'urgency'. On the one hand, the situation necessitates an immediate response in the form of urgent action. On the other hand, events can arise which are unpredictable to different degrees. Some aspects of the urgent situation are predictable: one cannot know the details of every car accident, but an emergency and accident department of a hospital has clear and established procedures to deal with patients involved in car accidents; the procedures are predictable even if they apply to different car accidents. In a certain sense, the notion of urgency and the notion of duration can be separated from the procedures which are put in place for the duration of the emergency situation; a fast response to arising, unexpected events are needed because of their immediate impact, but these interventions change as the situation develops, gradually subsiding once the initial crisis point is past and the situation stabilizes into a set of established processes in order to recover from the initial, sudden emergency. These processes can be planned and are planned in many ways, with the notable exception of the consideration of the need for linguistic and cultural mediation. Indeed, an emergency is defined by its unprecedented (at micro-level, nothing happens in the same way) and unexpected nature (the exact timing of

emergencies is unpredictable: an earthquake is not predictable; a factory exploding is not predictable) despite highly sophisticated risk modelling studies and technologies. Due to the complex combination of unpredictability and urgency, defining the notion of 'emergency' remains a challenge. Yet it can be argued that the term regularly characterizes the intercultural nature of most twenty-first-century emergencies, such as the mass exodus of asylum seekers from Syria to Europe or phenomena of economic migration, whilst hiding ideology-based political choices.

An example of the paradoxical nature (or use) of the term 'emergency' can be found in its misappropriation (*emergenza*) in the Italian press, when it is used with regard to the mass movement of people towards the harbours and beaches of Italy in the last four years. The most recent migratory fluxes did indeed bring Italian rescue and support services to the brink of collapse in 2015. But suggesting that this phenomenon was unpredictable in absolute terms is both naïve and dubious. The year 2014 and the year 2015 saw an exponential growth in the phenomenon, which is unprecedented in scale but not in nature: the arrival of political, social, and economic migrants on the Italian peninsula is a phenomenon that has been present since the 1990s. A new urgency arose because of the large numbers, but a poor, inadequate, and short-sighted lack of planning at institutional and political level—despite years of experiencing incoming migratory fluxes—is the predominant cause of the 'emergency'. The Italian example is particularly significant in terms of its linguistic and cultural implications for it highlighted the need for translators and interpreters on an unprecedented scale (the only real emergency in a long-lasting organizational crisis).

In our interconnected societies in which a global sense of emergency can be constantly perceived through media outlets reporting on emergencies from around the world, it is also arguably the case that the term 'emergency', in a more restricted sense, describes a single event of crisis and not a chronic state: the event can be recurrent (e.g. earthquakes and floods), but communities can build resilience or work towards achieving higher levels of resilience. 'Emergency' is not a word to describe the status quo; it is a term for the tipping point, for that moment when an immediate and urgent response of other agents is needed in coming to the aid of those afflicted by a largely unpredictable and sudden

change to the status quo. By adopting the term 'emergency' to describe an unresolved issue which has continued for decades in the Italian example, politicians are deflecting responsibility for their lack of planning and resolution back onto the initial sources of mass migration—war, destitution, social inequalities, and terrorism. An emergency may have an unexpected starting date, but the consequences endure over time; the context remains a situation of crisis because of lack of planning, and it is no longer an unpredicted 'emergency' but a poorly organized response to a crisis. Resolution, reconstruction, recovery, and return to a form of ordinary life take different amounts of time, yet the initial event causing the emergency is often limited in duration. However, both political and media usage of the term *emergenza* to describe the chronic situation over the last 25 years have rendered the term banal, using it as a scapegoat for political inaction on the emotive issue of migration. The expedient misuse of the term as in the Italian case renders even more prominent the significance of planning responses to emergencies, whereby the degree of unpredictability, scale, and impact are truly unprecedented and need urgent responses.

The contributors to this volume dare ask why translators and interpreters face this ontological paradox in mediating emergencies and conflicts, not to mention how they can deal with it without a consistent level of preparation (be it training or education) and planning (establishing their role in the response operations). On the one hand, some types of emergencies can be considered as relatively predictable in those contexts in which either urgent responses are routinely expected locally on a regular basis (e.g as reflected in the availability of emergency departments in large hospitals), or medium- to long-term responses involving both local and international actors who are needed for a specific duration, for example, as a corollary of new social instability, such as the displacement of people following wars in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan (see Gaunt, and Shorokhod in this volume). On the other hand, some emergencies are to be expected at some point and could recur because of the surrounding nature of a location (e.g. the Arctic, see Razumovskaya and Bartashova, this volume). The response in such cases is also likely to be both local and international.

All the contributors to this volume present initial attempts to study samples from the whole spectrum of linguistic and cultural mediation

in emergencies and conflict situations illustrated by topical cases, and all demonstrate how many open questions such attempts to explore these phenomena pose to them as well as their readers. The post-war and in-war environments in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Ukraine—the list continues to grow—have led to new forms of linguistic and cultural mediation. Either those involved in the action, in the field or on the battlefield, or those reporting the crises in the media, in biographical accounts, or through a range of media (blogs, video interviews, and so on) need unprecedented access to different forms of linguistic mediation; however, these mediations often continue in a different geographical area or at a time after the event. The justification of inaction in terms of linguistic mediation in these predictable situations is hence either the result of bad planning, or resembles a rather feeble political construction in an attempt to deflect responsibility for planning for the real multicultural and multilingual effects of what is accepted elsewhere in triumphal tones as the extraordinarily positive force of globalization.

The narrative of disasters, emergencies, and crises in media discourse simplifies the complexity of communication on the ground; the question is why has this discourse been left unexplored for so many years. Is it in the narrative of emergencies?

The narrative of crisis, used in Baker's sense (2006, 2010), corresponds to some extent to the narrative of conflict inasmuch as news makers reshape each of these narratives into simplified and schematic forms. As the narrative of crisis presents several similarities with the sense of urgency and need that pepper the narratives of conflicts, it could be easy to confuse the two forms of crisis communication. The contributions of this volume enter a new path to show how there is an underlying narrative of solidarity (not necessarily morally and ethically acceptable in its most controversial post-colonial tones) in the discourse on crisis communication in emergencies. The international community appropriates a narrative of unity in support of those in need, which is never totally uncontroversial but shows cohesion and unity among 'unconventional' allies working towards a common goal, distinguishing this type of narrative from that used in conflict situations. The discourse of emergencies also exhibits fewer dominant-dominated and 'us and them' narratives. The prevailing narratives can, however, often be singled out as post-colonial—or the helpers and the helpless—as in the

subtexts of some institutional documents (discussed below). Nevertheless, a single narrative of emergency would be too reductive, as there are many subnarratives for the planning and preparedness phase, for the response phase, and for the long-term reconstruction phases that are distant and very diverse from each other—whilst maintaining some constant elements that allow work to continue towards, if not achieving, a level of preparedness.

In many ways, it clearly emerges that individual identities in emergencies, especially of those in the field, are unified by the notion of solidarity and humanity. In turn, the dynamics of the aftermath remain closer to the complex identity of any individual at a time of peace, in which many see and grab opportunities (one of the most negative clichés about those who emerge from the anonymity of the 'population in emergency' and serve as translators to the rescuers is explored in Gaunt's chapter in this volume). This complexity of the individual's identity is mirrored in the complexity of any discourse on emergencies. Hence, negotiation and the mediation of goods and identities for those suddenly catapulted into the in-between role of translator or interpreter in the emergency (often with little or no training to do so; or with inspiring exception, as explored in Doğan's chapter) are still those centred on individuals, their needs, and their immediate cultural and social contexts that have an impact on their linguistic mediation.

Whereas the results of decades of studies focused on translation and conflict are now becoming apparent, many methodological and ontological questions remain in discussing the role of translation and interpreting in emergencies. Which part of the mediation should we study? Building on our previous discussion of the complexity of 'emergency' as a concept, a number of questions arise. Which type of emergency should be considered? And when does a long-lasting crisis stop being an emergency? Is there any use in categorizing different forms of emergencies? Which technological collaboration with modelling systems adopted by computer and social scientists alike should involve specialists in technology-supported translation and interpreting? Which data should be collected? But also, which data could be ethically and practicably collected? How could it be analysed? Some multidisciplinary projects, such as the Humanitarian Innovation Project that focuses on one specific emergency, the mass migratory fluxes, and the legal issues associated with assisting refugees and asylum seekers, are moving towards considering cultural barriers—certainly it is an

important point of departure for those who have direct experience of assisting refugees (Ackerly 2015). These, however, remain marginal appendices. No mention is made of planning or of the data on the roles of mediators which is needed in order to engage in supporting linguistic planning for crises. One model that could be considered as an archetype, or possibly as an important starting point, is the Turkish approach adopted in natural disasters (suggested by Doğan in this volume).

Arguably, there is a growing need to consider translation and interpreting as part of the logistics and planning work that can be done when international bodies and NGOs alike put together their response plans to crises (or how they project their activities as discussed in Schäffner et al. 2014; Tesseur 2014). The literature on resilience and emergencies response abounds; international plans abound. Most of the literature underlines the issue of communicating effectively in times of emergency and human crises. However, it is time to distinguish *communication problems* in general from the more specific *intercultural communication problems*; the distinction will allow studies to engage with planning solutions at the level of training linguists for crisis scenarios or at the level of creating enabling technologies that would support the communication needs of field operators at the appropriate time.

In a work considering the discourses on connectivity and resilience, Kaufmann (2013: 68) argues that 'the sudden rise of something unforeseen requiring immediate attention is the result of an increasingly interconnected, contingent and unpredictable world'; a crisis in an interconnected world has resounding effects far away from its epicentre. And its epicentre begins to be more and more multilingual, and the difficulties in communication exponentially grow as the positive response and support grow. In a way, this paradox of humanitarian operations sits alongside Kaufmann's definition of the concept of 'emergence'—strictly related to emergency—in a world of interconnected technologies (2013: 68):

> Connectivity […] has not only created questionable dependencies and exclusions within society and created new forms of control and remote control on an empirical level, the presence of radical contingency, induced by connectivity, may also be exploited as an argument for an intensification of security measures.

Mobile phone connectivity and its usage in responses has been a tool to harness many different forms of data and provide practical and immediate solutions in the field. The use of smartphone technologies, and more or less automated translation services, has been considered and adopted in the community of computer scientists and among translation researchers (see O'Brien's discussion). Yet inroads remain to be made into considering how these technologies create and control the process of communication in the form of redundant or delayed data that stop communication by overloading the networks, as well as data that could be harnessed and analysed to understand *when* and *what* is most likely to go wrong in the communication process in crisis contexts. The immediacy that current technologies offer could thus greatly enhance the planning phase. Rather than recommendations for the future, the interconnected nature of emergency response has created more and more complex models of logistics and planning in preparation for responding to all the emergencies that represent a breach of our security. Any planning activity for emergency preparedness and resilience to respond to natural or human-induced ecological emergencies or conflict situations will benefit from a greater understanding of the role and function of the linguistic and cultural challenges that it presents. It is reasonable to assume that more targeted training would follow. Kaufmann continues (ibid.) that in 'the evolutionary reasoning of resilience, security becomes a process of adaptation, of dealing with insecurity'; in other words, the focus has shifted from reactive to proactive plans for dealing with emergencies as a better option to enhance chances of success, and planning training for linguistic and cultural mediators should be part of this evolutionary pathway.

Some progress is, however, being made. The *World Disasters Report* 2013 identifies areas of activity that include linguistic mediation (of sorts) into the planning: 'the Global Disaster Preparedness Center, established by the American Red Cross and the IFRC [The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies], is piloting a platform to allow Red Cross Red Crescent societies to localize apps, with translation, content changes, image swapping and branding' (2013: 61). These are steps in the direction of using existing technologies with an added-on translation function; for translation researchers, this discourse echoes the debates on computer-aided translation tools of two decades

ago, where translation was regularly part of an *a-posteriori* process, until processes of simultaneous localization of contents prevailed in translations for technologies. This lacuna in the perspective in which translation and interpreting are perceived also reflects the additional challenge that no one knows which languages will be needed in the next abruptly erupting natural emergency (e.g. the Ebola emergency of 2014–2015), because it is impossible to anticipate—at least in any accurate way, either in time or place—the next zone of emergency. It may, however, be also argued that the linguistic needs of conflict-related emergencies can be more easily anticipated: the situation in Kurdistan and of the Kurds was not unpredictable after the 2003 War in Iraq, the Syrian civil war, and the growth of the militant group Daesh.

Yet with exceptions being few and far between, the inclusion of *mediators*—here broadly encompassing translators, interpreters, and experts in intercultural communication in general—lags behind when response plans and contingency plans are drafted and organized; the specific languages or cultures in which the emergencies arise may well be unexpected, but this does not justify the lack of procedures to recruit and re-train certain types of linguists. One sector in which planning of linguistic and cultural mediation should, and begins to be, more consistently considered is that of humanitarian operations—which is here used as an umbrella term to encompass different bodies and entities involved in crises (from asylum seekers' charities to earthquake rescue coordination, some organizations focus on relief and planning for immediate relief after an emergency erupts). Humanitarian relief by the international community is playing a larger role or at least is gaining a more prominent visibility lately. The study of the complexity of such operations pertains to many disciplines; agent-based computer modelling has been constantly growing in importance (as an illustration, see Liu et al. 2015), and the supply chain and logistic operations are a particular concern for NGOs operating in international scenarios (see Beamon and Kotleba 2006: 1–2). Whereas intercultural mediation could be included in these agent-based computer simulations and models that attempt to capture different scenarios and linked reactions in order to plan responses to emergencies, here too, planning for accurate, efficient, and life-saving linguistic and cultural mediation is often a marginal concern that in-field operators solve with ad-hoc

solutions. There is a vast discrepancy between the meticulous planning of many other aspects and the impromptu response in terms of linguistic mediation. Appearing as part of the recommendations for better *future* communication protocols, the recommendation on better planning of linguistic mediation has yet to been implemented. It is a concern for the future in reports analysing the mistakes of the past, yet the translation is still to be considered as one of the priorities and part of the logistics and planning efforts. On the spot, ad-hoc, pragmatic choices in response to unexpected situations may lead individuals to exploit their language competences, by taking an opportunity of later using 'their posts as a doorway into a longer-term career as professional interpreters and translators' (Kelly and Baker 2013: 4), as happened to some language mediators in war zones. However, in humanitarian responses to disasters, the most common, emerging areas of support come from organizations of volunteers—such as TwB—rather than as a result of concerted planning.

Illustrations of the limited awareness of the linguistic and cultural challenges in operating in multilingual scenarios abound. One telling example of institutional preparedness for personal, individuals' crises abroad can be found in the British governmental portal, www.gov.uk. The portal, run by the British Department of International Development (DfID), lists (vetted?) translators and interpreters in key countries in which British nationals may need the assistance of language mediators. At a policy level, the same department also disseminates fact sheets and information leaflets regarding the British government's policy and position regarding international affairs and international crises in developing areas. DfID explains how it has regularly engaged in considering responses to calamities, disasters, and emergencies with holistic approaches that *maximize* resources whilst supporting the largest possible number of people. In 2012, the DfID published a strategy paper that shows a shift of focus to building local communities' resilience (DfID 2012a), rather than responding to international emergencies; it highlights the inevitable difficulties of conducting appropriate research in emergencies and suggests an evidence-based approach to crises response. Significantly, the document uses a distinct discourse regarding response: it emphasizes the role that so-called developing countries have in taking control over and enhancing their own resilience to disasters and calamities. In other words, this approach could be read as a post-colonial position: by

increasing *their resilience*, *we* diminish *our need* for mediation with *them*, if there were an emergency *in their country*. The department concentrates on the double benefits of planning: 'Embedding disaster resilience means ensuring investment decisions are informed by disaster risks and that programmes are designed or adapted to be resilient to one-off, regular or ongoing disasters' (DfID 2012b: 1). It excludes any consideration on the fact that UK citizens (its intended audience) facing an emergency abroad would need concerted and planned translation and interpreting support to deal with large emergencies and natural disasters, rather than the ordinary services recommended to individuals in every day scenarios. Unsurprisingly, elements of cultural specificity or linguistic mediation needed to achieve the goals of increased preparedness are missing. Together with shifting the responsibility of planning and emergency response to local solutions, the paper also mentions the urgency of giving a voice to the people directly affected by crises (2012a) so as to create responses that are more effective than in the past. The report also highlights some areas of growing awareness of the cultural distance which intrinsically slows down the process of building resilience: the data on the effects of emergencies on local populations are limited and extremely difficult to access, obtain, and rigorously collect for use in supporting the process of building resilience. The DfID strategy paper (2012a: 12) underlines the issues that face anybody working in this context, which start with the most significant of them all: collecting usable data without interfering with the operational context:

> There are also important practical and methodological challenges facing those seeking to increase the quality and quantity of research in this area. The rarity and unpredictability of extreme hazards, as well as the unique contextual factors that influence their impact, can make it difficult to establish research programmes in the immediate aftermath of crises and to generate findings that can be of general use in the future. The ability to undertake research in the immediate aftermath of disasters can be constrained by the time it takes for funding to be made available and [for] the logistical arrangements [to be put] in place.

The existence of the constraints is not enough to justify the scarcity of sources and of far-reaching research projects in this context. In the work of the Geneva-based InZone centre, whose projects are driven by work in

three main areas (as below), a few isolated studies have begun to focus on broader issues of multilingual and intercultural communication in situations and zones of crisis and emergencies:

1. Multilingual communication in the field: needs and challenges.
2. Professional ethics in humanitarian interpreting.
3. Virtual and blended learning in complex contexts (InZone.unige.ch).

It is important to note that work focusing solely on translation in this sense is even further behind.

Time to Catch Up

This volume stems from an acknowledgment that there is a delay in engaging with the issues of crisis communication in multilingual emergencies, and it is time to broaden the questions asked, it is, crucially, time to pick up the pace of research projects in this area. Scholars and researchers contributing to this collection address urgent issues regarding response management and preparedness advantageously drawing on results from other disciplinary areas. In this way, for instance, by engaging with a broader set of researchers to construct research networks that challenge existing political and academic debates, as well as the ad-hoc pragmatic approaches in the field, the urgent need to fill the research gap concerning the linguistic elements of cultural interactions in emergencies, as much as done for conflict situations, can begin to be addressed.

An original set of studies in this volume offers a sample of the wealth of research that can be conducted into the potential impact of a more efficient integration of interpreting or translation-mediated communication in emergencies and conflicts, or in logistical planning; the psychological training of interpreters and translators in emergencies is also considered. After all, NGOs with established and stable structures, such as the IFRC, perceive the increased linguistic needs in humanitarian responses as a growing challenge which currently defies a concerted and full exploitation of the available technologies that give voice to those in need when an emergency erupts.

In the discourse—and even in the style—of the contributions that follow, readers will find a strong, underlying sense of urgency in dealing with the topics discussed. All contributors met in a set of encounters, discussions, debates, and conferences with the common shared goal of increasing our understanding of the role that linguistic and cultural mediations have on societies in the twenty-first century. Increased demand for mediation does not, however, correspond to an increased offer of expertise and specialisms. Nor does it entail a drive to pay for the costs of expert mediation; such linguistic and cultural negotiations are thus carried out as much by non-professional linguists and even expert practitioners with other backgrounds (e.g. second-generation doctors, nurses, police officers, and teachers) as by professional linguists. Even those documents (for instance, DfID 2012a) that appear to be more 'enlightened' than previous one-dimensional approaches—for instance, coordinating responses by feedback mechanisms that allow the voice of those affected by the crisis to be heard—do not hide a discourse of superiority, or the 'us and them' approach, which I previously mentioned. Be it a cost-saving exercise or an act of committed research, an increase in questions concerning which data should be considered with regard to the role of intercultural communication in the response to emergencies needs to be foregrounded. In the discourse of the policy makers, such as that in the UK strategy document, it is clear that even the humanitarian ethos comes under scrutiny for its economic costs:

> More routine use of high quality data and evidence to inform decision-making at all levels, from decisions about individual projects and operations to decisions about global approaches [sic]. This will help ensure that resources are targeted more precisely and allow us to track the outcomes and impacts of our work, deepening accountability to *disaster-prone* communities and to British tax-payers. (my emphasis, 2012: 6)

In the grandiose narrative of this strategy document aimed at UK audiences, there is a reminder that the discourse on emergencies often risks being embedded in the logic of a petty cash accountant (and its relative notion of economic 'accountability'). There is an even starker reminder that a colonial narrative whereby *our* humanitarian responses are misused by *them*, the people who need them, is a risk in official policy making and

research from the perspective of cultural mediators, and experts in intercultural communication could better inform policy making in this area.

Contributions at a Glance

In its inception, this book was conceived as an initial, focused response to growing, yet scattered discussions concerning the role of non-professional, professional, and volunteer translators and interpreters who negotiate on a daily-basis crisis communication in emergencies, including conflict-related emergencies and representations of war events in the media. In crisis communication, whether mediators are attempting to communicate between cultures or are explicitly committed to the ethos of one side of the multilingual communication is perhaps less relevant than in conflicts, hence significant differences emerge. In emergencies, goals are often more clearly shared among parties than in wartime and conflict, some aspects of which are considered by three contributions in this volume (see the chapters by Al-Shehari, Gaunt, and Skorokhod). Glancing over the broken road of communication in a crisis or in an emergency, different scenarios, reactions, and case studies emerge. There seems to be a clear overlap in considering the communicator's role as that of a party inclined to *collaborate in the linguistic exchange* with the other mediated, interpreted, and translated parties who bring highly specialized but very diverse skill sets to any humanitarian operations. Instances of broken communications are the focus areas for scholars and researchers from different backgrounds and disciplines who studied events as they happened and now present the results of their initial observations in this volume.

There is firm evidence that a continuity of processes and protocols in employing polyglot scholars and intellectuals to run mediations and conflict negotiations creates a link with the past (topics explored in Federici and Tessicini 2014). There is even stronger evidence to suggest that much deeper, more extensive, and more intensive research is needed in order to understand the social role of translators (Tyulenev 2014) in societies that are hyper-connected and in which old conflicts persist and new clashes emerge continuously (Cronin 2013). There is equally strong evidence to consider the role of machine translation and other technologies in

support of polyglots who operate in emergency contexts (Lewis 2010). Hence, the contributions in this collection discuss contexts in which intercultural mediations occur within recognizable patterns of disruption of the status quo, be they for largely unpredictable natural reasons or as a result of partially predictable crises derived from human conflicts. The initial evidence seems to suggest that we could identify recurrent features, which currently lead us to believe that they indicate new, radical shifts in the social position of the mediator. These shifts are occurring faster than ever, and in many senses, other stakeholders in crisis communication and in emergency research are still lagging behind the realization that a heightened awareness of the role of planned, logistically organized, and trained linguistic awareness is as important as many other factors in planning responses to international emergencies. Delisle and Woodsworth encapsulate the role of interpreters (and translators) in an observation that deeply influenced my growing interest in the urgency of studying the mediation of emergencies: 'Whether they chose the profession or were chosen by it, interpreters have helped shape history' (1995/2012: 249). The aim behind the work of the contributors to this volume may be succinctly described as an attempt to make sure that fewer linguists are randomly chosen and more will become able to be involved in planning their role or supporting the choices of other linguists in operating ethically, with a professional awareness, and ideally training in emergencies. Indeed, this is part of a broader issue for public service and community interpreting in general. Understanding who these cultural mediators are, how they operate in their contexts of emergencies, and which personal and institutional networks inform key decisions in our current age are the first steps that will shape future questions in advancing our knowledge of what role cultural mediation can have in building international plans for concerted humanitarian responses to emergencies.

Rather than pre-empting the readers' own intellectual exploration of the volume, it suffices here to explain its subdivision into two sections. The first section explores some of the key areas that current but predominantly *future* research into the linguistic mediation of emergencies needs to investigate more consistently and systematically. By trying to address and overcome some of the methodological obstacles common to any research in the area of medical emergencies (Chap. 2, by Cox and

Lázaro Gutiérrez), disaster response (Chap. 3, by Doğan), humanitarian crisis and testing training responses (Chap. 4, O'Brien), and emergency responses in predictably dangerous areas (Chap. 5, Razumovskaya & Olga Bartashova), the first section of the volume deals with mediating emergencies. The relatively predictable emergencies, with frenetic dynamics, of those in emergency and accident rooms in hospital demonstrate that it is feasible for personnel to be prepared to deal with any sort of emergency without knowing in advance the specifics of what they are going to face. Yet medical personnel use their training, carry out procedures to the best of their ability, and anticipate some of the unexpected situations that crises and emergencies throw at them. Their language and culture mediators are not necessarily à la page with such procedures, and the result is another context in which additional emphasis on preparing and using the services of interpreters is required in both the study of the phenomenon and the implementation of different practices. On a larger scale, NGOs and governments prepare plans to respond to emergencies in a similar way; the procedures and mechanics of responses can be reviewed and enhanced, but more modelling on a vast scale (as in computer models of emergency responses) should also consider linguistic factors. Existing models of resilience and linguists equipped with the skills and the training to respond procedurally to emergencies can be embedded in existing training programmes. With adjustments to the scale of deployment (see Doğan's contribution in this volume offering an example of deployment at national level), these models could be considered and even tested in different national and international contexts to assess whether they are more broadly applicable. Emergencies due to natural calamities are indeed more common in form and shape in some areas that are significant from a geo-political perspective for their resources (see Razumovskaya's and Bartashova's contribution to this volume); there is hence scope for testing and enhancing existing models.

The second section of the volume considers those situations in which the presence of mediation and a mediator is already more evident and their role understandably visible and tangible, and relates to the role and services of translators and interpreters in conflict-related contexts or their representations. Focusing on some evident limitations of live interpreting (Chap. 6, by Al-Shehari), or on manipulated translations in the

media (Chap. 7, by Skorokhod), and on war biographies and autobiographies from a clearly ideologically biased position (Chap. 8, by Gaunt), the contributors remind us of the linguistic challenges of mediating unpredictable situations of conflict and predictable influences of biased forms of intercultural communication. The general public's response to this visibly broken frontline mediation enforces the unwanted cliché and stereotype of the visible act of mediation, which Inghilleri and Harding regarded as boiling down to the simplistic dichotomy of being 'loyal to one side and opposed to another' (2010: 167). Meier (2007: 265) recommends that:

> given the increasing need for translators and interpreters world wide, and the challenges and dangers faced by many translators and interpreters, it is incumbent on translators and translation scholars not only to advocate for the rights of translators but to accept the responsibility of acknowledging and addressing the presence of conflict as an integral part of much translation practice.

It is fair to add that translators and translation scholars should also advocate for research-based evidence so as to highlight the real need in disaster management and emergency planning to include considerations of the intercultural dimension implicit in multilingual communication, as happens in crisis communication. Increasingly, the presence of intercultural mediators must become an integral part of any form of planning responses for future emergencies to enable societies to become more prepared and resilient, and for international humanitarian efforts to achieve ever better results than they already do.

References

Ackerly, Gavin. 2015. Humanitarian symbiotic innovation. Theory and practice. *Humanitarian Innovation Project 2015 conference*. http://www.oxhip.org/resources/hip2015-conference-papers/. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Apter, Emily. 2001. Balkan Babel: Translation zones, military zones. *Public Culture* 13(1): 65–80.

Austin, John L. 1962. *How to do things with words?* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Baker, Mona. 2006. *Translation and conflict: A narrative account*. London/New York: Routledge.

Baker, Mona. 2010. Reframing conflict in translation. In *Critical readings in translation studies*, ed. Mona Baker, 113–129. London/New York: Routledge.

Bauman, Zygmunt and Carlo Bordoni. 2014. *State of Crisis*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beamon, Benita M., and Stephen A. Kotleba. 2006. Inventory modelling for complex emergencies in humanitarian relief operations. *International Journal of Logistics Research and Applications* 9(1): 1–18.

Bielsa, Esperança. 2007. Translation in global news agencies. *Target* 19(1): 135–155.

Braun, Sabine, and J. Taylor. 2012. *Videoconference and remote interpreting in legal proceedings*. Antwerp/Oxford: Intersentia. http://epubs.surrey.ac.uk/805380/. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Cadwell, Patrick. 2014. Translation and interpreting needs in the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011. *Proceedings of the FIT XXth World Congress*, ed. Wolfram Baur, B. Eichner, S. Kalina, N. Kessler, F. Mayer, J. Orsted, 752–60. BDÜ Fachverlag.

Casadei, Simone, and Massimiliano Franceschetti (eds.). 2009. *Il mediatore culturale in sei Paesi europei (Italia, Francia, Germania, Grecia, Regno Unito, Spagna). Ambiti di intervento, percorsi di accesso e competenze*. Rome: Strumenti ISFOL.

Communicating with Disaster Affected Communities Network. 2014. Mission statement. Available at: http://www.cdacnetwork.org/. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Cronin, Michael. 2006. *Translation and identity*. London/New York: Routledge.

Cronin, Michael. 2013. *Translation in the Digital Age*. London/New York: Routledge.

Delisle, Jean, and Judith Woodsworth (eds.). 2012. *Translators through history*, 2nd ed. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Department for International Development. 2012a. *Promoting innovation and evidence-based approaches to building resilience and responding to humanitarian crises: A DFID strategy paper*. London: Department for International Development. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67438/prom-innov-evi-bas-appr-build-res-resp-hum-cris.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Department for International Development. 2012b. *Minimum standards for embedding disaster resilience in DFID country offices*. London: Department for International Development. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/191840/Minimum_standards_for_embedding_Disaster_Resilience.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Dragovic-Drouet, Mila. 2007. The practice of translation and interpreting during the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia (1991–1999). In *Translating and interpreting conflict*, ed. Myriam Salama-Carr, 29–40. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Edwards, Victoria. 2002. The role of communication in peace and relief mission negotiations. *Translation Journal,* 6(2). http://translationjournal.net/journal/20interpr.htm. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Federici, Federico M., and Dario Tessicini (eds.). 2014. *Translators, interpreters, and cultural negotiators. Mediating & communicating power from the Middle Ages to the modern era*. Houndmills/Basinstoke: Palgrave.

Footitt, Hilary, and Michael Kelly (eds.). 2012a. *Languages at war. Policies and practices of language contacts in conflict*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Footitt, Hilary, and Michael Kelly (eds.). 2012b. *Languages and the military. Alliances, occupation and peace building*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Footitt, Hilary, and Simona Tobia. 2013. *WarTalk. Foreign languages and the British war effort in Europe, 1940–47*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Goldfarb, Michael. 2005. *Ahmad's war, Ahmad's peace*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers.

Harding, Sue-Ann. 2011. Translation and the circulation of competing narratives from the wars in Chechnya: A case study from the 2004 Beslan hostage disaster. *Meta: Journal des Traducteurs* 56(1): 42–62.

Hari, Daoud. 2008. *The translator: A tribesman's memoir of Darfur*. New York: Random House.

Hertog, Erik, and Jan van Gucht (eds.). 2008. *Status quaestionis. Questionnaire on the provision of legal interpreting and translation in the EU*, AGIS project JLS/2006/AGIS/052. Antwerp/Oxford: Intersentia. https://lirias.kuleuven.be/bitstream/123456789/385604/1/Status+Quaestionis+Def.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Hester, Vaughn, Aaron Shaw, and Lukas Biewald. 2010. Scalable crisis relief: Crowdsourced SMS translation and categorization with mission 4636. *Proceedings of the First ACM Symposium on Computing for Development* (ACM DEV'10), 1–7. New York: ACM.

IFRC. 2013. *World Disasters Report: Focus on technology and the future of humanitarian action*, International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Available at: http://www.ifrc.org/PageFiles/134658/WDR%202013%20complete.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Inghilleri, Moira. 2008. The ethical task of the translator in the geo-political arena: From Iraq to Guantánamo Bay. *Translation Studies* 1(2): 212–223.

Inghilleri, Moira. 2009. Translators in war zones: Ethics under fire in Iraq. In *Globalization, political violence and translation*, ed. Esperança Bielsa and Christopher Hughes, 207–221. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Inghilleri, Moira, and Sue-Ann Harding. 2010. Introduction: Translating violent conflict. In: *Translation and violent conflict*. Special issue of *The Translator*, ed. Moira Inghilleri and Sue-Ann Harding 16(2): 165–73.

Kaigo, Muneo. 2012. Social media usage during disasters and social capital: Twitter and the Great East Japan Earthquake. *Keio Communication Review* 24: 19–35.

Kaufmann, Mareile. 2013. Emergent self-organisation in emergencies: Resilience rationales in interconnected societies. *Resilience: International Policies, Practices and Discourses* 1(1): 53–56.

Kelly, Michael, and Catherine Baker. 2013. *Interpreting the peace. Peace operations, conflict and language in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kurultay, T. 2001. *Depreme Karşı Toplumsal Hazırlıkta Eylem Odaklı Bilgi* [Action-based knowledge in disaster preparedness]. *Prooceedings of the Disaster Management and Community Seminar, Hacettepe University, June 2001*. Ankara.

Lewis, William. 2010. Haitian Creole: How to build and ship an MT engine from scratch in 4 days, 17 hours, & 30 minutes. *Proceedings of the 14th Annual Conference of the European Association for Machine Translation (EAMT 2010)*. Saint-Raphaël, 27–28 May 2010 (no page numbers).

Lewis, William, R. Munro, and S. Vogel. 2011. Crisis MT: Developing a cookbook for MT in crisis situations. *Proceedings of the 6th Workshop on Statistical Machine Translation*, 501–511. Edinburgh, July 30–31.

Liu, Z., Jacques, C., Szyniszewski, S., Guest, J., Schafer, B., Igusa, T., and J. Mitrani-Reiser, J. 2016. Agent-based simulation of building evacuation after an earthquake: Coupling human behavior with structural response. *Natural Hazards Review*, 17(1).

Luhmann, Niklas. 1990. The world society as a social system. In *Essays on self-reference*, ed. Niklas Luhmann. New York: Columbia University Press.

Mason, Ian. 2009. Discourse, ideology and translation. In *Critical readings in translation studies*, ed. Mona Baker, 83–95. London/New York: Routledge.

Meier, Carol. 2007. The translator's visibility: The rights and responsibilities thereof. In *Translating and interpreting conflict*, ed. Myriam Salama-Carr, 253–266. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Mihata, Kevin. 1997. The persistence of emergence. In *Chaos, complexity and sociology. Myths, models and theories*, ed. Raymond A. Eve, Sara Horsfall, and Mary E. Lee, 30–38. London: Sage.

Mizuno, Makiko. 2012. Community interpreting in Japan: Present state and challenges. In *Translation and translation studies in the Japanese context*, ed. Nana Sato-Rossberg and J. Wakabayashi, 202–221. London: Continuum.

Morrow, Nathan, N. Mock, A. Papendieck, and N. Kocmich. 2011. *Independent evaluation of the Ushahidi Haiti Project* [Online]. Available from: http://reliefweb.int/report/haiti/independent-evaluation-ushahidi-haiti-project. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Moser-Mercer, Barbara, L. Kheriche, and B. Class. 2014. Interpreting conflict: Training challenges in humanitarian field interpreting. *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 6(1): 140–158.

Munro, Robert. 2013. Crowdsourcing and the crisis-affected community: Lessons learned and looking forward from mission 4636. *Journal of Information Retrieval* 16(2): 210–266.

Naito, Minoru. 2012. Community interpreting at the time of Great East Japan Earthquake. *Conference Interpretation and Translation (*국제회의 통역과 번역*)* 14(1): 97–115.

Palmer, Jerry. 2007. Interpreting and translation for Western media in Iraq. In *Translating and interpreting conflict*, ed. Myriam Salama-Carr, 13–28. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Preston, John, Barry Avery, Namita Chakrabarty, and Casey Edmonds. 2011. Emergency preparedness as public pedagogy: The absent–presence of race in "preparing for emergencies". *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 30(6): 749–762.

Rafael, Vicente L. 2007. Translation in wartime. *Public Culture* 19(2): 239–246.

Rafael, Vicente L. 2009. Translation in wartime. In *Critical readings in translation studies*, ed. Mona Baker, 383–390. London/New York: Routledge.

Schäffner, Christina, Tcaciuc Luciana Sabina, and Wine Tesseur. 2014. Translation practices in political institutions: A comparison of national, supranational, and non-governmental organisations. *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology* 22(4): 493–510.

Silvia, Tony. 2001. CNN: The origins of the 24-hour, international news cycle. In *Global news: Perspectives on the Information Age*. Ames: State University Press.

Sontag, Susan. 2003. *Regarding the pain of others*. London/New York: Penguin.
Stahuljak, Zrinka. 2000. Violent distortions: Bearing witness to the task of wartime translators. *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction* 13(1): 37–51.
Stahuljak, Zrinka. 2009. War, translation, transnationalism. Interpreters in and of the war (Croatia, 1991–1992). In *Critical readings in translation studies*, ed. Mona Baker, 391–414. London/New York: Routledge.
Sutherlin, Gwyneth. 2013. A voice in the crowd: Broader implications for crowdsourcing translation during crisis. *Journal of Information Science* 39: 397–409.
Takeda, Kayoko. 2008. Interpreting at the Tokyo war crimes tribunal. In *Doing justice to court interpreting*, ed. Miriam Shlesinger and Franz Pöchhacker, 65–83. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Taurecka, Rita. 2006. Securitization theory and securitization studies. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 9: 53–61.
Tesseur, Wine. 2014. Institutional multilingualism in NGOs: Amnesty International's strategic understanding of multilingualism. *Meta* 59(3): 557–577.
Translators without Borders. 2015. Words of relief takes flight. http://translatorswithoutborders.org/twbnewsletter/09/words-of-relief-takes-flight/. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
Tyulenev, Sergey. 2014. *Translation and society: An introduction*. London/New York: Routledge.
Zelizer, Barbie, and Stuart Allan. 2010. *Keywords in news and journalism studies*. Maidenhead/New York: Open University Press-McGraw-Hill Education.

Part I

Emergencies in a Multilingual Context

2

Interpreting in the Emergency Department: How Context Matters for Practice

Antoon Cox and Raquel Lázaro Gutiérrez

Introduction

An expanding volume of literature shows that the lack of a common language between a patient and a doctor is a major cause of health disparities in healthcare (Divi et al. 2007; Karliner et al. 2012; Schillinger and Chen

The authors would like to thank Denise Cameron, Stewart Sanson, and Anneleen Vandeplas for their valuable suggestions and feedback on an earlier draft of this chapter.

A. Cox (✉)
Department of Applied Linguistics, Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB), Pleinlaan 2, 1050 Brussels, Belgium

The Centre for Language, Discourse and Communication, Division of Medical Education, King's College London (KCL), St. Thomas' St, London SE1 9RT, UK

R. Lázaro Gutiérrez
Filología Moderna, Universidad de Alcalá, Calle Trinidad, Alcalá de Henares, Madrid 28801, Spain

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

F.M. Federici (ed.), *Mediating Emergencies and Conflicts*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55351-5_2

2004). At the same time, around the world, emergency departments (EDs) are becoming increasingly diverse. Frequent problems with language barriers between patients and caregivers show that better insights are needed on how to deal more effectively with multilingualism on the hospital floor. As 80% of the diagnosis depends on oral communication (Watt 2008), medical mishaps in the ED often result from vulnerable communication processes (Eisenberg et al. 2005: 390). For example, Burley (2011) finds that language barriers are a major obstacle to history-taking in the ED.

So far the academic literature on language barriers and medical interpreting has mainly focused on primary care settings, and research on communication language interpreting in the ED remains scant (Scheeres et al. 2008; Slade et al. 2008). Nevertheless, the conditions for communication in the ED are very different from primary care settings. This is why Eisenberg et al. (2005: 391) conclude that the ED is a "unique environment," calling for context-specific studies of communication processes and barriers, and their impact on important health outcomes.

The Specific Context of the ED

ED medicine is characterized by uncertainty, open-endedness, and multiplicity (Eisenberg et al. 2005). Doctors operate in a very uncertain environment: they do not know up-front which patients they will see, what their social or medical background is, and which languages they know. Open-endedness implies that ED clinicians cannot control their workload, as they do not know up-front how many patients will come, and when they will come. Multiplicity refers to the fact that clinicians are typically seeing and monitoring several patients at a time. As a result, ED consultations are often distracted by internal phone calls (Chisholm et al. 2001: 148). All this happens in a generally tense environment of tight time constraints, as ED services are characterized by overcrowding, and typically long and tiring clinician work shifts. In this context, various components of the usual patient–doctor communication process (establishing rapport with the patient, gathering and giving information, providing comfort and collaboration) are often performed simultaneously

(Knopp et al. 1996: 1066–1067). Patients tend to be stressed and in pain, and the venue of communication is often noisy and lacking privacy (Knopp et al. 1996: 1066).

Managing Multilingualism in the ED

The literature recommends the use of professional interpreters to overcome language barriers in the healthcare setting (Ramirez et al. 2008). Research has found that language barriers lead to an increased length of stay in the ED. In a prospective cohort study of a US paediatric ED, Hampers et al. (1999: 1255) find that the need to order additional diagnostic tests and a high number of hospitalizations may contribute to this increased length of stay. Goldman et al. (2006) also find that language barriers are significantly associated with variation in length of stay, based on a review of patient records in a Canadian paediatric ED. A study in an Australian adult ED by Mahmoud et al. (2013) comes to the same conclusion. On the other hand, Waxman et al. (2000), Cossey and Jeanmonod (2012), and Wallbrecht et al. (2014) do not find a significant difference in length of stay between patients with limited English proficiency and English-speaking patients.

All three studies recommend interventions such as using professional interpreters to overcome challenges associated with language barriers. In the study by Waxman et al. (2000), an interpreter was used whenever a patient presented with a language barrier. They suggest that the interpreter might have eliminated the language barrier and that this could explain why no differences were found in length of stay. On the other hand, Wallbrecht et al. (2014) found that using an interpreter actually increased the length of stay for patients with a language barrier. The authors did not investigate the reasons for this discrepancy and call for future studies to do so.

Relevant training of interpreters is crucial to overcoming language barriers. It is a well-known fact that interpreters must have a deep knowledge both of the languages and their respective cultures into and from which they interpret (Valero-Garcés 2006). The understanding and expression of concepts related to health and illness may vary between cultures. This

means that foreign patients may have ways of expressing their problems which seem exotic or even incomprehensible to members of the host culture. Interpreters should be familiar not only with these culturally marked pragmatic patterns of patients, but also with cultural and institutional constructs belonging to the host culture, which will influence the development of interactions between service providers and users.

Another typical characteristic of healthcare interactions is the asymmetry between the participants in the conversations (Lázaro Gutiérrez 2014). This asymmetry increases when the patient does not speak the institutional language, that is, the language used by the medical staff. The interpreted conversations sometimes take place in tense and stressful situations, such as the ED (Phelan 2001; Valero-Garcés 2006). Interpreters usually suffer from the stress generated by the surrounding situation and by having to re-verbalize traumatic events.

There is a scarce, albeit growing, acknowledgement of the profession. This often results in poor working conditions for professional interpreters working in this field, who receive low salaries, are assigned tasks other than interpreting, and have little support and resources (not receiving previous information about the topic of the conversations to be interpreted or the peculiarities of the interactants, or being called very shortly before the assignment starts) (Lázaro Gutiérrez 2014). All of these issues aside, the interpreter has to perform a much broader task than simply interpreting, which includes, among other issues, the coordination of turn-taking in the conversation (Wadensjö 1998). Several challenges associated with the utilization of professional interpreters in the ED result in the fact that in many cases clinicians revert to using non-trained, *ad-hoc* interpreters. Then, professional interpreters remain largely underutilized in the ED (Ramirez et al. 2008). *Ad-hoc* interpreters are people who accompany the patient (such as family members or friends) and are more proficient in the hospital's working language than the patient.

According to Ramirez et al. (2008), interpreters are often not called in because of perceived time and financial constraints, while *ad-hoc* interpreters are often readily and freely available. In a study of an urban paediatric hospital in the USA, O'Leary et al. (2003) find that a major reason for medical staff not calling in medical interpreters, even if they were present on site, was that the process of calling and locating them was per-

ceived as too time-consuming and cumbersome. The lack of prior information concerning the patient's language skills complicates this process (Karliner et al. 2004). Interestingly in this context, Fagan et al. (2003) compared the differences between telephone interpreting, professional interpreting, and *ad-hoc* interpreting in relation to the patient's length of stay in the hospital. Contrary to the common perception that calling in professional interpreters costs a lot of time, they found that the patient's length of stay increased when *ad-hoc* interpreting or telephone interpreting was used, in comparison to professional on-site interpreters.

Another reason why physicians mainly rely on non-professional interpreters is that that they might not realise the importance and added value of professional interpreters (Elderkin-Thompson et al. 2001). Medical staff may overestimate the patient's own language skills, and/or judge that *ad-hoc* interpreters suffice for language mediation. However, even if a patient seems fluent in daily small talk, (s)he may not yet have the proper repertoire for communicating effectively with a doctor. Finally, in some cases, hospital staff are insufficiently aware of the available services (see e.g. Bonacruz et al. [2003] for a study set in Australia).

Samples Obtained through Qualitative Research in a Spanish and a Belgian ED

Transcript-based studies have shown that the use of *ad-hoc* interpreters can raise the number of communication errors with an increased risk of medical errors as a result (Karliner et al. 2007; Flores et al. 2003; Flores et al. 2012). In the remainder of this chapter, we will discuss findings from our own qualitative research, which uncover a number of pitfalls in the utilization of *ad-hoc* interpretation in the ED.

Data Collection

To ensure the validity and usefulness of our data and analysis and that the findings can be extrapolated to other ED contexts, information was extracted from two different corpora. One was gathered in Spain, at

Guadalajara University Hospital, close to Madrid, and one was compiled in Belgium, at an inner-city public hospital in Brussels.

Data were collected through participant observation in the ED, as we shadowed ED consultants who were treating foreign language-speaking patients. We carried out informal interviews with the staff before and after their interactions with the patient. In these interviews, contextual information was gathered about the content of the consultations, the consultant's view on the communication process, and other contextual elements such as workload, time of the day, and procedural issues related to the treatment of patients and the specific context of the ED. In addition, we collected audio-recordings of cross-linguistic doctor–patient interactions in the ED.[1] In total, qualitative data collection resulted in a data set of 219 recordings. The corpus is divided into three groups: standard conversations (conversations where staff and patients share a mother tongue), conversations with foreign patients without interpreter, and conversations with foreign patients through an *ad-hoc* interpreter.

Research Setting

Guadalajara is a town located East of Madrid, at the centre of Spain. At the time of data collection (2001–2004), Spain was experiencing a strong influx of migrant workers from Algeria, Bulgaria, Morocco, Nigeria, Romania, Senegal, Poland, as well as other countries. At that time, the Organic Law 4/2000 (Ley Orgánica 4/2000, de 11 de enero, sobre derechos y libertades de los extranjeros en España y su integración social) granted foreigners the same access rights to healthcare as the national population.[2] This led to new and unprecedented challenges for healthcare professionals assisting members of this population when they made use of public healthcare services.

[1] For more information on how we entered the field for data collection in Belgium, how we obtained the patients' informed consent for participation in this study through prerecorded multilingual audio-trans-explanations, and how we recorded contextual elements such as gaze and bodily movement simultaneously with relevant sound bites in a hectic environment, see Cox et al. (2013), Cox and Dauby (2014) and Cox (2015).

[2] More recently, this law has been revised.

Due to its short distance from Madrid, Guadalajara offered cheaper accommodation at a short distance from the capital, which made this town particularly attractive for immigrant workers. Guadalajara University Hospital belongs to the network of public hospitals and is managed by the Healthcare Service of the region of Castilla-La Mancha. At the time of data collection, interpreting or mediation[3] services were not provided. Interpreting services could only be provided by *ad-hoc* interpreters, usually friends, or relatives of the patients.

Brussels is the capital of Belgium and has a highly diverse population. Around 50% of the inhabitants of Brussels are estimated to have held a foreign nationality at birth (Deboosere et al. 2009); 40% originated from outside the European Union. As in many other cosmopolitan cities, Brussels has a large number of undocumented immigrants who settle in the city in search of security and employment in the informal economy (Vandermotten et al. 2011). Many undocumented patients bypass the regular health system and turn directly to the ED when they are confronted with health problems (Debosscher 2012). Brussels also reports a high number of expatriate workers and tourists.

Receiving 85,000 patients a year, the ED under study is the largest of its kind in Belgium. The city's diversity is reflected in both the patient and the staff population. The ED under study has a special agreement for the treatment of the residents of Belgium's largest asylum seeker centre (Fedasil 2011). A recent patient survey revealed that 40% of patients held a foreign passport (Cerf 2012). Rather than calling in professional interpreters or one of the six on-site intercultural mediators who are available during office hours, the ED mainly works with *ad-hoc* interpreters who happen to accompany the patient.

Research Findings

Drawing on this data set, we will discuss first how major characteristics of the ED, such as lack of prior information, multiplicity, and time pressure,

[3] Mediation here refers to interpreting in healthcare settings, acknowledging that amongst the many roles of healthcare interpreters, they act as mediators, cultural brokers, and communication facilitators engaging with tasks that go well beyond the role of mere language conduit.

influence language interpreting in the ED (Knopp et al. 1996; Chisholm et al. 2001; Engel et al. 2010). In particular, we will show that these typical characteristics complicate the utilization of professional interpreter services, and may even encourage the use of *ad-hoc* interpreters. Next, we will show that the use of *ad-hoc* interpreters is associated with important risks to effective doctor–patient communication.

Why Professional Interpreters Remain Underutilized

In what follows, we discuss three major reasons why professional interpreters are underutilized, based on real-life examples.

Case 1: Overestimation of the Patient's Language Skills

One of the reasons that clinicians do not invoke professional interpreters is that it is very cumbersome to assess effectively the patient's language skills. For example, Zun et al. (2006) found that both patients and clinical staff often overestimate the allophone patient's language skills, since the perceived patient's language competency was significantly higher than his/her effective competency test results.

This can be regarded as "false fluency" of the patient. People learn the meaning of words and concepts according to the circumstances they have been exposed to (Hymes 1974). Patients may not understand what is being said or they may not be able to interpret questions within a specific healthcare context that commonly relies on a body of shared background knowledge.

In communication, it is this shared background knowledge that allows us to understand allusions and ways of speaking. It allows us to interpret what is being said in the way that it has been intended. In intercultural encounters, interpretations of what is said are likely to be different for participants with diverging cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and therefore different conventions on how to interpret what is said. In the ED, as there is uncertainty about the patient's background knowledge, misunderstandings regarding specific concepts can arise, even when the patient can fluently speak the language used by the hospital workers.

Box 2.1: "Do You Have a GP?"

One late afternoon, an ED consultant went to see a Spanish middle-aged couple who had been living in Brussels for a while. They gave the impression of speaking French rather fluently. The woman was the patient, and her husband was accompanying her. The woman had been feeling dizzy over the previous days. The consultant took a history from the patient using the regular questions, such as "since when?," "Do you often vomit?," and "Is this the first time?" The patient did answer the consultant's questions, but gave a confused impression. For this reason, the consultant wanted to get in touch with the patient's GP to get a more thorough medical history on the patient. However, when she asked the patient whether she had a "*médécin traîtant*" (a GP), both the patient and her husband shook his head in disagreement. The term "*médécin traîtant*" is synonymous with "*médécin de famille*," and those familiar with the Belgian healthcare system are aware of this. However, "*médécin traîtant*" literally means "a doctor that is treating you." Although the patient and her husband spoke French fluently, they might not have understood that the consultant was referring to her GP.

A bit later, when the doctor was carrying out the physical examination of the patient, the woman started speaking in Spanish to her husband. She said to him "*Ayer el doctor dijó que…*" (Yesterday the doctor told me…). As an observer, I understood these Spanish utterances. After leaving the examination booth, the consultant told me that she was stressed and worried, as her patient had been dizzy over the past days, but had no GP to consult on the patient's medical history. When I informed the consultant about the conversation I had overheard, we went back to the patient. This time, however, she used the synonym "*médécin de famille*" when inquiring about her GP. The patient immediately gave the name of the GP. The consultant got in touch with the patient's GP and got the crucial information she needed.

Source: Own participant observation in Brussels (Belgium)

The story described in Box 2.1 shows that communication mishaps are often not detected by participants in a conversation. As the study by Zun et al. (2006) suggests, by assuming that they shared the same background knowledge or repertoire, both the clinician and the couple overestimated the couple's language competency.

Case 2: Complexity of Identifying Patients' Language

Amid the uncertainty, chaos, and time pressure characteristic of the ED, it is often difficult to find out up-front, or even during the consultation, what language the patient speaks. This makes it difficult to call in the appropriate language interpretation services as illustrated in Box 2.2 below.

Box 2.2: Confusion of Tongues

I was shadowing an ED consultant as we went to see an elderly woman, apparently of Moroccan origin. A middle-aged man, whom we presumed was the woman's son, accompanied her. As neither the woman nor the man could speak French, judging from the patient's Arab sounding name, the consultant went to ask for her native Arabic-speaking colleague's help. Twenty minutes later (which is a long time in the ED), after having found the Egyptian colleague, we went back to see the patient. Contrary to our expectations, the Arabic-speaking consultant did not understand the patient, but he was able to talk to the patient's alleged son. The reason was that the woman spoke Berber, a commonly spoken language in Morocco, but not Arabic. The son, who had presumably attended school, did speak Arabic.

Not wanting to waste more time, a "relay interpreting session" was initiated. The ED consultant would ask a question in French, which would then be translated by the Arabic-speaking doctor into Arabic to the son, who would then translate the question from Arabic into Berber. The patient would answer in Berber, and this would then be back translated via Arabic into French. A complicating factor was that neither the ED consultant nor her Egyptian colleague was native French speakers.

This case took place in the afternoon of a weekday. When we left the examination booth, we ran into one of hospital's on-site professional interpreters, who happened to speak both Berber and classical Arabic and was on his way out. Had he been called in, everyone would have saved time, and the translation would have been more accurate. However, amid the chaos and stress of the ED, neither of the two consultants had thought of calling him in. They did not have the interpreter's internal phone number anywhere handy. Rather than saving time by not calling in the interpreter, time was lost by not doing so.

Source: Own participant observation in Brussels (Belgium)

Since different members of the clinical staff may assist the same patient in the same consultation, it can even happen that a particular doctor or nurse starts talking to the patients before even realizing that they might not speak Spanish, as can be seen in the following example in Box 2.3:

Box 2.3: Is the Patient Allophone?

A Polish patient is lying on a table after the examination of a team of one doctor and a nurse. The patient who has complaints of acute pain and dizziness has come to the ED with a neighbour of his, who sometimes acts as an interpreter but does not have a much better command of Spanish. A second doctor is called for a second opinion.

1. Doctor 1: *sigue las piernas sigue las piernas ¿qué es lo que le pasa?, cuente un poco*
   go on with the legs, go on with the legs, what's the matter with you? Tell me.[4]

[4] This structure reflects the peculiarities of oral discourse and is thus difficult to understand without context. The patient was moving his legs and the doctor wanted to tell him to keep on moving them.

2. Doctor 2: *¿es español?*
   is he Spanish?
3. Nurse: *no, no es español.*
   No, he is not Spanish

Source: Own participant observation in Guadalajara (Spain)

Although the second doctor may have wanted to communicate through an interpreter before seeing this patient, he lacked information about the language he spoke.

Case 3: Practical Barriers to the Use of Professional Interpreters

As the previous examples also show, specific organizational arrangements are crucial for an adequate provision of professional language services. Earlier research argues that interpreters often are not called in because of perceived time constraints (e.g. Ramirez et al. 2008). Along the same lines, we noticed that clinicians often would not have the direct internal phone numbers of the on-site interpreters, nor would there be a readily available list with their contact details. This meant that if they wanted to contact the interpreters, clinicians would have to look up the numbers on the hospital's website. This is hardly possible for ED clinicians, who typically are constantly occupied with performing different tasks. In times of stress, they tend to look for the closest available solution (which is likely to be family members, relatives, or colleagues) or not using interpreting services at all. Another problem was that clinicians typically did not have a personal rapport with the on-site interpreters, which made it more difficult for them to locate the interpreters and engage them in direct communication amid the communicative chaos of the ED.

In the rare case that professional interpreters are called in, they often spend a lot of time waiting, as the physician is multitasking, monitoring test results, calling colleagues, or seeing different patients, and therefore is not immediately available.

Pitfalls of Working with *Ad-hoc* Interpreters, or no Interpreters at All

In what follows, we discuss four cases in order to illustrate the hazards associated with using non-professional interpreters, or no interpreters at all.

Case 1: Ad-hoc Interpreter False Fluency

A study by Flores et al. (2012: 546–547) set in a US paediatric ED finds that *ad-hoc* interpreters made more mistakes of clinical consequence than professional interpreters. In particular, *ad-hoc* interpreters "altered or potentially altered the history of present illness, medical history, diagnostic or therapeutic interventions, parental understanding of the child's medical condition, and/or plans for future medical visits (including follow-up visits and specialty referrals)." Typical mistakes consist of omissions (leaving out details), substitutions (adding elements in the translations), and false fluency (using words that do not exist in a particular language) (Flores et al. 2012: 546). In the ED, where the clinician has no prior knowledge of the language and interpreting skills of the patient's family member or accompanying person, there is a risk that miscommunication remains unnoticed. Along the same lines, Meyer et al. (2010: 298) argue that "[…] although interactions with ad-hoc-interpreters often appear to be fluent and unproblematic at first glance, a closer look reveals significant miscommunication. However, such miscommunication passes by unnoticed by the primary interlocutors." An example of this type of miscommunication is given in Box 2.4.

Box 2.4: False Fluency

The excerpt below reflects a conversation in which an ED clinician performs a verbal assessment of a patient who speaks Moroccan Arabic. Moroccan Arabic is a variant of classical Arabic. As this variant has no formal status in Morocco, it might lack an equivalent in official medical terminology. A female patient, who was suffering from dizziness, had undergone surgery three months earlier. In the

excerpt below, the doctor wants to know whether the patient is suffering from ulcers. An *ad-hoc* interpreter, someone who accompanies the patient, provides translation services.

1. Doctor: *Elle fait des ulcères?*
   Does she have ulcers?
2. Interpreter: Do you throw up acid? **(in Moroccan Arabic)**
3. Patient: There is something that comes up; I cannot breathe anymore, and the food sticks… so I have to vomit. **(in Moroccan Arabic)**
4. Interpreter: *Elle dit que …*
   She is saying that…
5. Patient: And it burns, it burns… **(in Moroccan Arabic)**
6. Interpreter: *quand elle…*
   When she…
7. Doctor: *Mais elle a fait des ulcères déjà ?*
   But has she already had ulcers before?
8. Interpreter: *Je ne sais pas.*
   I don't know

The *ad-hoc* interpreter translates "having ulcers" into Moroccan Arabic as "throwing up acid." When the patient answers, the interpreter starts translating it; but she is interrupted as the patient starts to talk again. The doctor, slightly impatient at not having received an answer to her question, repeats his question, and therefore again interrupts the interpreter. The interpreter is discouraged and answers, "I don't know." In what follows, the clinician moves on to another topic, with a slightly irritated tone in his voice, as his question remains unanswered.

Source: Own participant observation in Brussels (Belgium)

This is a clear example of an interaction with an *ad-hoc* interpreter who seems fluent in French in which miscommunication passes by unnoticed. Being under time pressure, the clinician did not wait to

receive a proper answer. He might have assumed the patient was not willing to answer his question, but the reason for the miscommunication was most likely that the interpreter did not understand the concept of "having ulcers," a term that is generally known by people who speak French fluently.

Such confusion and, possibly, the associated frustration are not unusual in intercultural encounters as misunderstandings are often attributed to the speaker's negative attitude rather than to an asynchrony of shared linguistic and cultural background knowledge (Gumperz 1982). The confusion leads to time loss, as further down the conversation, the clinician needed to get back to this question on the ulcers. This finding is in line with the broader literature on the topic. Through a time and motion study in an outpatient clinic, Fagan et al. (2003) find that in comparison to professional interpreters, *ad-hoc* interpreters are associated with longer visit times.

Case 2: Role Confusion by the ad-hoc Interpreter

Previous research in primary care has shown that clinicians and *ad-hoc* or family interpreters have different views on the role of the latter (Boivin et al. 2013; Rosenberg et al. 2008). Clinicians tend to see the *ad-hoc* interpreter, rather than a mere "translation machine," as a full partner in the conversation and a potentially useful source as to the medical background of the patient. But at the same time, they are wary of the *ad-hoc* interpreter responding on the patient's behalf and giving his/her own views on the patient's condition rather than the patient's own view (Boivin et al. 2013). Box 2.5 below offers a clear illustration of this.

Box 2.5: Please Translate

The excerpt below describes an interaction between a doctor and a Pakistani *ad-hoc* interpreter. The latter has accompanied a Pakistani patient who suffers from pain in the pelvic area. To find out whether the patient suffers from a kidney stone, the clinician tries to assess

the quality of the patient's pain. In particular, he wants to know whether the onset of the pain was sudden or gradual. This is a major attribute of pain, which may facilitate the diagnosis. The conversation takes place in English as a "lingua franca," and the wrong use of English by the participants has not been corrected by the authors.

1. Doctor: Did it came (snaps fingers) suddenly?
   Or did it came little by little?
2. Interpreter: Little by little
3. Doctor: Ask him.
4. Interpreter: Yes eeehhhhe, he live with me, I know.
   He live with me
5. Doctor: Yes yes yes
   OK
   But he can have other feelings than you think.
   So you must translate
6. Interpreter: Hmhm

The interpreter tends to reply to the doctor without even consulting the patient. He does not assume his role as an interpreter, but behaves as an independent source of information. The doctor, however, does not accept this. He tries to convince the patient's companion to perform his role as an interpreter. At first, the interpreter shows some resistance. He tries to establish himself as a valuable source of patient history: "He lives with me, I know." This utterance gives the doctor slightly more information on the interpreter as a source of history: at least he knows now that the interpreter is living with the patient. Next, the doctor embarks on a session of instant interpreter education. He first acknowledges the interpreter's claims: "Yes, yes, yes." But immediately afterwards, he refutes the interpreter's argument in a friendly way: "He can have other sensations than you may think …" The doctor is being patient but persistent. Eventually, the physician's efforts and patience will pay off, but in the meantime, precious time has been lost.

Source: Own participant observation in Brussels (Belgium)

This example shows how *ad-hoc* interpreters do not always behave as "professionally" as professional interpreters are expected to behave. This may lead to time loss and frustration, but it could also obstruct the communication process to an important extent. The doctor is not necessarily aware of the fact that the interpreter does not provide an accurate translation. This may lead to errors in the diagnosis and the proposed treatment.

Case 3: Difficulty of Identifying the Relationship Between the Patient and Ad-hoc Interpreter

Family members have a potential advantage as *ad-hoc* interpreters, as they may be able to offer valuable information on the patient's state of health and history (Meyer et al. 2010; Rosenberg et al. 2008). In the medical literature, Bickley (2013) recommends that the clinician identifies the different potential sources of medical history at the beginning of the encounter with the patient. In the ED, there may be no time for a proper identification phase, in other words, to find out how the *ad-hoc* interpreter is related to the patient, as different phases of the consultation are taking place simultaneously (Knopp et al. 1996). If no proper identification is done, non-family members may be mistaken for valid sources of medical history. This is particularly likely in a cosmopolitan city such as Brussels, where recently arrived immigrants are often accompanied by members of their ethnic or speech community who are not necessarily family and therefore not familiar with the patient's medical background (as can illustrated in the interaction reported in Box 2.6 below).

Box 2.6: "*Vous êtes sa fille ?*"

The excerpt below is taken from an interaction between a Somali patient, her Somali companion, and a doctor. The doctor has already taken a detailed history, mainly by questioning the *ad-hoc* interpreter.

1. Doctor: *Vous êtes la fille?*
   Are you her daughter?

2. Interpreter: mhm?
3. Doctor: *Vous êtes sa fille?*
   Are you her daughter?
4. Interpreter: *Non, non, on est juste des sœurs d'amies à nous*
   No no, we are only sisters of a friend of ours

Because of time constraints, the doctor did not ask at the start of the interaction who the companion was and how she was related to the patient. Only after the doctor had already taken the medication history of the patient (during which the companion had answered several times instead of the patient), does he check the validity of the interpreter as a source of information on the patient ("Are you her daughter?"). The *ad-hoc* interpreter then vaguely answers, "We are sisters of a common friend." However, this is not clear at all from a local perspective on family relations. In the Somali culture, the concept of "sister" can have more than one meaning and might even mean friend or spouse (Helander 1991). This implies a lot of uncertainty with regard to how familiar she would be with the patient's medical history. Nevertheless, the doctor does not question the *ad-hoc* interpreter further on this topic and instead moves on with the history-taking.

Source: Own participant observation in Brussels (Belgium)

Case 4: Communication Breakdown

Without an interpreter, communication may break down entirely. If no interpreter can be found, or if the doctor prefers not to call in an interpreter, it may be impossible to build rapport with the patient, perform a verbal history, or even simply find out what language the patient speaks. In such a case, a medical interaction may deteriorate to what is referred to as "*médécine vétérinaire*" (veterinary medicine) (Clark 1983; Bowen 2001), implying that only a physical examination can be performed. As Watt (2008) assesses that 80% of the diagnosis tends to depend on oral communication, a communication breakdown is likely to have a strong negative impact on the diagnosis as well as the treatment, as exemplified in Box 2.7 below.

Box 2.7: Huh? When Communication Breaks Down

1. Doctor: *Depuis quand?*
   Since when?
2. Patient: *Quoi?*
   What?
3. Doctor: *Combien de temps? how long?*
   How much time?
4. Patient: *Euh très mal moi*
   me, very pain
5. Doctor: *Uhu*
6. Patient: *moi partir docteur parce que …* (incomprehensible)
   me leave doctor, because….
   …parce que tout va beaucoup infectionner je ne sais pas pourquoi moi des problèmes trop
   …because everything will infect a lot I do not know why me too many problems
7. Doctor: *Une infection où?*
   An infection, where?
8. Patient: *Je ne sais pas je ne sais parler ce n'est pas moi*
   I do not know, I cannot speak, it is not me.

Source: Own participant observation in Brussels (Belgium)

Implications of Our Research for Practice

Now that we have identified and discussed a set of reasons for the underutilization of professional interpreters, as well as a few major associated risks, in the following section, we will derive from these a set of implications for training of hospital staff and medical interpreters, as well as for ED organizational management.

Implications for Clinician and Interpreter Training

Clinician Training: Experiencing Communication Problems

Clinicians often do not perceive the need to call in an interpreter or are not always aware of communicative mishaps. To raise awareness of the extent of communication problems in the absence of professional interpreters, training curricula for ED doctors should be enriched with training in multilingual communication, under the specific conditions of the ED, and with particular attention for typical patient profiles. Such training should be based on real-life examples from the medical field, similar to the cases presented in this chapter. Such training could be offered via online learning modules that that can be accessed by physicians in quieter moments in the ED, allowing them to learn while remaining at the disposal of potential patients.

By dissecting examples of unnoticed miscommunication in the medical context that is familiar to them, clinicians become increasingly aware and able to detect possible communication mishaps. They may also become increasingly aware of the benefit of professional interpreters, and be more willing to call them in. Furthermore, real-life examples can furthermore be used to show "best practice" in communication strategies, avoid misunderstandings, and improve communication with *ad-hoc* interpreters or without an interpreter (Diamond and Jacobs 2010; Leanza et al. 2014).

For example, in circumstances where only an *ad-hoc* interpreter is available to mediate the interaction, the clinician must ensure that, prior to the consultation, the exact relationship between the patient and the interpreter is identified, and that the *ad-hoc* interpreter understands the most basic rules of interpreting (Leanza et al. 2014).

Interpreter Training: On-the-job "Communicative Immersion" in the ED

Medical interpreters need to become more familiar with the culture of EDs and learn "how the system works and why clinicians and staff operate the way they do" (Scheeres et al. 2008: 19). They should also become

familiar with the often-chaotic structure of an ED encounter and the typical features of the discourse which are employed, such as questions, narratives, explanations, and pragmatic peculiarities such as metaphors and use of empathy (Iliescu Gheorghiu 2001).

In addition to basic training in interpreting skills, the specificities of the ED context could be acquired via on-the-job "communicative immersion" in the ED. This would imply that interpreters shadow physicians as they see patients and perform their typical tasks. Therefore, it is crucial that the interpreter also follows the clinician when (s)he is seeing language-concordant patients to become familiar with the terminology. As both clinicians and interpreters will get to know each other personally and each other's working culture, mutual trust can be built, which may encourage the clinician to call in an interpreter more readily when seeing a foreign language-speaking patient. This "communicative immersion" will be enriching for clinicians as well, because working with interpreters or cultural brokers can help clinicians to improve their intercultural competence skills (Flores et al. 2002). Another advantage is that a better mutual understanding is likely to contribute to smooth communication in the stressful and chaotic context of the ED.

Implications for Organizational ED Management

Despite the fact that the ED is typically characterized by intense time constraints for staff, there is a lot of waiting involved for the patients, between intake, treatment, and discharge (Slade et al. 2008). To gain time, the "linguistic assessment" of patients can potentially take place prior to the consultation, such as at the time of intake or triage. If a patient has a lot of difficulty in expressing him- or herself, this can be mentioned on the patient's record. Initial steps can already be undertaken to identify the patient's native language, and if needed, an interpreter can be called in at this stage.

Furthermore, to make sure that phone numbers of on-site interpreters are readily available, relevant phone numbers could be printed at the top of each patient file. This allows for a direct line to the interpreter, even when different clinicians are treating one patient. When an interpreter is called in, (s)he could be given the patient's file number and the

internal number of the physician who is following the patient. Such an exchange of numbers is crucial to finding another backup in the complexity of the ED (Engel et al. 2010). If the clinician and the interpreter can easily locate each other, time is saved, and subsequent meetings can be organized in a flexible way, useless waiting time can be avoided, and the interpreter can attend to other medical interactions during his/her idle waiting time.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed via real-life examples how, as pinpointed by earlier quantitative research, the specific context of the ED impacts interpreter utilization. In particular, we show that the ED context poses several specific challenges when using professional interpreters. Hospital staff sometimes revert to non-professional *ad-hoc* interpreters or do not use any translation service at all. We discuss the risks associated with the underutilization of professional interpreters and propose a set of recommendations for clinician and interpreter training, as well as for organizational ED management.

References

Bickley, Lynn S. 2013. *Bates' guide to physical examination and history taking*. Philadelphia: Wolters Kluwer/Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Boivin, Isabelle, Yvan Leanza, and Ellen Rosenberg. 2013. Conceptions des rôles des interprètes professionnels et familiaux dans les entretiens médicaux et postures par rapport au monde vécu. *Alterstice – Revue Internationale de la Recherche Interculturelle* 2(2): 35–46.

Bonacruz Kazzi, G., and Carolyn Cooper. 2003. Barriers to the use of interpreters in emergency room paediatric consultations. *Journal of Paediatrics and Child Health* 39(4): 259–263.

Bowen, Sarah. 2001. *Language barriers in access to health care*. Ottawa: Health Canada.

Burley, Duncan. 2011. Better communication in the emergency department. *Emerg Nurse* 19(2): 32–6.

Cerf, D. 2012. Le bon usage du service des urgences. Unpublished paper. *Séminaires des Services d'Urgences IRIS*. Brussels: IRIS Public Hospital Network.

Chisholm, Carey D., Amanda M. Dornfeld, David R. Nelson, and William H. Cordell. 2001. Work interrupted: A comparison of workplace interruptions in emergency departments and primary care offices. *Annals of Emergency Medicine* 38(2): 146–151.

Clark, Margaret M. 1983. Cultural context of medical practice. *Western Journal of Medicine* 139(6): 806.

Cossey, K., and R. Jeanmonod. 2012. Impact of language discordance on doorto-room time and patient satisfaction in triage. *Annals of Emergency Medicine* 60(4): S113–S114.

Cox, Antoon. 2015. Do You Get the Message? Defining the Interpreter's Role in Medical Interpreting. *MonTI, Monographs in Translation and Interpreting Special Issue - Interpreting*.

Cox, Antoo and Nicolas Dauby. 2014. The challenge of obtaining informed consent in a highly multilingual hospital emergency department. *In (Re) considerando ética e ideología en situaciones de conflicto = (Re) visisiting ethics and ideology in situations of conflict*, ed. Carmen Valero Garcés, 114–19. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, Servicio de Publicaciones.

Cox, Antoon, Koen Kerremans, and Rita Temmerman. 2013. Niche Sourcing and Transexplanations for the Enhancement of Doctor-Patient Comprehension in Multilingual Hospital Settings. *Proceedings of the Workshop on Optimizing Understanding in Multilingual Hospital Encounters*. 33–36. Paris: Université Paris.

Deboosere, Patrick, Thierry Eggerickx, Etienne Van Hecke, and Benjamins Wayens. 2009. De Brusselse Bevolking: Een Demografische Doorlichting. *Brussels Studies*, 1–17. Available at: http://www.brusselsstudies.be/medias/publications/NL_71_SGB3.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Debosscher, T. 2012. "Infogids Voor Hulpverleners En Begeleiders van Mensen Zonder Wettig Verblijf." Kruispunt Migratie-Integratie vzw.

Diamond, Lisa C., and Elizabeth A. Jacobs. 2010. Let's not contribute to disparities: The best methods for teaching clinicians How to overcome language barriers to health care. *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 25(2): 189–193.

Divi, Chandrika, Richard G. Koss, Stephen P. Schmaltz, and Jerod M. Loeb. 2007. Language proficiency and adverse events in US hospitals: A pilot study. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care* 19(2): 60–67.

Eisenberg, Eric M., Alexandra G. Murphy, Kathleen Sutcliffe, Robert Wears, Stephen Schenkel, Shawna Perry, and Mary Vanderhoef. 2005. Communication

in emergency medicine: Implications for patient safety. *Communication Monographs* 72(4): 390–413.

Elderkin-Thompson, Virginia, Roxane Cohen Silver, and Howard Waitzkin. 2001. When nurses double as interpreters: A study of Spanish-speaking patients in a US primary care setting. *Social Science & Medicine* 52(9): 1343–1358.

Engel, Kirsten G., Barbara A. Buckley, Danielle M. McCarthy, Victoria E. Forth, and James G. Adams. 2010. Communication amidst chaos: Challenges to patient communication in the emergency. *JCOM* 17 (10). http://www.abim.org.www.turner-white.com/pdf/jcom_oct10_emergency.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Fagan, Mark J., Joseph A. Diaz, Steven E. Reinert, Christopher N. Sciamanna, and Dylan M. Fagan. 2003. Impact of interpretation method on clinic visit length. *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 18(8): 634–638.

Fedasil. 2011. Fedasil: Centrum van Brussel (Klein Kasteeltje) Beschrijving. http://fedasil.be/nl/center/749/description. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Flores, Glenn, Jennifer Rabke-Verani, Whitney Pine, and Ashu Sabharwal. 2002. The importance of cultural and linguistic issues in the emergency care of children. *Pediatric Emergency Care* 18(4): 271–284.

Flores, Glenn, M. Barton Laws, Sandra J. Mayo, Barry Zuckerman, Milagros Abreu, Leonardo Medina, and Eric J. Hardt. 2003. Errors in medical interpretation and their potential clinical consequences in pediatric encounters. *Pediatrics* 111(1): 6–14.

Flores, Glenn, M. Abreu, C.P. Barone, R. Bachur, and H. Lin. 2012. Errors of medical interpretation and their potential clinical consequences: A comparison of professional versus ad hoc versus no interpreters. *Annals of Emergency Medicine* 60(5): 545–553.

Gheorghiu, Iliescu. 2001. *Introducción a la Interpretación. la Modalidad Consecutiva*, Textos Docentes/Universidad de Alicante Series. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante.

Goldman, Ran D., Parsa Amin, and Alison Macpherson. 2006. Language and length of stay in the pediatric emergency department. *Pediatric Emergency Care* 22(9): 640–643.

Gumperz, John J. 1982. *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hampers, Louis C., Susie Cha, David J. Gutglass, Helen J. Binns, and Steven E. Krug. 1999. Language barriers and resource utilization in a pediatric emergency department. *Pediatrics* 103(6): 1253–1256.

Helander, Bernhard. 1991. Words, worlds, and wishes: The aesthetics of Somali kinship. *Cultural Anthropology* 6: 113–120.

Hymes, Dell H. 1974. *Foundations in sociolinguistics; An ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Karliner, Leah S., Eliseo J. Párez-Stable, and Ginny Gildengorin. 2004. The language divide the language divide. The importance of training in the use of interpreters for outpatient practice. *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 19(2): 175–183.

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 Services Research* 42(2): 727–754.

Karliner, Leah S., Andrew Auerbach, Anna Nápoles, Dean Schillinger, Dana Nickleach, and Eliseo J. Pérez-Stable. 2012. Language barriers and understanding of hospital discharge instructions. *Medical Care* 50(4): 283–289.

Knopp, Robert, Steve Rosenzweig, Edward Bernstein, and Vicken Totten. 1996. Physician-patient communication in the emergency department, part 1. *Academic Emergency Medicine* 3(11): 1065–1076.

Lázaro Gutiérrez, Raquel. 2014. Use and abuse of an interpreter. In *(Re) considerando ética e ideología en situaciones de conflicto = (Re) visisiting ethics and ideology in situations of conflict*, ed. Carmen Valero Garcés, 214–221. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, Servicio de Publicaciones.

Leanza, Yvan, Alessandra Miklavcic, Isabelle Boivin, and Ellen Rosenberg. 2014. Working with interpreters. In: *Cultural consultation*, ed. Laurence J. Kirmayer, Jaswant Guzder, and Cécile Rousseau, 89–114. New York: Springer. http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-1-4614-7615-3_5. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Mahmoud, I., X.-Y. Hou, K. Chu, and M. Clark. 2013. Language affects length of stay in emergency departments in Queensland public hospitals. *World Journal of Emergency Medicine* 4(1): 5–9.

Meyer, Bernd, Birte Pawlack, and Kliche Ortun. 2010. Family interpreters in hospitals: Good reasons for bad practice? *Mediazioni* (10). http://mediazioni.sitlec.unibo.it. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

O'Leary, Sonja C. Burbano, Steven Federico, and Louis C. Hampers. 2003. The truth about language barriers: One residency program's experience. *Pediatrics* 111(5): e569–e573.

Phelan, Mary. 2001. *The interpreter's resource*. Frankfurt Lodge: Multilingual Matters.

Ramirez, Dorian, Kirsten G. Engel, and Tricia S. Tang. 2008. Language interpreter utilization in the emergency department setting: A clinical review. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved* 19(2): 352–362.

Rosenberg, Ellen, Robbyn Seller, and Yvan Leanza. 2008. Through interpreters' eyes: Comparing roles of professional and family interpreters. *Patient Education and Counseling* 70(1): 87–93.

Scheeres, Hermine, Diana Slade, Marie Manidis, Jeannette McGregor, and Christian M. Matthiessen. 2008. Communicating in hospital emergency departments. *Prospect Journal* 23(2): 13–22.

Schillinger, Dean, and Alice H. Chen. 2004. Literacy and language disentangling measures of access, utilization, and quality. *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 19(3): 288–290.

Slade, Diana, Hermine Scheeres, Marie Manidis, Rick Iedema, Roger Dunston, Jane Stein-Parbury, Christian Matthiessen, Maria Herke, and Jeannette McGregor. 2008. Emergency communication: The discursive challenges facing emergency clinicians and patients in hospital emergency departments. *Discourse & Communication* 2(3): 271–298.

Valero-Garcés, Carmen. 2006. *Formas de mediación intercultural e interpretación en los servicios públicos. Conceptos, datos, situaciones y práctica*. Granada: Comares.

Vandermotten, Christian, Pierre Marissal and Gilles Van Hamme. 2011. Dynamique Des Quartiers En Difficulté Dans Les Régions Urbaines Belges. *PPS Social Integration, Anti-Poverty Policy, Social Economy and Federal Urban Policy*. http://mi-is.be/sites/default/files/doc/atlasfr_0.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Wadensjö, Cecilia. 1998. *Interpreting as interaction*. London: Longman.

Wallbrecht, Joshua, Linda Hodes-Villamar, Steven J. Weiss, and Amy A. Ernst. 2014. No difference in emergency department length of stay for patients with limited proficiency in English. *Southern Medical Journal* 107(1): 1–5.

Watt, Ian S. 2008. Consultation, medical history and record taking. In *Clinical examination*, 4th ed, ed. O. Epstein, G.D. Perkin, J. Cookson, I.S. Watt, R. Rakhit, A. Robins, and G.A.W. Hornet, 1–19. London: Mosby Elsevier.

Waxman Matthew A., M. Andrew Levitt. 2000. Are diagnostic testing and admission rates higher in non–english-speaking versus english-speaking patients in the emergency department? *Annals of Emergency Medicine* 36(5) 456–61.

Zun, Leslie S., Tania Sadoun, and LaVonne Downey. 2006. English-language competency of self-declared English-speaking Hispanic patients using written tests of health literacy. *Journal of the National Medical Association* 98(6): 912.

3

Anybody Down There? Emergency and Disaster Interpreting in Turkey

Aymil Doğan

Introduction

Natural or man-made disasters, such as earthquakes, floods, tsunamis, and acts of terrorism, have long been the concern of mankind.

> Turkey ranks third in the world in terms of earthquake-related casualties and eighth with regard to the total number of people affected. Every year, the country experiences at least one 5+ magnitude earthquake—which renders the proper management and coordination of disasters absolutely crucial. (Source: AFAD, www.afad.gov.tr/en)

This study is an extended and updated version of an article published in the *Journal of Faculty of Letters of Hacettepe University*, available online at: http://www.edebiyatdergisi.hacettepe.edu.tr/index.php/EFD/article/view/499/359.

A. Doğan
Department of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Letters, Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

F.M. Federici (ed.), *Mediating Emergencies and Conflicts*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55351-5_3

The assessment of the situation as depicted on the homepage of the AFAD website (*Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı*, the Disaster and Emergency Management Authority under the aegis of the Office of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey 2015) without doubt emphasizes the importance of any endeavour aimed at gaining higher levels of public and institutional preparedness and resilience to emergencies and disasters. This chapter suggests that the Turkish model (ARÇ) may represent an example for including linguistic mediation in the disaster for multilingual countries vulnerable to disasters.

Both emergencies and disaster-related events usually occur unexpectedly, bringing forth a range of urgent needs. For convenience, in this chapter, a working definition of emergency is adopted in which the term refers to any undesired, unexpected, impending situation that may cause injury, loss of life, or damage to property requiring prompt attention, response, or remedial action. In this chapter, it is useful to distinguish emergiencies from disasters (along the same lines of the distinction suggested by Quarentelli 2000); the term disaster here refers to a sudden, calamitous event or combination of hazards that causes human, material, economic, or environmental losses, and vulnerability that exceed the ability of the affected society to cope by using its own resources. Though disasters have predominatly natural causes, they may also be caused by human beings. Communication problems arise especially in multicultural and multilingual areas since the most urgent need is to survive. A personal anecdote may be relevant here. I remember watching an interview on the BBC on the terrorist attack on the London underground on 7 July 2005. A witness was telling the reporter that during the initial turmoil, people were looking for 'interpreters' for various languages. Not only did her observation show the extent to which London is a multilingual and multicultural city, it also demonstrated that in such a context, 'interpreting' is a vital and recognized part of life. If I were to compare this on-the-spot observation to a similar reaction in my country, it would be very likely that Turkish people would not call for 'interpreters' but for 'anybody speaking foreign languages' since 'interpreting' is not a widespread lay's term. For the general public, events in Turkey at the end of the twentieth century began to bring about a new awareness of a specific time of linguistic mediation, when the country was faced with two

devastating earthquakes. When foreign search and rescue (SAR) teams arrived in the country, they needed the services of mediators for their operations and any essential communication within the international rescue teams and with the local population.

Therefore, at that moment in time, it became evident that translation and interpreting services are among the *sine qua non* needs in such situations as nothing can be achieved without effective, efficient, and timely communication. Current studies on the topic, focused on the Turkish context, show that in such cases, a type of interpreting called 'relief interpreting' was used to solve the communication problems (Edwards 2002; Kurultay et al. 2002; Bulut and Kahraman 2003; Doğan et al. 2005; Ezber and Kahraman 2008). This sort of interpreting calls for the interpreters to take action during the distribution of relief material. Yet committing to the provision of interpreting services during the survival/death moments in such an urgent situation is part of a unique large-scale initiative aimed at providing this type of interpreting, which was launched in Turkey in 2000. The acronym ARÇ (*Afette Rehber Çevirmenlik*, 'Guide-Interpreters at Disasters') was in early accounts of its activities also translated into English as IAD ('Interpreter In Aid At Disasters') and subsequently adopted in a few articles published in international journals (Bulut and Kurultay 2001; Bulut 2002; Bulut and Kahraman 2003; Doğan 2006). However, this has been gradually abandoned in favour of the original Turkish acronym, ARÇ. Over time, the scope of the organization broadened to encompass the provision of interpreting services in all crisis communications, and the acronym ARÇ was adopted (*Afette Rehber Çevrimenlik Organizasyonu*) to refer to the organization in all languages.

In this context, the expression *Rehber Çevirmen* ('guide interpreter') is used to refer to the multifaceted activities in which interpreters working in emergency and disaster settings participate. In these situations, linguistic resources are predominantly focused on the main concern of rescuing human lives, which, for the interpreters, entail performing a vast and diverse range of tasks. In rescue operations, interpreters have to perform a number of roles: from the obvious role of enabling communication by diminishing language barriers, through resolving temporary conflicts emerging in multicultural teams, to complex problem-solving and decision-making, all of

which has to be carried out with due attention to and awareness of ethical issues derived from this type of operational context.

The geophysical position of a region is the critical determining factor in the formation of such natural disasters as earthquakes. Turkey, being positioned on Northern Anatolian, Western Anatolian, and Eastern Anatolian fault-lines, has been subjected to dramatic earthquakes over the centuries. The two earthquakes which took place on 17 August and 12 November 1999 were the most devastating of the twentieth century, causing the death of more than 30,000 people and injuring 250,000 (Marza 2004), leaving many more homeless due to the fact that the Marmara region was a highly populated industrial and commercial area, whose haphazard urbanization was a contributing factor to the extensive destruction brought about by the earthquakes.

This chapter describes the foundation, organization, training, accomplishments and weaknesses, and future actions of the ARÇ, with the aim of serving as an example for multilingual countries vulnerable to disasters and offering a model, potentially a point of comparison, for the establishment of similar initiatives elsewhere. Recent developments in Turkey as a part of efforts to build resilience and preparedness by the authorities and those achieved by ARÇ in line with these developments are also presented in the final part of this chapter.

Emergency and Disaster Interpreting

Foundation

In 1999, Turkey was not sufficiently prepared to respond to earthquakes taking place in such highly populated regions of the country; therefore, the support provided by foreign SAR teams was necessary and much welcomed. However, there was no organized team of interpreters for the activities of the SAR teams coming from abroad; thus, anybody who could speak any foreign language was asked to provide help with communication. Among these helpers were injured students whose families were under the debris. As a result, motivated by a sense of professional responsibility and moral obligation, two academics from

the Translation Studies and Foreign Language Training Departments at Istanbul University (namely Turgay Kurultay and Alev Bulut) launched a programme aimed at training voluntary interpreters able to operate in emergencies and disasters. Hacettepe University in Ankara also joined in (through my contribution) and contributed to the first training programme, taking a leading role in delivering core teaching of the curriculum in interpreter training. Soon after this, Hacettepe University launched a similar training programme in Ankara.

Soon several other universities willing to collaborate with the ARÇ followed suit. Okan University in Istanbul, Dokuz Eylül University in Izmir, Onsekiz Mart University in Çanakkale, and Sakarya University in Adapazarı later joined the pioneering volunteers. Thus, Istanbul (since 2000), Ankara (since 2001), Izmir (since 2003), and finally Canakkale (since 2005) are all involved in this non-governmental voluntary training.

Over the last 15 years, this endeavour to train interpreters to operate in emergencies and disaster situations has come a long way and has now become a part of the nation-wide disaster management strategy plan set out by the Disaster Management Strategy Document (*Türkiye Afet Yönetimi Strateji Belgesi*, TAYSB) in 2015. Thus, the original aim of ARÇ 'to integrate interpreting into the disaster management process by transforming the existing form of community interpreting into a professionalized field of translation' initially put forth in Bulut and Kurultay's article (2001: 251) was fully achieved in 2015.

It is important to remember at this point that during the late twentieth century, the 'cultural turn' in Translation Studies influenced research and training in the discipline; in the specific context of Turkey, the influence exerted led to the creation of a model of translators and interpreters acting as the co-ordinators and negotiators of situations and inter-institutional relations. Such multidimensional voluntary actions brought about an awareness of the intricate roles played by interpreters. The 'linguistic conduit' role saw the interpreter acting solely as a 'linguistic and cultural information provider' and made a new institutionalized communication necessary (Roy 1989: 102), whereas the wider range of activities carried out by the ARÇ-trained interpreters—with additional training in first aid and team coordination—showed that a new paradigm of interpreters was needed. Beyond the theoretical novelties of this typology of interpreters,

the pioneering activities of ARÇ can be seen as a collective effort to achieve a recognized professional status, to define the standards of best practices and controlled access to professional skills and knowledge of pre-disaster, disaster, and post-disaster phases. The notion of professionalism is here referred to as in Parsons' three principles (1964):

> 1. adopting 'emotional neutrality' in the sense that 'all the professionals are treated equally', which refers to 'universal means', 2. working 'for the sake of collective good and restricted to factual task', which refers to 'functional specificity', 3. getting 'personal training', which refers to "achieved competence" condition. In addition as for the institutionalization efforts of interpreting process, the ethical norms serve as a descriptive safeguard instrument for the maintenance of proper conduct. (cited in Wadensjö 2007: 12)

Institutionalization Efforts

The institutional start of the voluntary efforts of the ARÇ dates back to the year 2000, as noted above. The first meetings of volunteering translators/academics/students of translation and interpreting and foreign language training departments launched in Istanbul were later transformed into a non-governmental structure following the initiatives of Istanbul University Translation Studies Department, which in turn worked in close collaboration with and under the aegis of the Association of Translation and Interpreting of Turkey (*Çeviri Derneği*). The Istanbul Governorship Civil Defence of the Provincial Directorate (*İstanbul Valiliği Sivil Savunma İl Müdürlüğü*) and the Association of Translation and Interpreting of Turkey signed a protocol in 2001 under the auspices of which the ARÇ was established in order to preserve the non-governmental status of ARÇ. Thus, a triad of academic organizations, non-governmental organization, and civil defence organization established a partnership with the specific purpose of training interpreters able to act during emergency and disaster situations, also providing them with an institutionalized structure to serve as a reference point after their training and academic life was completed. Ezber and Kahraman (2008) describe this founding process in Bourdieuan terms as one in which the institutionalization of the ARÇ project, supported as it was by academic, administrative, and non-governmental

actors, immediately attained a substantial symbolic capital already at its inception. This symbolic capital granted its agents, the interpreters trained under the aegis of the ARÇ, a high degree of respect. During this time, the structure and the name of Istanbul Governorship Civil Defence changed to 'AFAD' (Disaster and Emergency Management Authority), owing to the awareness raised regarding Turkey's vulnerability to earthquakes. Having completed its fifteenth year of activities, the ARÇ recently signed a protocol with the National Medical Rescue Teams (*Ulusal Medikal Kurtarma Ekipleri*, UMKE). Over these 15 years, the organizational structure of the ARÇ has developed in a number of ways as shown in diagrammatic form in Fig. 3.1 below.

Interpreting as a Voluntary Action

The present section serves to expand our understanding of volunteerism. As Batson (1991: 273) states, voluntary help can be provided in four affective dimensions: (1) Altruistic help, which is provided by one person to people such as relatives or close friends; (2) Egoistic help, which is provided by one person to the people in the vicinity; (3) Prosocial collectivism, which

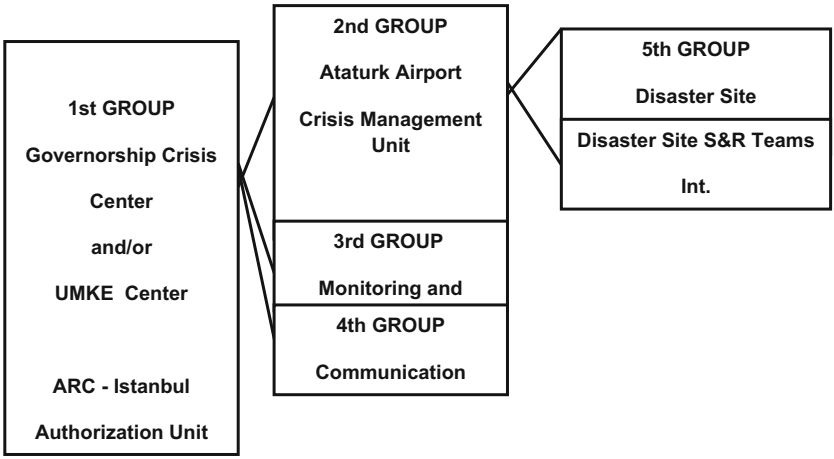

Fig. 3.1 Organizational structure of ARÇ

enables help to be provided by one person to a larger environment that is assigned a certain amount of value for some reason, such as a football team; (4) Prosocial principlism, which enables help to be provided by one person to any people in need without making any distinction, as an outcome of social awareness, empathy, and highly developed internal principles.

Within the frame of these four dimensions, the only type of voluntary action which can fulfil the requirements of voluntary interpreting in emergency or disaster situations seems to be prosocial principlism. The volunteering interpreters are expected to adopt this endeavour as a principle, a part of their philosophy of life, and be devoted to it. The attainment of this expectation is rather difficult for several reasons: first of all, training for most of the volunteers brings a sort of burden to their lives since it is carried out in their spare time. In addition, interpreting in emergency and disaster situations requires people who are and potentially remain throughout a long period of their lives ready for action; this status of readiness can only be achieved through regular and ongoing training, as well as acquired reflexive behaviour, which has proved to be difficult to realize. Furthermore, while in other types of training, the person can start using the knowledge and skills acquired after a reasonable learning period; here, the interpreter is expected to maintain the acquired knowledge and skills at a high level and keep them easily accessible, even if dormant, until any time in the future. Keeping the level of competence, knowledge, and skills fresh and updated is the most problematic part of this kind of training because as time passes, volunteers get more involved with their professional and family lives and assume different responsibilities. Hence, after a number of years, it may become hard to reach them, either to update their training, or to make effective use of them in case of a disaster. Therefore, it can be hard and discouraging for members of the ARÇ to maintain their ties with the organization and the training it offers, despite their best intentions.

Training

The aim of the ARÇ training is to provide interpreting and translation services primarily for the SAR teams in their communication with the related officials in the host country before and after their arrival and

during their SAR activities. The services also include support for the authorized organizations and institutions[1] in their international communication, for the authorized units during the acceptance and distribution of the relief supplies, for the foreign medical staff, and so on.

Hacettepe University was among the first other universities to join Istanbul University in offering their programmes of training volunteer translators and interpreters in emergencies and disaster scenarios. The ARÇ has to date organized two different types of training programmes. The first type is the Basic ARÇ Training Programme; it consists of 100 hours of training modules covering topics such as geomorphological causes of earthquakes, architectural foundations of buildings and their behaviour during earthquakes, formation of other disasters, disaster management and related regulations, psychological trauma related to disasters, communication as a part of disaster management, wireless radio communication training, international aid during disasters, international and national organizations dealing with disaster management, community interpreting, field knowledge, and terminology. The programme also includes 18 hours of first aid and 30 hours of civil defence, followed by 'Scenario Practices' in which all the basic knowledge and skills are put to the test and practised, and on-site drills are run. The second type of training is Volunteers' Seminars, in which the voluntary interpreters have shorter, more general information about the training modules of the Basic ARÇ Training Programme over the course of one day. To date, approximately 300 people have been trained, and around 100 more have been enrolled in ARÇ, to reach a total of around 400 members altogether (Doğan 2012).

The hardship encountered when integrating a voluntary training programme into volunteers' already busy lives called for creative solutions to be able to continue with the training. At Boğaziçi University in Istanbul, a shorter ARÇ training programme was provided as part of their community interpreting course. In the spring term of 2011, for the first time in Turkey, a course was launched at Hacettepe University named Emergency

[1] These currently include: the United Nations International Search and Rescue Advisory Group (UN-INSARAG), the United Nations Disaster Assessment and Coordination (UNDAC), the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN-OCHA), United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs (UNDHA), Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), and the Virtual On-Site Operations Coordination Center (VOSOCC).

and Disaster Interpreting worth 3 credits. During the foundation years of the ARÇ, the quality of 'voluntariness' was the first principle that was considered; those who volunteered came from different universities, and their training did not start under the umbrella of a particular university but as part of the training offered by the Association of Translation and Interpreting of Turkey, which is a professional association and a non-governmental organization. Yet, years of experience have shown that it is difficult to carry out such an ongoing programme extramurally. In Ankara, for example, the training programme was not included for some time in the curriculum of Hacettepe University, as many obstacles had to be overcome. Now students acquire the basic knowledge encompassing a large range of subjects from relevant disciplines. However, if they want to obtain the required certificates which enable them to act on the frontline during disasters, they also have to take the extracurricular courses, outside their university studies. These courses deal with guidance on behaviour in the disaster area provided by AFAD, first aid provided by Red Crescent, and, finally, practice in advanced interpreting scenarios offered by the ARÇ.

In addition to these training programmes, the ARÇ has taken an active role in disaster preparation training programmes of Istanbul Civil Defence organization with its interpreters, such as K9 ('canine') training courses in Greece and Turkey between 2007 and 2008, as well as in national and international simulated operations with governmental bodies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) so as to experience SAR operations, relief operations, and collaboration and coordination between different structures. In 2008–2009, interpreting for K9 training teams was a significant example of adaptation to the changing situation and the importance of being experienced in disaster situations in which an experienced ARÇ member and two inexperienced but trained ARÇ members participated. During the process of interpreting, one of the inexperienced interpreters recognized that she was afraid of dogs; in addition to cold weather, stressful working conditions and un-cooperative team members were also recognized as obstacles to providing an efficient interpretation service. In this sense, the scope of training has since been planned in such a way to cover all of these aspects.

The feedback received from interviews and open-ended questionnaires administered to team leaders as a way of monitoring the performance of

ARÇ interpreters has encouraged the organizers and the volunteers to continue pursuing the aims of this endeavour. Civil defence SAR teams emphasized in personal communication with the academic trainers how they appreciated the sacrifices and the devoted work of the interpreters and felt honoured to be able to collaborate with ARÇ. However, they also stated that the terms used by the interpreters were not always consistent. Actually, what they meant was that in linguistic terms, polysemous expressions were used for the same 'referent': in other words, synonyms were inappropriately used. Since emergency and disaster situations are closely related to rescuing lives, while attempting to maintain people's physical and spiritual integrity in extreme circumstances, such differences in the use of terms may have vital adverse effects, creating misunderstandings when time is of the essence. The team leaders therefore emphasized that the interpreters needed more support for their disaster response terminology studies and technical knowledge. These shortcomings were overcome in time by the ARÇ translators and interpreters undertaking further intensive study. ARÇ accomplished this by translating the user guidelines of the technical equipment to be utilized by the SAR teams, which also helped them to develop their terminology and technical knowledge. In return, the ARÇ provided translation and interpretation support in the training given by the foreign trainers to the technical staff on the uses of the relevant equipment.

In addition to the training courses outlined above, the ARÇ volunteers have further training options and general support; for instance, the Wireless and Radio Amateurs Society (*Türkiye Radyo Amatörleri Cemiyeti*, TRAC) suggested a collaboration with the purpose of supporting the ARÇ in maintaining a common language to clarify communication. TRAC opened courses for ARÇ members and granted them the related certificates. Thus, a new module called 'Emergency Communication in Disasters' was added to the basic ARÇ training curriculum. The Association of Translation and Interpreting helped supply the ARÇ with the related wireless equipment via donations. From the outset, the joint collaboration between the ARÇ and TRAC has been fruitful not only in Istanbul and Ankara, but also in Izmir. In the multifaceted communication drill conducted by the government in the Marmara region, the ARÇ played an important role by participating in the wireless communication

from the Ankara and Istanbul headquarters of one of the well-known SAR organizations in Turkey, namely Search Rescue and Research Association (*Arama Kurtarma ve Araştırma Derneği*, AKA). The press members who gave informal feedback on the interpreters' performance commended the work done.

Besides participating in training programmes and national/international simulated operations, ARÇ interpreters were called for duty by Civil Defence Forces and UMKE (National Medical Rescue Teams). They also monitored the operations, followed foreign press as well as the work of related organizations (On-Site Operations Coordination Centre, OSOCC, and OCHA), translated reports and press releases, and shared these with local NGOs which were involved in the operations during the international disasters mentioned below:

1. Iran-Bam Earthquake (2003)
2. Banda Aceh Tsunami (2004)
3. Pakistan Earthquake (2005)
4. Greece Forest Fire (2007)
5. France National Simulated Operation (2008)
6. Greece K9 Trainings (2008)
7. Japanese Earthquake (2011)
8. Libyan Rescue Operation (2011)

The above-mentioned topics and the terminology pertaining to topics, such as geophysics, disaster management, and so on, are required to lay the groundwork for the training. The type of interpreting required in such situations differs according to the task with which the interpreter is faced. Sometimes the interpreter may take the lead to establish communication with the concerned parties. For example, an ARÇ member navigating through the wireless radio frequencies may come across a call from the disaster zone. The interpreter should then know what to ask the person at the other end and what to do afterwards, which authorities to inform of the call, the information received, and what sort of an action plan to implement. Interpreters who have not received the 100-hour basic training are not assigned for on-site tasks but provide tactical support service, perhaps at the level of management and coordination; then they may also

help with the translations. If the interpreters with basic training work on-site, then they behave according to the rules of the disaster site and may again use their initiative to call out to a casualty under the debris using the linguistic terms to which the casualty will best respond.

In a conference organized by the Disaster Research and Implementation Centre of Hacettepe University (Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Afet Tıbbı Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi, HAMER) in Ankara on 11 March 2011, a physician recounted his experience with the UMKE during the emergency following the Haiti earthquake. When they arrived on-site, they realized that they needed an adaptor for the electrical appliances and also a forklift to move the heavy parcels. In similar circumstance, the volunteer interpreters of ARÇ would have received training as to what sort of materials are likely to be needed in such situations: they have a checklist prepared beforehand that includes the materials to verify. If UMKE had established the communication through ARÇ, most probably they would not have forgotten to take such important materials. As a result of the ARÇ training, its volunteers also serve as guides when they communicate with various parties. In this sense, the trained interpreters do much more than they do in dialogue interpreting, which is the main type of interpreting used in community interpreting.

The interpreters may come across interlocutors from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, thus communication may be interlingual, intercultural, and intersocial. *Interlingual*, since the communicating parties are of different speech communities, which makes an interpreter indispensible for communication; *intercultural*, in the sense that a community speaking a different language possesses a different culture; and *intersocial*, in the sense that the interlocutors belong to different social classes or communities (see Snelling 1997: 198). Therefore, as regards the theoretical content of the training courses, pragmatics and discourse analysis aim to help the interpreter to be aware of the pragmatic force of utterances as described in Austin's 'Speech Act Theory' (see Coulthard 1987; Hurford and Heasley 1987: 232) and interpret it in a way that corresponds to the same illocution in the other cultural community (see Chernov 2004: 56). In conversations, the interlocutors express themselves mostly in indirect terms even without being aware that the hearer feels obliged to make a successful inference to fully understand what

is being said, as described in Grice's 'Conversational Implicatures' (see Coulthard 1987; Hurford and Heasley 1987: 278; Chernov 2004: 71). Shared knowledge between the interlocutors as well as the interpreter in the intermediary position helps them infer the message in the implicature much more easily. The interpreter should have 'shared knowledge' with the parties involved for full understanding. Thus, training also includes a pragmatic dimension and discourse analysis with specific reference to intercultural and interlingual aspects of communication.

Accomplishments

The most appealing development with the foundation of the ARÇ is that it has paved the way to raising awareness not only among the public but also at the institutional level. During training, the volunteers started to learn more about the disasters they had been encountering; they altered their misconceptions about the terminology such as the difference between 'magnitude' and 'intensity' of an earthquake, which also help them to develop a much more realistic and accurate perspective and terminology; and they amended mistakes and adopted new codes of conduct. ARÇ members have also committed to raising public awareness in the areas in which they have gained competence; they have developed a sense of responsibility for sharing their acquired knowledge to enhance the population's level of preparedness and resilience to emergencies and natural disasters. For example, lay members of the public may previously have entertained common misconceptions that they could save themselves by standing under beams or tables during an earthquake; or they might have attempted to go downstairs as fast as they could. These reactions are dangerous and may lead to death, neither beams nor tables are strong enough to support collapsing floors/ceilings; in fact, lower floors of a building can be buried by rubble from the collapse. In this perspective, ARÇ was also involved in the Disaster Preparedness Training Project (*Afete Hazırlık Eğitim Projesi*, AHEP) launched by Kandilli Observatory in Istanbul which registered the first tremors of the 1999 earthquake. A comprehensive terminological resource was compiled, and translation and interpretation services were provided. This project enabled ARÇ members to receive initial training on

disaster management, which later helped them to establish the curriculum and be the trainers. As for inter-institutional collaboration, this was considered to be the first important initiative.

The need for a better organized effort towards disasters came to the fore with an initiative of the ARÇ, which also served as a communication bridge between the non-governmental and governmental bodies, as well as academia. ARÇ interpreters joined some regional and institutional drills to gain experience. Their participation in the drill in the Emergency Department of the Gulhane Military Medical Academy (*Gülhane Askeri Tıp Akademisi*, GATA) in Ankara paved the way for collaboration with medical experts. In addition, their active participation in the disaster-related conferences enabled them to introduce the ARÇ and express their goals, which also helped increase the scope of the network which was in the process of being established. The above-mentioned Disaster Research and Implementation Centre (HAMER) was recently founded at Hacettepe University with the purpose of conducting multidisciplinary research, of developing training programmes on disaster preparedness, of conducting public health studies into topics related to medical responses to disasters, and of disseminating information and providing consulting services to the general public as well as the authorities. ARÇ has been working cooperatively with this Centre by hosting seminars about how to establish collaborative work with the ARÇ and its interpreters and translators, and by offering workshops about disaster-related medical interventions and the related terminology. Not only does such collaboration help interpreters and translators to develop their knowledge and skills in their learning process, it also contributes to the endeavours that will enable community interpreting studies and practices to flourish in Turkey. Furthermore, the ARÇ indirectly contributed to the development of Turkish activities intended to increase disaster preparedness by making the national institutions aware of their UN-affiliated counterparts and by developing, through its own contacts with the institutions and through the translations made, a network within and without the national borders.

A good example of ARÇ collaboration was seen during the latest Japanese Earthquake when ARÇ members worked actively and efficiently. Two well-trained interpreters were waiting ready for the command to arrive, and the translation team immediately got organized to search for

first-hand accurate news and translated this into Turkish to be published in the national information network without needing any call for action from the disaster-related institutions. ARÇ was granted the 'Kongre Journal Communication Special Award' by the *Kongre Journal* for its selfless work for the good of humanity. In addition, newspaper, radio, and TV interviews were carried out by ARÇ members, which made the Organization more visible to the public.

Drawbacks

There have, however, been drawbacks and problems associated with a voluntary organization model like ARÇ which merit mention. We believe that these points illustrate issues that similar civilian projects in the making may be soon facing. The institutional relations and initiatives of the ARÇ Organization have not been put into practice. They remain at the 'state of emergency' level because the organizations and institutions that the ARÇ was to serve remained inactive at the 'state of emergency' level waiting for the action command from higher-level institutions which directly intervene in disaster situations such as the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Red Crescent—although there had been a call for a protocol from Red Crescent during the Japanese earthquake (see International Affairs Division, Miyagi Prefectural Government 2010). The ARÇ was, on the other hand, in communication with civil defence and UMKE, which are at the secondary command level. The remedy for this drawback could be to sign new protocols with the institutions in charge during disasters. The most recent operation took place on 5 April 2011. A ship of wounded victims from Libya arrived at Izmir Çeşme Harbour. Two trained ARÇ members from Izmir ARÇ Team were in charge of finding and coordinating 50 Arabic–Turkish interpreters for UMKE. ARÇ-Izmir interpreters provided interpreting services during the ambulance transfers to hospitals, at the hospitals, and during the transportation of the Libyans to refugee shelters.

The drawbacks can be summarized as follows:

1. Post-training contacts and communication fail to a great extent. ARÇ members are composed of senior students of translation and interpre-

tation departments of various universities and concerned extramural people from different institutions. After their training, the students graduate and move to various cities in Turkey. To keep informed, each training group establishes an internal phone call or sms chain; however, in time, the contact information of the members may change and not be updated, so it becomes more difficult to reach all those who have received ARÇ training. It proved difficult to get into contact with a great number of ARÇ members for a survey to be conducted by Doğan in February 2011. Emails were sent to 400 members, and individual telephone calls were made to 350 of its members; however, this pursuit resulted in only 68 responders (a full report of the survey will appear in a future publication).

2. Maintaining the active interest of all members in the network and in contact with the ARÇ is fraught, as they do not practise the relevant skills in their lives very often. People feel very enthusiastic during the training period and actively participate in the courses. However, after some years away from the same environment, they feel detached and may even forget what they have learnt. Some members confessed that they lost interest in the subject. Actually, this was why great importance was attached to affective characteristics of a person as the *sine qua non* feature of volunteerism, namely, prosocial principlism.
3. Community interpreting in Turkey does not operate in an institutionalized manner. Interpreting for certain groups or persons of the community is carried out arbitrarily, and it is not called 'community interpreting' but just 'interpreting' in the general sense. However, some translation and interpretation departments are well aware of this drawback and provide training for their students to be the future community interpreters, as we have seen. As for academic studies, only a few contributions have been published (e.g. Doğan 2004; Tahir-Gurcaglar and Diriker 2004) except for the above-mentioned paper about the ARÇ (Kahraman 2003), a Master's thesis on relief interpreting (Businario 2012) and a doctoral thesis on refugee interpreting (Kahraman 2010). A positive development was the First Symposium on Community Interpreting in Turkey held by Boğaziçi University in March 2011. Thus, much needs to be done in Turkey to raise awareness of community interpreting, to establish legal contacts with the

relevant institutions and to become organized collectively as a remedy for the wounds of society.

4. Institutions are not aware that if they want to have access to better, trustworthy, and sustainable translation and interpreting services in emergencies, they must rely on a well-organized voluntary system. But there is a misconception about 'voluntary' service: institutions fail to see the organizational merits and financial burdens that go hand in hand with a quality service. On the one hand, there is no institutional support for the long-term financial sustainability of the organization, which entirely depends on its volunteers to function. On the other hand, because the service offered is free of charge, the assumption may be that the services provided are of low quality. This misconception should be changed.
5. The ARÇ has not worked sufficiently to disseminate its terminological work; this work remains a scarcely visible and hence underused resource. For instance, the ARÇ could provide a supply of terminology to the related groups that have English-speaking members, such as SAR teams or medical staff.
6. The members of the ARÇ are mostly university students. Upon graduation, when they leave the university environment, they may forget about their previous enthusiasms; other responsibilities such as family and work may overwhelm them. Perhaps it would be better to invest in more mature people who volunteer consciously with a feeling of responsibility.
7. It is one of the principles of the UN-INSARAG that translators and interpreters should be arranged for the SAR teams, in the affected country, and that the quality should be checked beforehand. Thus, visibility is necessary on the part of the ARÇ to enable the foreign SAR teams to get in touch when their services are needed.
8. In addition, the ARÇ continues to lack visibility with the foreign diplomatic authorities. For example, during the Japanese earthquake, the Embassy of Japan received interpreting services from a Japanese-speaking hostess. It is very clear that the person engaged to work on-site should be trained to have the necessary knowledge and skills to act correctly in such a hazardous and vulnerable place, let alone knowledge of the related terminology. In such cases, relay interpreting can

be a good solution. For example, a Turkish emergency and disaster interpreter [from Turkish into English] → a Japanese emergency and disaster interpreter [from English into Japanese]. Since 2007, the Japanese government has been making a list of voluntary interpreters to interpret for the foreign inhabitants during disasters.

9. The Association of Translation and Interpreting is an umbrella under which the non-governmental quality of the ARÇ can be provided and preserved. However, the Association is connected with the ARÇ only at the level of providing some equipment and lending its name. A stronger collaboration would be feasible; in turn, the ARÇ would be eligible for tapping into additional (financial and reputational) resources, if the Association could be more active in its role within the ARÇ initiative.

Recent Developments

At the time of writing in 2015, Turkey has come a long way in enhancing preparedness for disaster, building resilience, and developing disaster management and coordination plans and policies. First of all, AFAD was established under Law No. 5902 in 2009 to replace a number of agencies dealing with disaster cases and to launch a single-government institution to focus on preventing and mitigating disaster-related damage through a streamlined, large-scale comprehensive disaster management and coordination, and post-disaster response from a single headquarters. As a result, a new disaster and emergency management model was introduced to realize a transition from 'crisis management' to 'risk management', called 'Integrated Disaster Management System' (*Afet Yönetim Sistemi*). Many other developments followed this progress; the most important of which in terms of emergency and disaster interpreting was an invitation to a meeting held in January 2015 called Disaster Management-Strategy Development Workshop. The ARÇ then appeared in the Strategy Document as mentioned above.

In addition, the ARÇ is invited to and participates in the meetings of Civil Society Disaster Platform (*Sivil Toplum Afet Platformu*, SITAP), which helps raise awareness of the need for interpreters as an integral part of communication for disaster and emergency coordination and manage-

ment. Another functional development is participation in the Disaster and Emergency Prevention Response and Recovery Plan (*Afet Acil Durum Önleme, Müdahale ve İyileştirme Planı*, ADMIP, see Beyaz Gemi Social Project Agency 2014), which has been specifically developed in line with The Istanbul Seismic Risk Mitigation and Emergency Preparedness Project (*İstanbul Sismik Riskin Azaltılması ve Acil Durum Hazırlık Projesi*, İSMEP) as Turkey is exerting the utmost effort to prepare for an expected earthquake in the Marmara Region in 25 years' time. Accreditation is a part of these activities carried out to promote the qualifications of institutions and human resources alike. It is an important development for the ARÇ to take part in this accreditation process. Finally, efforts are being made to provide online ARÇ training, the scenario section of which is planned to be face to face along with the drills to be conducted. An efficient application of such a programme will help facilitate the training of people with various professions and languages.

Considerations for Future Action

Over the first 15 years of activity, at least 14 areas for improvement and enhancement of the ARÇ activities and organization have emerged. They are listed below.

1. Contacts with the members should be kept current. Better management is necessary.
2. Members should be encouraged to become much more attached to the ARÇ.
3. The misconception that voluntary translation and interpreting services are of lower quality should be challenged and the perceptions it causes should be changed.
4. Terminological work on specialist areas should be improved, and awareness should be raised among institutions to maintain terminology banks relevant to emergencies and disaster-related rescue in various languages.
5. Whereas the voluntary participation of its trained members can and should be kept at the heart of the organization, this set up should not

preclude institutional financial support for a sustainable ARÇ organization, which could be funded through projects enabling it to provide a better service.

6. Training Neighbourhood Disaster Volunteers (*Mahalle Afet Gönüllüleri*, MAG) could be better than allocating time and energy to students, who experience a big change in their lives after university, and thus may lose their interest in such voluntary work while struggling for an edge in the market or business life as well as raising a family.
7. This specific type of community interpreting with its SAR and first-aid-based paramedic components needs to be linked with the international rescue and emergency networks such as the UN-INSARAG for better results and efficiency.
8. A transition is needed from 'expert volunteers' to 'voluntary experts'. Rather than training the volunteers to be experts, it sometimes seems to be more feasible to choose the experts who are ready for voluntary work.
9. The ARÇ should encourage national associations of translation and interpretation to establish a much closer and stronger collaboration.
10. For its part, the Association of Translation and Interpreting should become more involved in the activities of the ARÇ to help improve its visibility at least within the national context. If other national institutions or international organizations make direct contact with the Association of Translation and Interpreting, rather than with the ARÇ, which is functioning under the auspices of the Association, much more institutional visibility can be achieved.
11. The Association of Translation and Interpreting in Turkey is an affiliate body of the International Federation of Translators (FIT). As such, it can establish many more connections with many other Translation and/or Interpretation Associations throughout the world. Both governmental and non-governmental institutions and organizations may evaluate the validity of such an Association at a higher level. In return, the Association can gain much more vitality through the dynamism of ARÇ in terms of training and in-field activities.
12. More empirical studies tapping into different areas of voluntary emergency and disaster interpreting should be carried out and published to share the results with other researchers. As Pöchhacker states: 'evolution of a profession implies systematic reflection and academic pursuit,

so that "profession" and "research" are complementary' (2007: 21). As seen above, non-professional interpreting is a professional task as a result of its features such as expertise, organized work for the collective good, and preparedness.

13. In addition to the training they already receive, ARÇ interpreters should be made aware of the pragmatic features of a dialogue during their training period. Furthermore, regular practice should be recommended and/or provided to keep their knowledge and skills current and ready for any emergency situation.
14. The ARÇ was first launched to establish communication between the foreign SAR teams, the Turkish authorities, and people during the SAR operations in the aftermath of natural disasters (with response to earthquakes as its core priority). Over time, the organization widened its scope to become part of the response mechanisms following post-disaster operations. The name ARÇ was changed with the intention to include response to emergencies and interpreting services in conflict zones, or where there are crowded refugee camps, although a legal and political infrastructure is yet to be established for their inclusions.

Concluding Remarks

Humankind is continuously developing new technologies and changing the environment with the purpose of enhancing living conditions and standards. However, unplanned, egotistic steps lacking multidimensional vision lead to worse living conditions in the world, which trigger ecological collapse and lead to devastating disasters, in our interconnected world. Experts in Turkey are discussing the possible impact of an earthquake expected to strike the Marmara region in 25 years' time. Preparedness activities are the most important part of the mitigation of emergency and disaster situations. Intentional, systematic, and sustainable training with clear objectives for a well-organized and expert action is essential for survival after such undesired events. The ARÇ Organization is an indispensible part of developing resilience by increasing preparedness and response activities; it can also provide guidance, if required, for similar

training efforts in other countries concerned, especially those which are susceptible to emergency and/or disaster situations.

Sitography

1. https://www.afad.gov.tr/EN/IcerikDetay.aspx?ID=1. Accessed 15 October 2015.
2. http://www.ceviridernegi.org/. Accessed 15 October 2015
3. http://www.ndmc.gov.za/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=zHKdhG0E2lY%3D&tabid. Accessed 15 October 2015.
4. http://www.pref.miyagi.jp/kokusai/en/volunteer_en.htm. Accessed 15 October 2015.
5. http://www.guvenliyasam.org/Contents/rehber-kitaplar/en/ADMIP-EN.pdf. Accessed 15 October 2015.

References

Batson, Daniel C. 1991. The Altruism question: Toward a social psychological answer. In *Social psychology*, 2nd edn, ed. Robert S. Feldman, 1998. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Beyaz Gemi Social Project Agency. 2014. *Istanbul ADMIP disaster and emergency prevention response and recovery plan*. Istanbul: ISMEP. http://www.guvenliyasam.org/Contents/rehber-kitaplar/en/ADMIP-EN.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Bulut, Alev. 2002. The constraints manipulating the interpreting services at disasters. *Proceedings of international conference on translation studies in the new millenium Oct. 16–18, 2002*. Bilkent University, Ankara.

Bulut, Alev, and Rana Kahraman. 2003. Voluntary relief interpreters as agents of intercultural communication: Ethical considerations. *Proceedings of 10th translation targets conference Sept. 11–13, 2003.* Charles University, Prague.

Bulut, Alev, and T. Kurultay. 2001. Interpreters-in-Aid-at Disasters (IAD): Community interpreting in the process of disaster management. In: *The return to ethics*, Special issue of *The Translator*, ed. Anthony Pym, 7(2): 251–263.

Businario, Roberta. 2012. *Relief operations across language barriers: The interpreter factor*. Unpublished MSc thesis, University College Dublin.

Chernov, Ghelly V. 2004. *Inference and anticipation in simultaneous interpreting*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Coulthard, Malcolm. 1987. *Introduction To Discourse Analysis*. New York: Longman.

Disaster and Emergency Disaster Authority. 2015. 'AFAD'. Republic of Turkey. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Doğan, Aymil, and R. Kahraman. 2011. Emergency and disaster interpreting in Turkey: Ten years of a unique endeavour. *Journal of Faculty of Letters of Hacettepe University* 28(2). http://www.edebiyatdergisi.hacettepe.edu.tr/index.php/EFD/article/view/499/359. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Doğan, Aymil. 2004. Mahkeme Cevirmenligi [Court Interpreting]. *Journal of Translation Studies*. Ankara: Bizim Buro.

Doğan, Aymil. 2006. *Afette Rehber Çevirmenlik: Toplum Çevirmenliğinde Yeni Bir Boyut [Guide interpreters in disasters: A new dimension in community interpreting]*. Ankara: Bizim Buro.

Doğan, Aymil. 2012. A Survey on the Volunteers of Emergency and Disaster Interpreter Initiative (ARC) in Turkey. *Journal of Faculty of Letters of Hacettepe University*, 29(2). http://www.edebiyatdergisi.hacettepe.edu.tr/index.php/EFD/article/view/3/3. Accessed 15 October 2015.

Doğan, Aymil, Alev Bulut, and Rana Kahraman. 2005. Voluntary relief interpreting: Social responsibility and beyond. Unpublished paper, University of Graz, Translation Sociology Seminar, 11–13 May 2005.

Edwards, Victoria. 2002. The role of communication in peace and relief mission negotiations. *Translation Journal,* 6(2). http://translationjournal.net/journal/20interpr.htm. Accessed 15 October 2015.

Ezber, G., and R. Kahraman. 2008. Relief interpreting in a disaster habitus: A Bourdieuan perspective. *Proceedings of the Translation, Interpreting and Languages for Specific Purposes, Research in Cross-lingual Communication: Theories and Methodologies, University of Macerata, February 1–2, 2008*. Italy.

Hurford, James R., and B. Heasley. 1987. *Semantics: A coursebook*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

International Affairs Division, Miyagi Prefectural Government. 2010. Preparing for the next Miyagi-Oki earthquake. Miyagi. Available at: http://www.pref.miyagi.jp/kokusai/en/volunteer_en.htm. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Kahraman, Rana. 2003. *Afette Rehber Çevirmenlik [Interpreter-in-Aid at Disasters].* Unpublished masters dissertation. Istanbul University, İstanbul.

Kahraman, Rana. 2010. *Göç ve Çeviri: İltica Başvurularında Sözlü Çeviri Uygulamaları ve Toplum Çevirmeninin Rolü [Immıgration and translation:*

Translation and interpreting practices in asylum seeking precess and the role of community interpreter]. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Istanbul University, İstanbul.

Kurultay, T., Alev Bulut, and Rana Kahraman. 2002. New perspectives in community interpreting: Relief interpreting. *Proceedings of the II. Colloque International Sur La Traduction: Relations d'interdisciplinarite en Traduction, Yıldız Technical University, 23–25 Oct 2002.* İstanbul.

International Affairs Division, Miyagi Prefectural Government. 2010. Preparing for the next Miyagi-Oki earthquake. Miyagi. Available at: http://www.pref.miyagi.jp/kokusai/en/volunteer_en.htm. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Marza, Vasile I. 2004. On the death toll of the 1999 Izmit (Turkey) major earthquake. In *ESC general assembly papers*. Potsdam: European Seismological Commission.

Parsons, Talcott. 1964. *Social Structure and Personality.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Pöchhaker, Franz. 2007. Critical linking-up. In *Critical link 4: Professionalisation of interpreting in the community: Selected papers from the 4th International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health and Social Service Settings, Stockholm, Sweden. 20–13 May 2004*, ed. C. Wadensjö, Birgitta Englund Dimitrova, Anna-Lena Nilsson, 11–23. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Quarentelli, Enrico L. 2000. Emergencies, disaster and catastrophes are different phenomena. http://udspace.udel.edu/bitstream/handle/19716/674/PP304.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Roy, Cynthia B. 1989. *A sociolinguistic analysis of the interpreter is role in the turn exchanges of an interpreted event*. Unpublished Dissertation. Washington, DC: Georgetown University, University Microfilms DA064793.

Snelling, David C. 1997. On media and court interpreting. In *Conference interpreting: Current trends in research*, ed. Yves Gambier, Daniel Gile, and Christopher Taylor. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tahir-Gurcaglar, Şehnaz, and Ebru Diriker. 2004. 'Turkiyede Toplum Cevirmenligi' [Community Interpreting in Turkey]. *Journal of Translation Studies*. Ankara: Bizim Buro.

Wadensjö, Cecilia. 2007. Interpreting professions, professionalisation, and professionalism.' In *Critical link 4: Professionalisation of interpreting in the community: Selected papers from the 4th International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health and Social Service Settings, Stockholm, Sweden, 20–13 May 2004,* ed. Cecilia Wadensjö, Birgitta Englund Dimitrova, and Anna-Lena Nilsson, 1–8. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

4

Training Translators for Crisis Communication: Translators Without Borders as an Example

Sharon O'Brien

Introduction

The fact that translation is regularly forgotten in crises is starkly highlighted in the publication 'Disaster 2.0' under the title of 'Translation: A Perennial Hidden Issue'. The words of Brendan McDonald, of the UN's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), spell out the issue clearly:

> Go and look at any evaluation from the last ten or fifteen years. 'Recommendation: make effective information available to the government and the population in their own language.' We didn't do it. (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative 2011: 24)

The primary aim of this chapter is to raise awareness of the important role that translation plays in crisis communication. A second objective is to explore the need for the training of translators for crisis communica-

S. O'Brien
SALIS, Dublin City University, Glasnevin, Dublin, Ireland

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

F.M. Federici (ed.), *Mediating Emergencies and Conflicts*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55351-5_4

tion. To fulfil this objective, an evaluation of recent training by the organization Translators Without Borders (TWB) is presented in the second part of the chapter.

Before addressing these objectives, a note on terminology is necessary: in the academic study of 'translation', as well as in the professional field, the written and oral modes of interlingual meaning transfer are clearly delimited. 'Translation' refers to the written mode, while 'Interpreting' refers to the oral mode of interlingual meaning transfer. However, in certain circumstances, crisis communication being a case in point, the lines between the two become blurred. A person who 'translates' in a crisis scenario may work with both written and oral languages. Nonetheless, we will use the term 'interpreting' throughout to mean specifically the oral transfer of meaning and 'translating' to mean the written form, while acknowledging that both can be performed by the same person in some circumstances.

The chapter is structured as follows: we provide a review of crisis communication literature to examine what is said about the role of translation in crisis communication. We then outline the role that translation has played in recent crises, as documented in reports and academic articles. Attention is also paid to the role of translation-enabling technologies in this section. Following this is a presentation of three examples of organizations addressing the need for translation and translator or interpreter training for non-profit and/or emergency and crisis situations. We focus on one of these organizations, TWB, and report on an evaluation of recent training initiatives for volunteer translators of crisis information. In the concluding section, we appeal for a more concrete consideration of translation needs by crisis communication policy makers and present some adapted ideas for further volunteer translator training.

Translation in the Crisis Communication Literature

There is evidence of consideration of cross-language communication needs in crisis scenarios in the academic literature, but, as is shown below, this appears to be sparse and cursory.

Reynolds (2007), cited in Quinn (2008), talks of 'special populations', that is those who are not easy to reach during the initial stages of a crisis, and lists one of their defining characteristics as encountering language barriers. Quinn (2008) argues that pre-event education is vital for knowledge building, but education also needs to be directed towards the 'special populations' and, where there are language barriers, this can be done through translation. Translation is also vital during the event stage of a crisis. Additionally, Quinn proposes partnership formation and community engagement in the pre-event stage, and one of her proposed strategies for the pre-event stage is to 'develop staff capacity to create messages that are culturally and linguistically appropriate and targeted at appropriate literacy levels' (2008: 22S). While this might not only include translation, translation is certainly one of the processes by which this can be achieved.

Olofsson (2011: 215) comments that customizing crisis communication to heterogeneous populations is crucial for effective crisis preparedness. She elaborates that 'many crisis managers and crisis communicators still use a generic "one message fits all" strategy, despite research showing that messages adapted to the target audience are more successful'. Nevertheless, previous research demonstrates that reactions to emergencies differ across different population groups, with minority groups often mistrusting the credibility of warning messages (Olofsson 2011; Quinn 2008). One of Olofsson's own interview informants highlights this in saying: 'From our experience we have seen that they [people with a foreign background] definitely need more information, preferably in their mother tongue' (p. 222).

Olofsson's focus is on Swedish municipalities and their crisis preparedness and crisis communication from a heterogeneous perspective. She finds that attitudes towards heterogeneity in crisis response 'were rather vague and "weak"' (Olofsson 2011: 221), but that where diversity existed in the organization itself, culture "spills over" into crisis management' (ibid.). Another direct quote from one of her informants demonstrates the informality of the arrangements:

> We have an organization that we call the Culture Interpreter, which consists of employees here in the administration with foreign backgrounds and other linguistic backgrounds who can step in and translate or interpret when it's needed during crisis situations, and between them they cover the ten most common languages (C1:1). (ibid.)

She found that the two municipalities with heterogeneity embedded in their organizations had quite different approaches, with one translating risk communications and the other not. One of Olofsson's informants takes a pragmatic approach to the problem of reaching all affected members of a population in a crisis: 'you can't save them all, and if you manage to save 84% you've done a good job' (p. 222).

The context of Olofsson's work described above is a well-off Scandinavian country with a high level of multiculturalism coupled with a generally good reputation for supporting multilingualism. (According to Falkheimer and Heide [2006], 16% of the Swedish population in 2004 consisted of persons with a foreign background, and these figures are not so different in other European countries.) If the provision of multilingual crisis communication is so weak in a country such as Sweden, then it is reasonable to assume that the situation will be even worse in countries that are less well-off and unable to afford translation or interpreting services.

Falkheimer and Heide (2006) state that intercultural issues and problems are present in most crises today and that research on multicultural public relations and crisis communication is undeveloped. What is most interesting is that their discussion focuses on intercultural communication from the perspective of, for example, high-context/low-context cultures, but does not mention one of the important mechanisms for intercultural communication: translation. As Moser-Mercer et al. (2014: 141) emphasize: 'While culture encompasses much more than languages, language is its major tool of expression: purveyor of meaning and intent, harbinger of good and bad news, vehicle of communication and expression of emotions, of power and power relations'. Falkheimer and Heide state that within the 'linguistic turn' in organization studies, 'researchers should place language in the centre of their interest and acknowledge language as a carrier of power' and that this in itself requires 'a multicultural approach' (Falkheimer and Heide 2006: 187). 'Language' appears to be used as a generic construct by them, and translation across different languages, especially in crises, is not mentioned explicitly by Falkheimer and Heide.

The majority of existing research on crisis communication is sender-focused, top-down, and driven by a need to protect reputation (Sellnow

et al. 2015: 2). The effectiveness of this approach assumes that receivers will respond appropriately when given information in this way, but Sellnow et al. suggest that this is not always so and that, therefore, there is a need for crisis communication research that measures what receivers comprehend and retain from crisis communication. Palttala and Vos (2012) also highlight that the sender–receiver–focused communication paradigm is not appropriate and that authorities need to take receivers' information processing mechanisms into account when planning crisis communication. Sellnow et al. (2015: 2) state:

> To clarify, effective instructional communication is not measured by information shared by the sender (e.g., the instructor), but rather, by affective (i.e., perceived value and utility), cognitive (i.e., knowledge comprehension) and behavioural (i.e. action/performance) learning outcome achievement among receivers (e.g., students).

They posit that effective instructional crisis communication must be composed of four elements, which they build into the 'IDEA model'. The IDEA model is comprised as follows: (I) internalization, (D) distribution, (E) explanation, and (A) action. It is grounded in a theory of experiential learning that posits that learning is achieved not through explanation but by combining explanation with experience and action. They furthermore express the view that messages in crisis scenarios must be brief, understandable, and offered with components on how to act on the information given and that they must be distributed through those channels 'that are most likely to reach the intended target audience(s)' (2015: 3).

Drawing on previous research, Sellnow et al. suggest that the IDEA model may be suitable to meet the needs of 'message tailoring' for subgroups based on gender, culture, sub-culture, learning style preferences, and so on. Their subsequent experiment demonstrates message tailoring can have a positive impact on action by receivers of crisis communication. In their experiment, however, message tailoring involved tailoring of content in English only, and their participants are presumed to have understood English (though the authors do not report whether all participants had English as their first language or had other language compe-

tences). They suggest that future research on the use of the IDEA model might take other factors into account, including translation:

> Similarly, if a particular crisis type is likely to target people in a particular part of a country or countries (e.g., tsunamis, earthquakes, tornados, hurricanes) or people with certain literacy levels (e.g., health, numeracy, reading), the IDEA model message might be nuanced to account specifically for issues of proximity when framing the internalization component and scientific translation when characterizing the explanation component, respectively. (Sellnow et al. 2015: 9)

This is a welcome, if limited, acknowledgement of the need for translation in tailoring crisis messages.

Crisis communication overlaps with risk communication and extends over many phases from pre-crisis prevention to containment and post-crisis evaluation (Palttala and Vos 2012). Palttala and Vos (2012: 41) discuss the fact that there are various stakeholders involved in crisis communication and that different stakeholders 'need to be addressed by different message strategies,…since expectations, needs, and information seeking vary'. (Examples of stakeholders that might have alternative communication needs in a crisis are immigrant communities, ex-pat communities, and tourists.) They present a framework for a crisis communication scorecard based on phases of a crisis and the communication tasks required in each phase for three stakeholder groups (citizens, news media, and response network). The scorecard is presented not only as a diagnostic measurement tool but also as a 'learning tool that indicates critical factors based on research to improve the quality of crisis communication' (ibid.: 46). The communication tasks listed are language agnostic, that is, they do not specify which language the tasks are carried out in or that the tasks might need to be carried out in a multilingual environment. This is not a criticism of the scorecard itself, which refers to 'crisis communication' in general. In the interests of best practices and learning, however, making the multilingual requirements of crisis communication explicit in this list of tasks could enhance future crisis communication practice. We return to both the IDEA model and the crisis communication scorecard in our conclusions.

Stephens and Malone (2009, 2010) appear to discuss the issue of 'technical translation' in crises. They study the case of blogs in which the *technical* details of the pet food industry recall of 2007 were discussed. However, on closer examination, it emerges that Stephens and Malone refer only to *intralingual translation*, that is, translation of meaning *within one language* (in this case English). They are concerned with the translation strategies of technical content and list five such strategies, that is, no translation, direct, elucidating explanation, transformative explanation, and quasi-scientific explanation. While the phenomenon of intralingual clarification is important, their use of the term 'translation' without clarifying that they refer to only intralingual translation is rather unhelpful, in particular because the common understanding of the term 'translation' worldwide is of *interlingual* and not intralingual translation.

Boin (2009) discusses the new world of crises and disasters and suggests a new form of crises termed the 'transboundary crisis', characterized by three main factors: it can cross geographical borders, cross functional boundaries, and transcend traditional time boundaries. We would argue that a transboundary crisis is also characterized as crossing cultural and linguistic boundaries. The relevance of cultural and linguistic boundaries is underlined when we consider global migration figures, which are generally increasing (e.g. see the UN's international migration figures[1]).

The Role of Translation in Recent Crises

In the review presented above, it is demonstrated that culture and language are acknowledged as being important elements in crisis communication, but have rarely been given explicit or deep consideration. As Moser-Mercer et al. (2014: 141) confirm: 'Surprisingly, language needs of large-scale humanitarian actions and deployments are rarely voiced, often downplayed and at best indirectly stated'. The authors continue:

> Businario's survey of humanitarian workers revealed that 98.7 per cent believe that language barriers negatively affect humanitarian communication

[1] See http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/wallchart/docs/wallchart2013.pdf (Accessed 19 July 2015).

> and consequently compromise delivery of aid; 42.9 per cent of humanitarian actors in her survey believe that problems in message transmission are due to a lack of training in interpreting skills of those carrying out the interpreting task (Businario 2012, p. 47–53). (Moser-Mercer et al. 2014: 146)

Thus, language, translation, and interpreting are important in crisis communication but are not given much attention. To date, the most extensive discussion of the use of translation in crises, as well as translation-enabling technology, pertains to the 2010 Haiti Earthquake, where the majority of emergency responders spoke languages other than Haitian Creole and French (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative 2011). Multiple authors (Hester et al. 2010; Lewis et al. 2011; Sutherlin 2013) describe how technology contributed to crowdsourced translation during the 2010 Haiti Earthquake. Various technological solutions were put in place to facilitate communication between those affected and the responders, including the creation of maps, translation of text messages, and the building of machine translation (MT) engines (Munro 2013; Lewis et al. 2011; Morrow et al. 2011; Lewis 2010). Additionally, there has been some discussion of the role of linguistic mediation (including written translation and oral interpretation) in the context of the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011 (Cadwell 2014, 2016; Kaigo 2012; Mizuno 2012; Naito 2012).

Thus, translation has played a significant role in recent crises, and acknowledgement of its importance is growing. With the rise of translation technologies such as MT, growing internet access, and crowdsourcing solutions, it is tempting to suggest that translation of crisis communication can now be facilitated easily through technology. A strong message of caution is necessary here for a number of reasons.

The first is that MT, while having made significant advances in recent years (e.g. see Koehn 2010), still does not produce reliable and accurate output and requires post-editing (or 'fixing') by human translators. Post-editing, while often faster than translation, is a challenging and demanding task that requires training (for recent research on this topic, see O'Brien et al. 2013; O'Brien and Simard 2014). Moreover, current MT technology requires large volumes of digitized, high-quality translated data in order to create even a fair draft of a translation, and such data are

not always available for the languages in which crisis communication is required, or, at least, not at short notice (Lewis et al. 2011; Zaidan and Callison-Burch 2011).

The second reason for caution is that while crowdsourcing of volunteer translators is an emerging trend that has been demonstrated to be successful in some scenarios (e.g. O'Hagan 2009, 2011), it requires management in order to be effective and to ensure that the 'crowd' does not dissipate after an initial burst of enthusiasm. Additionally, crowd translation does not guarantee accurate translation, which is a requirement for crisis communication, because those who volunteer may not be equipped with the necessary linguistic and translation competences (Lewis et al. 2011).

The third reason we will mention here is that any technologies, including translation technologies, are only useful if they can deliver information to those in need of it. In crisis scenarios, however, those affected will use (and may have to use) many different modalities in order to access information, including radio, television, flyers, local communities, and so on, and they will not rely only on internet-mediated electronic communication (Cadwell 2016). Moreover, the most vulnerable and marginalized groups of a population may not be users of technology and are often the most affected by crises (IFRC 2013: 30–35).

Translation is often an imperative for survival and healing in crisis scenarios. Translation technology, while helpful, is not a complete or satisfactory solution. Consequently, there is a need to service translation and interpreting needs for crisis communication and for the training of translators and interpreters. In the next section, we mention three initiatives that are working towards these goals, and we focus on and evaluate an example of translator training within one of these initiatives.

Crisis Communication: Translation and Interpreting Initiatives

In the past few years, a number of organizations or initiatives have emerged to service the growing needs of global translation and interpreting. Some of these initiatives, for example, The Rosetta Foundation

(TRF[2]), focus on fulfilling translation needs, with volunteer translators, for non-profit organizations that would not normally have funding for translation. Examples of TRF clients include The Special Olympics and The World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts. While TRF may provide translation that assists in crisis communication, that is not their specific focus. TWB's mission statement is to 'increase access to knowledge through humanitarian translations'.[3] They service the NGO sector, translating for organizations such as Médecins Sans Frontières, Action Against Hunger, and Oxfam US, among others (Tran 2012). By working with these organizations, they are inevitably called upon to translate content in crisis scenarios such as the recent Ebola crisis in West Africa. TWB's recent training initiatives in Kenya form the focus of the discussion in the next section. A final example of an initiative that provides training is the InZone project, run by the University of Geneva.[4] This initiative differs from TWB and TRF in several ways: it focuses on interpreting rather than translation, and rather than providing interpreting services, it focuses on training field interpreters in humanitarian aid scenarios. We mention InZone here because of their focus on training and their significant insight into the domain of multilingual communication for humanitarian aid.

Training Translators and Interpreters

The training of professional translators and interpreters is well-established in academia and dates back to as early as the 1980s.[5] Generally, in Europe and North America at least, individuals may only work as professional translators or interpreters if they have attained an undergraduate degree in one or other of these specific disciplines (the degree programmes usually last four years), or translators/interpreters have an undergraduate degree

[2] See http://www.therosettafoundation.org/ (Accessed 19 July 2015).

[3] See the organization official portal: http://translatorswithoutborders.org/ (Accessed 19 July 2015).

[4] For details on the InZone initiatives, see http://inzone.fti.unige.ch/ (Accessed 19 July 2015).

[5] Editor's note: This date is particularly relevant with reference to academic programmes in English-speaking countries; other countries especially in Europe have programmes affiliated to academic departments that trained translators and interpreters from as early as the 1950s (e.g. Università di Trieste in Italy).

in a relevant discipline (e.g. language and literature) and a Master's degree in translation or interpreting. Of course, the right to work as a translator or interpreter is regulated and controlled to varying degrees in different countries. The two activities are accepted as being different in terms of the training and competence required, though there are overlaps.

As mentioned above, although technology offers opportunities for managing multilingual information in a crisis, it is not a complete solution. At the same time, translation and interpreting by human agents are expensive, and the current network of training for professional translators is inadequate for servicing crisis communication for a number of reasons:

- It takes at least four years of post-secondary education to train a novice professional translator.
- Graduates need to earn a living and go in search of positions that pay a salary. Translation in crisis scenarios relies on volunteers and typically has no budget for payment.
- Crises can happen anywhere in the world, but especially in countries that are poor or war-torn and which may not have professional translator or interpreter training programmes or students with sufficient funds or infrastructure to attend universities.

So, if technology and professional translators are not a full solution for crisis communication, how can organizations such as those listed above service those important translation needs? Organizations such as TWB or TRF rely on volunteers. These volunteers might or might not be trained translators. In general, TWB will vet their volunteer translators using a translation test, but in some crisis scenarios, it is not possible to do so due to the urgent nature of the situation. This then raises an important question regarding the training of volunteer translators for crisis communication.

There is little written about the training of translators for working in crisis scenarios, but some work has been done on the training of interpreters, specifically for conflict zones through the establishment of the InZone project, as mentioned above. A survey conducted within the project of field interpreters working for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) found, for instance, that 81% of the respondents had

received no training, but learned on the job (Moser-Mercer et al. 2014: 148). The InZone project subsequently developed two virtual learning modules to assist with the training of field interpreters. A pilot version of the course was then evaluated. In summary, participants reported that their skills in interpreting had improved, but that the course would have to be longer if their skills were to improve substantially. Some of the important outcomes from the training initiative of the InZone project are revisited in our conclusions in light of the TWB example presented in the next segment.

Training Translators: Recent Initiatives with TWB

We believe that there is a clear need to consider the role of translation in crisis communication. Furthermore, there is a considerable need to consider and facilitate the training of translators for crisis communication. The approach to training translators in a crisis and volunteer scenario cannot replicate what is done during professional translator training due to time and resource limitations. Moreover, translation in crisis communication is different from traditional translation because content is generally concise and time is a highly critical factor. Nonetheless, it is important that training for volunteers equips those volunteers with the necessary competence. A small-scale project was therefore conceived of to evaluate how effective this training could be in equipping volunteer translators for crisis scenarios, with TWB as a case in point.[6]

A translator training programme was conducted by TWB in Kenya during early September 2014 with 11 volunteer translators, and a second translator training event took place in November 2014 with five volunteers as part of the Rapid Response Translation for Ebola project. The project was conducted within TWB's 'Words of Relief' programme.[7] Apart from one person, none of the trainees had experience with translation. All participants were either teachers (high school or primary level)

[6] The author sincerely thanks TWB for their time and effort in collaborating on this project.

[7] A project aimed at establishing a translation crisis response network, funded by the Humanitarian Innovation Fund. See: http://www.humanitarianinnovation.org/projects/large-grants/TWOB (successfully accessed 19 January 2015; no longer available on 19 July 2015).

or community social workers, and all were at least bilingual, if not multilingual in a number of the languages spoken in Kenya (e.g. Kalenjin, Turkana, Somali, Swahili, and Kimeru). The first training event focused on the translation of messages in a crisis, whereas the second focused specifically on translation of information regarding the Ebola crisis. The first training event was face-to-face and spread across three days, while the second training event, with a different set of trainees (a diaspora with a strong link to the crisis), was conducted over two hours via Skype.

The first training event involved an introduction of trainers and trainees, of TWB as an organization, and of the Words of Relief programme. In addition, time was spent outlining training objectives, presenting concepts such as crowdsourcing, crowdmapping, and collaborative translation and highlighting expectations for volunteer translations and crisis intervention translation.

The following topics were then covered:

- What is translation and why is it important, including sub-topics such as profile of a translator, translation tools, speed versus quality, and assessment.
- How to translate; this was a step-by-step explanation of the process, for example read and understand the source text, analyse the meaning, and so on…
- Introduction to Swahili: used to give examples of translation as most of the participants would have understood this language.
- What is involved when translating in crises, what is disaster message translation.
- Introduction to some Kenyan disaster-relevant health topics, for example, floods, fire outbreaks, tribal or ethnic conflicts.
- How to translate specific terms.
- The Code of Conduct for translators, including humanitarian principles.

Finally, translation exercises relating to disaster intervention and the Ebola virus were undertaken. The participants were given exercises to do at home, and there was discussion on modes of communication, avail-

ability of the translation volunteers, and their ability to act speedily in the event of a need for translation.

The second training event was carried out via Skype and involved describing what translation is and why it is important in contexts such as the Ebola crisis. The training introduced the work of TWB and explained why language was not taken seriously as an important aspect of humanitarian aid. Specific instructions were given on how to translate. Instructions included, for example, read and understand, analyse the meaning, make a first draft, and so on. Also, instructions were given on how to deal with terminology issues, for example, when no equivalent term exists, explain, or describe the concept, borrow or adapt from another language, and so on. The tools normally used by a translator were also outlined, as were ethics and responsibility of the translator.

Evaluating the Translator Training

The two training initiatives described above offered an opportunity to evaluate the effectiveness of the training initiatives. Since multiple (African) languages were involved as well as a group of volunteers, it was not feasible to evaluate the training in the traditional manner used in translator training, which normally involves multiple assignments, over periods of years, with a focus on linguistic quality of the target language in relation to the source text meaning and the translation 'brief' (or task). Therefore, an alternative method of evaluation was required. Moreover, the timing of the two training initiatives meant that the opportunities for evaluation that presented themselves differed. The first training session had already taken place before the researcher became involved, and so it was not possible to do a pre-training evaluation for that training session. As an alternative, an evaluation was carried out both before and after a simulation exercise, which is described below.

Following the first training session, it was decided to run a simulation exercise for a crisis scenario in which translation was required. The simulation scenario involved the activation of the Translator Network with a simulated crisis and the translation of four crisis messages into the following languages by ten trainees: Kalenjin, Turkana, Somali, Swahili,

Kimeru, Kamba, Maa, Ekegusii, Luhya, and Pokot. An example of the type of short message to be translated is, *Ebola is real and it can kill you*.

The trained translators were asked to fill in a short questionnaire before and after the translation simulation task. The questionnaire draws on the concept of self-efficacy in which a person rates their own ability to perform a task and their confidence in their self-ratings. This notion of rating self-efficacy is used regularly in educational psychology (Bandura 1977, 1986) and has been used in formal translator training (Doherty and Kenny 2014).

Self-efficacy Evaluations for First Group of Trainees

This section reports on the trainees' responses to the questions prior to the simulation task. There were five full responses in total for the pre-simulation questionnaire.

Prior to the training offered on the Words of Relief programme, none of the trainees had ever worked as a volunteer translator. When asked how they would rate the effectiveness of the training received through the Words of Relief project, three of the five translators selected the response 'very effective—my confidence as a translator is very high' while two selected 'reasonably effective—my confidence as a translator is neither very high nor very low'. This suggests that the translators had quite high confidence levels before the simulation task.

They were then presented with a set of seven statements that addressed different sub-competences in translation. The statements were created in discussion with TWB. The trainees were asked to say whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement (by selecting 'Yes' or 'No') and then to rate their *confidence in their answer*. An example was presented to them in order to make sure that the instructions were clear. The example read as follows:

> There are 7 statements below which relate to translation skills in emergency scenarios. For each of these statements, select Yes or No depending on whether you feel you can achieve the task as described and then rate your confidence in your answer on the scale of 1–10 as follows. For example, if

you feel that you can translate messages rapidly in a crisis, but you are not completely confident about saying "Yes", you would select "Yes" and maybe 5 or 6 on the confidence scale.

- **Statement 1: 'I can confidently determine who are the most vulnerable in a crisis and what information they need to have translated to prevent injury or loss of life'.**

All translators agreed with the statement, and the average confidence rating was high at 8 (median = 8).

- **Statement 2: 'I can quickly determine what the most important messages are that require translation in a crisis scenario'.**

All translators agreed with the statement, and the average confidence rating was high at 8.2 (median = 8).

- **Statement 3: 'I can translate messages rapidly in a crisis scenario'.**

Again, they all agreed with the statement, and the average confidence rating was high at 7.4 (median = 7).

- **Statement 4: 'I can translate messages accurately in a crisis scenario'.**

All agreed with an average rating of 7 (median = 6).

- **Statement 5: 'I can translate messages thoroughly in a crisis scenario—leaving nothing out and not adding any unnecessary text'.**

This is the first statement for which we see a little bit of doubt creeping into the translators' self-efficacy ratings, with one out of the five selecting 'No' to this answer, with a confidence rating of 5. The other four translators selected 'Yes' with an average rating of 7.75 (median 8.4).

- **Statement 6: 'I can compensate during translation for a lack of terminology equivalence (when a term exists in one language, but there is no obvious equal term in the other language)'.**

Again, all translators agreed with this statement, and the confidence level was 7.25 on average (median: 7.6).

- **Statement 7: 'I can confidently overcome cultural differences between the original language culture and the target language culture when translating in crisis scenarios'.**

For statement 7, all translators agreed, with a confidence level of 7.75 on average (median = 9).

In summary, following training and prior to the simulation task, the translators who responded to the questionnaire demonstrated high confidence levels in their ability to undertake translation tasks in a crisis scenario.

Following the filling out of this questionnaire, the simulation crisis translation task was organized. As explained above, this entailed sending out four crisis messages to the volunteer translators and asking them to translate and return the messages to the coordinator with a rapid turnaround.

The trainee translators were then asked to fill in a slightly modified version of the questionnaire after the simulation task. The objective was to see if their confidence levels had changed having undertaken a crisis translation task.

The questionnaire was modified to remove any irrelevant questions for which we only needed one response, for example asking if they had worked as a volunteer translator before the training. In addition, the following wording was placed in front of each of the statements: 'Drawing on my experience from the simulation, I can…'. The objective of this modification was to get the respondents to use their experience from the simulation to inform their second round of self-efficacy ratings. Eight people responded to the second questionnaire, five of whom had also responded to the pre-simulation questionnaire.[8]

For the purposes of comparison, the median ratings for the pre-simulation and post-simulation responses for each statement (presented above) are presented side-by-side in Fig. 4.1.

Figure 4.1 demonstrates that for statements 1 and 2 (pertaining to determining who are the most vulnerable and what the most important messages for translation are), the self-efficacy ratings remain the same.

For statements 3, 4, and 6 (*rapid*, *accurate* translation and *compensation for lack of terminology* respectively), the median confidence levels have risen. However, for statements 5 and 7 (pertaining to thorough trans-

[8] The lack of response from three people to the first questionnaire may have been due to technical issues.

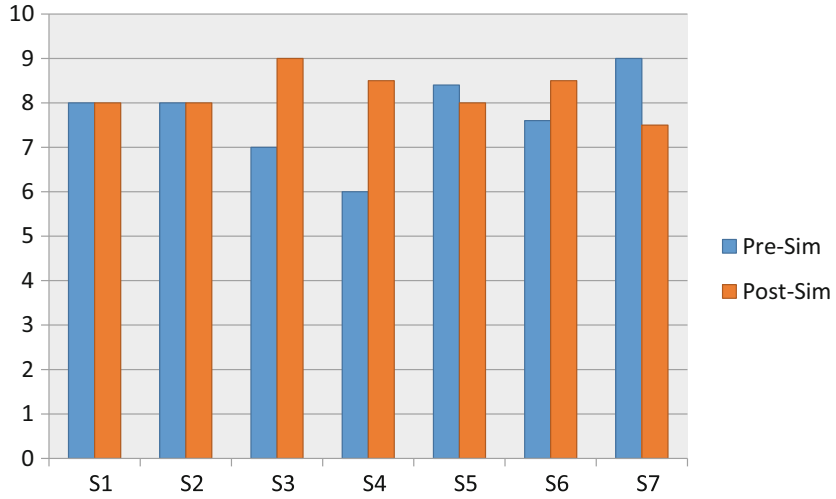

Fig. 4.1 Confidence ratings from Words of Relief trainees before and after the simulation task

lation and overcoming cultural barriers), confidence levels have fallen slightly. We are comparing median ratings here, but the changes may also be due to the fact that there are three new responders in the mix. The drop in confidence for statement 5 ('I can translate messages thoroughly in a crisis scenario—leaving nothing out and not adding any unnecessary text') is probably due to one trainee replying 'no' and rating their confidence in their statement as '3'. This person also helpfully left a comment at the end of the survey saying 'During the simulation i [sic] find myself consulting others on terminologies that i might not be sure with and this has helped a lot during the exercise'. There are no obvious explanations among the comments given by trainees for the drop in confidence for statement 7, but we return to this below.

Self-efficacy Evaluations for Second Group of Trainees

As mentioned above, the second round of training was carried out via Skype and involved describing what translation is and why it is important in contexts such as the Ebola crisis. This training session represented a

good opportunity to capture self-efficacy ratings from trainee translators both before and after the training and differed from the previous process which focused on self-efficacy ratings before and after a simulation task.

The pre-training questionnaire in this case was identical to the previous questionnaire with the exception of statement 1 which was deemed inappropriate for these trainees ('I can confidently determine who are the most vulnerable in a crisis and what information they need to have translated to prevent injury or loss of life'), since they would not be expected to determine *who* the most vulnerable are in the context of the Ebola crisis. Rather, information for translation would be 'pushed' to them through TWB. Consequently, statement 1 was omitted from the pre- and post-training questionnaires.

Five trainees responded to the pre-training questionnaire, and four of these responded to the post-training questionnaire. One out of four stated that s/he had acted as a volunteer translator prior to the training given. All but one trainee answered 'Yes' to each statement presented. One trainee responded 'No' to statements 4 (accurate translation), 5 (thorough translation), 6 (terminology equivalence), and 7 (cultural difference), with confidence ratings of 6, 7, 7, and 7, respectively. In the post-training questionnaire, this respondent changed the answer to 'Yes' for all statements, with confidence ratings of 6 on average. The median confidence ratings for the pre- and post-training questionnaire are presented side-by-side in Fig. 4.2.

It can be seen from Fig. 4.2 that confidence ratings for self-efficacy rose for all statements after the training, with the exception of one statement (S7). Interestingly, confidence ratings also fell for statement 7 (relating to cultural mediation) after the simulation exercise with a completely different set of trainees (see also Fig. 4.1 for comparison). This could point to a possibility that trainees become more sensitized to the nature of translation as *cultural mediation* both through training and simulation tasks, and therefore become less confident about their roles as cultural mediators.

Comparing both groups, we can observe that there is little difference in terms of their overall self-efficacy ratings. What is striking from a formal translator trainer's perspective is the high level of confidence that both groups have before and after the simulation task or training. Also,

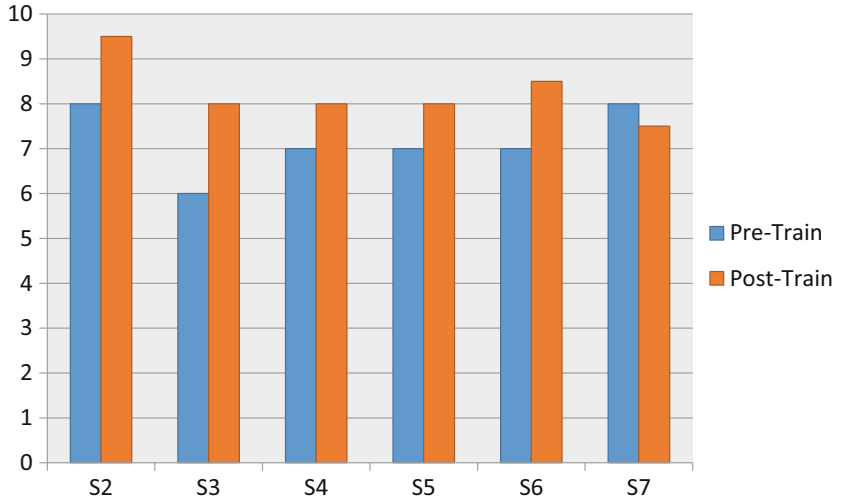

Fig. 4.2 Confidence ratings from Ebola translation trainees before and after the training

we can see that both the simulation task and the online training generally boosted the groups' confidence.

An important question to ask is whether these levels of confidence are actually warranted. Are the self-ratings for translation efficacy reflected in an ability to produce a good translation in a volunteer/crisis scenario? The next section discusses this further.

Self-efficacy Ratings versus Quality Evaluation

At the time of writing, only the texts translated during the simulation exercise by the first group of trainees were assessed for quality. The assessment was carried out by language experts in each of the languages mentioned earlier. The approach to assessment was a holistic one, using the following criteria:

1. The accuracy of the message in translation (this was done by comparing the source and target languages).
2. Consistency in terminology use throughout the translation.

3. Conformity to the target language style of writing (formal).
4. Sensitivity to cultural adaptations (how things are said in the target language culture).
5. Cohesion within the short message.
6. Proper use of punctuation and mechanics.
7. Natural flow of the message.

Four messages were translated into ten languages for the simulation. The translations were scored out of ten, where ten indicated very high quality. Table 4.1 shows the average score for each message across ten trainees.

The evaluation scores in Table 4.1 demonstrate that a high level of translation quality was produced according to the criteria used and the evaluators. Consequently, we can conclude that the trainees' high self-efficacy ratings were not unwarranted and were validated in the evaluation of their translation performance.

These results augur well for the effectiveness of the training provided. However, we should take into consideration some limitations and special circumstances that may have impacted on these findings:

- It was only possible to assess a small number of translated messages (4) and only from one group of trainees.
- We could tentatively conclude from these results that the trainees have high linguistic competences. This may account for their natural ability to translate and for their high levels of confidence. It is perhaps also worth noting that most of the participants are teachers, which may also account for their confidence levels. If TWB, or any other organization, had set about training volunteers with lower levels of language competence, resulting translation competence might not have been as high as for the groups included here.

Table 4.1 Average and median quality scores for translated messages in simulation exercise

Quality Score	Message 1	Message 2	Message 3	Message 4
Average	7.8	7.8	7.7	7.9
Median	8	8	8	8

In summary, this shows that even short, directed training of suitable volunteers can lead to increases in self-efficacy among the trainees, which can be validated through independent holistic quality evaluation. It should be emphasized that these short training programmes cannot be expected to produce professional translators or interpreters, but they may at least help towards increased and effective translation efforts in demanding crisis scenarios.

It could be argued that such limited training may in fact not produce adequate translators. In fact, serious errors could be made due to lack of proper training and experience, and this could be detrimental to communication efforts, especially in crisis scenarios where lives are in the balance. On the other hand, the alternatives of no translation, slow translation, or faulty automated translation are not viable either.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter first sought to highlight that multilingual communication, enabled through translation, is rarely considered in depth in crisis communication research. In his consideration of the essential tasks for transboundary crisis management, Boin (2009: 373) identifies *information dissemination* by leaders as one of those essential tasks: 'One of the most crucial leadership tasks during a crisis is to explain what is happening…'. However, he goes on to stress that

> Efforts to impart accurate, accessible information, which can be used as the basis for appropriate action, may encounter an anxious and even fearful audience. Stress and arousal can easily lead to the messages of leaders being misinterpreted and distorted—especially among those parts of the audience who do not see government as their ally. (ibid.)

This problem must be exacerbated when those explanations are delivered either in a language that is not at all known to, or only partially understood by, some of the population affected. Manoj and Baker (2007: 52) also take up the theme of information dissemination in crises mentioning 'social challenges that arise with communications within

and between ephemeral groups' as an issue. They highlight the need for 'a common language' between response organizations and between these and citizens, proposing 'icon languages' as a potential solution. However, they do not mention the need for multilingual communication, and the assumption that a common language or limited 'icons' are adequate is debatable. This discussion hopefully emphasizes that multilingual communication, via translation, is an essential component to crisis communication and ought to be incorporated into policies, best practices, training, and research.

Efforts underway in the translation community to support multilingual crisis communication have been highlighted here with examples such as InZone, The Rosetta Foundation, and TWB. Also the non-feasibility of reliance on the community of professional translators and interpreters for translation in crisis communication scenarios has been highlighted. In addition, it should not be expected that MT or crowdsourcing can fulfil requirements. Short-term training programmes, such as those offered by InZone or by TWB, are required. The training examples explored here demonstrate reasonable levels of success. However, further research is required to see how effective such programmes are in *real* crisis situations, and how sustainable the training is. We have focused primarily on training of translators and interpreters. Equally important is training of translation users (e.g. first responders, security personnel) so that needs and limitations (both human and technological) are understood.

Moser-Mercer et al. (2014: 152–153) propose a scalable training model which should fulfil the requirements such as meeting real needs of learners, being accessible, providing motivation, certification, and supporting the development and maintenance of communities of practice (for the full list, see Moser-Mercer et al. 2014: 153). Although they are focused on interpreting, the same requirements could be applied to translator training programmes.

We see potential for Sellnow et al.'s IDEA model, described above, to incorporate translation, and for translator training for crisis communication to incorporate the IDEA model. Specifically, the Distribution, Explanation, and Action components of this model could be explicitly taught in a training programme, though the finer details would need to be thought out.

Additionally, we see potential for translation to be incorporated into a crisis communication scorecard such as that presented by Palttala and Vos (2012). The foremost benefits of this scorecard are that it spans all phases of a crisis, meaning that translation would not be an afterthought, and that it is a learning tool as well as a diagnostic tool. This would have the benefit that those new to the concept of crisis communication would learn *upfront* about the importance of multilingual and multicultural communication in a crisis. The scorecard might incorporate the establishment, ongoing training, and evaluation of translation networks such as the one presented here from TWB.

References

Bandura, Albert. 1977. *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Bandura, Albert. 1986. *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Boin, Arjen. 2009. The new world of crises and crisis management: Implications for policymaking and research. *Review of Policy Research* 26(4): 367–377.

Businario, Roberta. 2012. *Relief operations across language barriers: The interpreter factor*. Unpublished MSc thesis, University College Dublin.

Cadwell, Patrick. 2014. Translation and interpreting needs in the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011. *Proceedings of the FIT XXth World Congress*, ed. Wolfram Baur, B. Eichner, S. Kalina, N. Kessler, F. Mayer, J. Orsted, 752–60. BDÜ Fachverlag.

Cadwell, Patrick. 2016. A place for translation technologies in disaster settings: The case of the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake. In *Conflict and communication: A changing Asia in a globalising world*, ed. Minako O'Hagan and Qi Zhang. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc..

Doherty, Stephen, and Dorothy Kenny. 2014. The design and evaluation of a statistical machine translation syllabus for translation students. *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 8(2): 295–315.

Falkheimer, Jesper, and M. Heide. 2006. Multicultural crisis communication: Towards a social constructionist perspective. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 14(4): 180–189.

Harvard Humanitarian Initiative. 2011. *Disaster relief 2.0: The future of information sharing in humanitarian emergencies*. Washington, D.C./Berkshire: UN Foundation and Vodafone Foundation Technology Partnership.

Hester, Vaughn, Aaron Shaw, and Lukas Biewald. 2010. Scalable crisis relief: Crowdsourced SMS translation and categorization with mission 4636. *Proceedings of the First ACM Symposium on Computing for Development* (ACM DEV'10), 1–7. New York: ACM.

IFRC. 2013. *World Disasters Report: Focus on technology and the future of humanitarian action*, International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Available at: http://www.ifrc.org/PageFiles/134658/WDR%202013%20complete.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Kaigo, Muneo. 2012. Social media usage during disasters and social capital: Twitter and the Great East Japan Earthquake. *Keio Communication Review* 24: 19–35.

Koehn, Philipp. 2010. *Statistical machine translation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lewis, William. 2010. Haitian Creole: How to build and ship an MT engine from scratch in 4 days, 17 hours, & 30 minutes. *Proceedings of the 14th Annual Conference of the European Association for Machine Translation (EAMT 2010)*. Saint-Raphaël, 27–28 May 2010 (no page numbers).

Lewis, William, R. Munro, and S. Vogel. 2011. Crisis MT: Developing a cookbook for MT in crisis situations. *Proceedings of the 6th Workshop on Statistical Machine Translation*, 501–511. Edinburgh, July 30–31.

Manoj, B.S., and Alexandra H. Baker. 2007. Communication challenges in emergency response. *Communications of the ACM* 50(3): 51–53.

Mizuno, Makiko. 2012. Community interpreting in Japan: Present state and challenges. In *Translation and translation studies in the Japanese context*, ed. Nana Sato-Rossberg and J. Wakabayashi, 202–221. London: Continuum.

Morrow, Nathan, N. Mock, A. Papendieck, and N. Kocmich. 2011. *Independent evaluation of the Ushahidi Haiti Project* [Online]. Available from: http://reliefweb.int/report/haiti/independent-evaluation-ushahidi-haiti-project. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Moser-Mercer, Barbara, L. Kheriche, and B. Class. 2014. Interpreting conflict: Training challenges in humanitarian field interpreting. *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 6(1): 140–158.

Munro, Robert. 2013. Crowdsourcing and the crisis-affected community: Lessons learned and looking forward from mission 4636. *Journal of Information Retrieval* 16(2): 210–266.

Naito, Minoru. 2012. Community interpreting at the time of Great East Japan Earthquake. *Conference Interpretation and Translation (*국제회의 통역과 번역*)* 14(1): 97–115.

O'Brien, Sharon, and M. Simard (eds.). 2014. Introduction to the special issue of machine translation on post-editing. *Machine Translation* 28(3–4): 159–164.

O'Brien, Sharon, M. Carl, M. Simard, L. Specia, and L. Winther-Balling (eds.). 2013. *Post-editing of machine translation: Processes and applications*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

O'Hagan, Minako. 2009. Evolution of user-generated translation: Fansubs, translation hacking and crowdsourcing. *Journal of Internationalisation and Localisation* 1: 94–121.

O'Hagan, Minako. 2011. Introduction: Community translation: Translation as a social activity and its possible consequences in the advent of Web 2.0 and beyond. *Linguistica Antverpiensia* 10: 1–10.

Olofsson, Anna. 2011. Organizational crisis preparedness in heterogeneous societies: The OCPH model. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 19(4): 215–226.

Palttala, Pauliina, and M. Vos. 2012. Quality indicators for crisis communication to support emergency management by public authorities. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 20(1): 39–51.

Quinn, Sandra C. 2008. Crisis and emergency risk communication in a pandemic: A model for building capacity and resilience in minority communities. *Health Promotion Practice* 9(18S): 18S–25S.

Reynolds, Barbara. 2007. *Crisis and emergency risk communication: Pandemic influenza*. Atlanta: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Sellnow, Deanna D., Derek Lane, Robert S. Littlefield, Timothy L. Sellnow, Bethney Wilson, Kimberly Beauchamp, and Steven Venette. 2015. A receiver-based approach to effective instruction crisis communication. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 23(3): 149–158.

Stephens, Keri, and Patty C. Malone. 2009. If the organizations won't give us information…: The use of multiple new media for crisis technical translation and dialogue. *Journal of Public Relations Research* 21(2): 229–239.

Stephens, Keri, and Patty C. Malone. 2010. New media for crisis communication: Opportunities for technical translation, dialogue, and stakeholder responses. In *The handbook of crisis communication*, ed. Timothy Coombs and S. Holladay, 381–385. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Sutherlin, Gwyneth. 2013. A voice in the crowd: Broader implications for crowdsourcing translation during crisis. *Journal of Information Science* 39: 397–409.

Tran, Mark. 2012. Translators fight the fatal effects of the language gap. *The Guardian,* April 11. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2012/apr/11/volunteers-translation-language-health-messages. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Zaidan, Omar, and Chris Callison-Burch. 2011. Crowdsourcing translation: Professional quality from non-professionals. *Proceedings of the 49th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics* 1220–9. Portland, Oregon, June 19–24.

5

Challenges of the Twenty-First Century in the Russian Arctic: Translating in Emergencies and Emergencies in Translating

Veronica Razumovskaya and Olga Bartashova

With the growing importance of the Arctic, both globally and within the Russian Federation, in this chapter, we examine the key strategic issues of interlingual and cross-cultural communication in emergencies pertaining to the Russian Arctic. The research outlines the challenges and peculiarities of translation and interpreting (T&I) in the Arctic environment. Tremendous social, political, and economic changes are influencing the lives of not only the indigenous population, but also all the people in the circumpolar zone. Significant mineral and energy

V. Razumovskaya (✉)
Economics, Management and Environmental Studies,
Siberian Federal University,
Svobodny prospect, 79/10, 660041 Krasnoyarsk, Russia

O. Bartashova
Linguistics, Faculty of Humanities, St. Petersburg State University
of Economics, 30/32 Nab. kanala Griboedova, St. Peterburg 191023, Russia

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

F.M. Federici (ed.), *Mediating Emergencies and Conflicts*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55351-5_5

resources are driving new exploration activity in the Arctic. Emergencies are caused by climate conditions (frozen tundra) and changes in climate (destabilization of terrain as a result of permafrost thaw), weather (heavy snowstorms, hurricanes, and severe frosts) and technological disasters (oil spillage, explosions, air crashes, and shipwrecks) in sensitive Arctic ecosystems. The key translation issue in these abnormal conditions is how to ensure effective communication in emergencies. The main principles of T&I in this context are mobility, centralization, preparedness, and immediate response. While T&I is already traditionally thought of as a stressful activity, the additional hazards associated with operating in Arctic areas necessitate significant psychological preparation. An integral approach is required for various aspects of T&I activity in emergencies. The educational aspect includes the organization of specially tailored retraining courses for translators and interpreters, the implementation of a state certification system, and the drafting of guidelines. The managerial aspect involves the arrangement of an effective and reliable T&I service to international rescue teams at the distress location and their coordination from the remote HQ; the organization of a T&I group in the Arctic Council (AC) and in regional centres of the Ministry of the Russian Federation for Affairs for Civil Defence, Emergencies and Elimination of Consequences of Natural Disasters (Министерство по чрезвычаным ситуациям—МЧС России; henceforth referred to by its English acronym EMERCOM derived from 'Emergency Control Ministry' which is widely used in Russia); and a broad international partnership. In this chapter, we pay particular attention to the linguistic aspect of translation and interpreting in emergencies (Em T&I) activity in the context of *globanglization*—the necessity for all non-English-speaking countries to use English in order to promote their cultures and the influence of English on other languages in the world (Kabakchi 2009; 2011)—as well as the systematic organization of vocabulary on a module principle (the use of unified basic units organized in accordance with extralinguistic situations or forming communication skills) in order to overcome information entropy.

Definition and Classification of Emergencies

The current ecological situation in Russia and other industrialized countries is characterized by the growth of threats in natural and industrial areas. Technological and natural disasters are, no doubt, becoming permanent operating factors not only in the economy, but also in politics. Major natural disasters that have occurred in recent decades in Russia and in the world have cost hundreds of thousands of lives and have caused large, and often irreversible, damage to the environment. Direct economic losses and subsequent mitigation costs amount to tens and hundreds of billions of dollars.

In accordance with the Federal Law 'On the protection of population and territories from emergencies of natural and technological disasters' ('О защите населения и территорий от чрезвычаных ситуаций природного и техногенного характера', dated 21 December 1994, No. 68), emergencies of natural and technological origin are defined as situations in a particular area which arise as a result of an accident, a dangerous natural phenomenon, catastrophe, or other disasters, that may cause or have caused loss of life, damage to human health or the environment, considerable material losses, and violations of the living conditions of people.

Origins of emergencies are traditionally divided into natural, technological, and bio-social. In turn, natural, technological, and bio-social emergencies are subdivided according to natural hazards, dangerous technological events, and threatening biological manifestations. In accordance with the Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation (Постановление правительства РФ) No. 304 dated 21 May 2007, 'On the classification of emergencies of natural and technological origin', (1) from the standpoint of the extent and severity of the consequences, natural and technological emergencies are divided into local, municipal, intermunicipal, regional, interregional, and federal; (2) from the standpoint of their origin, emergencies can be divided into industrial, natural, ecological, human, social, and of mixed character.

The aspect of intention as regards emergencies is differentiated as random (unintentional) and intentional. The latter group includes acts of terrorism, extremist actions, and other intentional destructive acts. Most emergencies occur at random. However, this does not mean that the appearance and development of emergencies are not subject to any regular or cyclical events. Emergences are also classified as taking place in peacetime or wartime. In addition, the speed of development of emergencies is differentiated into

- sudden (earthquakes, explosions, or traffic accidents);
- rapid (fires or emissions); and
- moderate (freshets, floods, or volcanic eruptions).

Analysis of the causes and course of different emergencies shows their common feature, which is that they have stages. For the sake of preparedness in response emergencies, it is advisable to distinguish five stages of development for accidents and emergencies:

1. The accumulation of negative effects, leading to an accident;
2. The development period of a disaster;
3. The extreme period, during which most of the energy is released;
4. The attenuation period; and
5. Liquidation of the consequences.

Based on the above classifications, there are emergency statistics, which are used (1) to assess the overall situation on the territory of the Russian Federation regarding natural and technological threats; (2) to identify trends of the possible development of this situation. According to the EMERCOM, each year Russia suffers between 300 and 350 disasters and more than 600 man-made accidents. In recent years, the number and scale of the consequences of accidents, catastrophes, and natural disasters have become more dangerous for people, the environment, and the economy. There is no doubt that all emergencies have their own particular features expressed in their own level of difficulty and complexity.

Features of Emergencies in the Arctic Territories of Russia

The toponym Arctic is derived from ancient Greek: ἄρκτος—'bear', ἀρκτικός—'located under the constellation Ursa Major', 'Northern'. It is a single physical-geographical region, a vast polar territory of the Earth located at the northernmost part of our planet (Nuttall and Callaghan 2000. The territory of the Arctic includes the continental margins of Eurasia and North America: almost the entire Arctic Ocean with its islands (except the offshore islands of Norway), as well as the adjacent parts of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The southern boundary of the Arctic coincides with the northern boundary of the biome of tundra (Marsh and Kaufman 2012). The Arctic area is generally determined as about 27 million square kilometres; sometimes geographers limit the Arctic zone from the south by the Arctic Circle (66°33′N); in this case, its area is reduced to 21 million square kilometres (Nuttall 2005).

In accordance with the anthropological and ethnographic data, the first representatives of *Homo sapiens* entered the Russian coast of the Arctic Ocean about 30,000 years ago (Pavlov et al. 2001). This is evidenced by ancient people sites found in the river valleys of the Komi Republic (located in the North-East of the East European Plain) and the Republic of Sakha (also called Yakutia, located in the North of Asia and being the largest subnational body by area in the world). The arrival of ancient people to the Arctic zone and the development of lands at high latitudes significantly increased the adaptive capacity of *Homo sapiens* as a species and influenced its genetic code. In the context of the constant struggle with the abnormally cold climate and severe living conditions, the northern adaptive types of human population were formed there. The Arctic's indigenous people have been preserving their traditional way of life for centuries and are still trying to follow traditions (McGhee 2001, 2007). Their specific culture and special worldview, however, formed by a long time spent living in extreme climatic conditions, can hardly meet the needs and parameters of modern civilization and cannot be easily adapted to the requirements of the market economy. According to the *Arctic Encyclopedia,* the current population of the Arctic zone of the

Russian Federation is about 2.5 million people (in comparison with 2.1 million living in the other seven Arctic countries) (Lukin 2013). As a result of a well-established traditional way of life, indigenous people of the Arctic are totally dependent on the Arctic ecosystem for their food supply, accommodation, and the preservation of an original cultural identity.

For a long time, the Arctic territory had been considered inappropriate for human life, being traditionally defined as 'dead land' and practically impassable both by water and by land (Albamov 2001; McCannon 2012). At present, the ecology and the natural challenges of the Arctic still affect the autochthonous and resident people (see Krupnik and Narinskaya 1998; Sejersen 2015). In the eleventh century, Russian explorers reached the icy seas of the Arctic Ocean. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they discovered Vaygach Island, Novaya Zemlya and at the end of the fifteenth century, the archipelago of Svalbard and Bear Island. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the first map of the Arctic Ocean basin was drawn (based on the drawing by Russian diplomat Dmitry Gerasimov, known outside Russia as Demetrius Erasmius; see Bagrow 1962). At the same time, the development of the western part of the Northern Sea Route (the so-called marine Mangazeya move) started. Following the Great Northern Expedition (1733–1743), all the Siberian Arctic coast up to Cape Bolshoy Baranov was studied, described, and mapped. In 1874, people began sailing on steam ships through the Kara Sea to the mouth of the Ob and Yenisei rivers—the greatest rivers of Siberia. These explorations gained the name of the Kara Expeditions.

At present, the international status of the Arctic is enshrined in international agreements on the Arctic territories. The Arctic itself is divided into the sectors of responsibility between the Arctic states. The boundaries of the northern polar territory belonging to the former USSR were defined by the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Central Executive Committee dated 15 April 1926. The water boundary then stretched from the Kola Peninsula over the North Pole to the Bering Strait. The territory of the Russian Arctic is now ~ 4.8 m square kilometres. The Russian Federation's membership in the AC is of extreme importance. The AC is an international organization created in 1996 on the initiative of Finland to protect the unique nature of the polar Zone, and now represents the

eight Arctic states (Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden, and the USA).

For Russia, the Far North is of great economic and strategic importance, since it is rich in deposits of non-ferrous and rare metals. Specialists develop gold, tin, tungsten, lead, and zinc ores. There are great reserves of mercury, diamonds, iron ore, oil, gas, and coal. The northern regions of Siberia alone account for over 70% of Russian oil and gas extraction. The extraction of natural resources in this region provides more than 18% of GDP of the Russian Federation. The economic issues of the Arctic are closely connected with its ecology. The ecological significance of the Arctic zone of the Russian Federation shall be determined by such important features as:

1. the presence of unique ecosystems: the contribution of the natural sphere of the Russian Arctic to the preservation of the global stability of the biosphere is estimated at 12% of the total world level;
2. extremely low resistance of ecosystems to human impact;
3. a meaningful role in ensuring the sustainability of the planet's climate and biodiversity conservation.

At the same time, the nature of Arctic areas is vulnerable to harmful forces, and once damaged, the environment is barely recoverable. The natural recovery rate is considerably inferior to the process of degradation of the natural environment under the influence of growing human pressure, which is of particular concern due to the following factors:

1. A high degree of wear from a large part of the production infrastructure;
2. A rapid transition in several regions from a centralized distribution of industry to the continuous development of land and water areas;
3. The projected growth in production, processing, and transportation of hydrocarbon and mineral resources, which will be accompanied by the emergence of new potential sources of hazards;
4. The steadily growing presence of radioactive waste disposal.

The steady aggravation of the ecological situation has resulted in numerous measures of coping with the harmful consequences of

human activity in the Arctic. Therefore, during the current decade, several thematic discussions have taken place. For example, in 2008 (from 31 August to 4 September), the EMERCOM of Russia, together with the municipal authorities and the company Norilsk Nickel, held for the AC working group on the Prevention, Preparedness and Emergency Response, a scientific and practical workshop 'Prevention of emergency situations in the Arctic and the coordination of works to eliminate them, including environmental impacts'. The workshop was attended by specialists from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and the Ministry of Transport of the Russian Federation; in total, 52 experts from Russia, Sweden, Finland, and Canada took part in the workshop. After the workshop, it was recommended that a special authorized body of federal jurisdiction be created for daily management of the territory, which was assigned the name of the Arctic Emergency Management Centre of EMERCOM (аварино-спасательный Арктический центр МЧС). On 27 November 2008, the Federation Council Committee on Northern Affairs and National Minorities held a round table on 'Measures to eliminate man-made pollution in the Arctic'. Participants of the round table discussed the environmental problems in the Arctic and developed a number of recommendations for technical and organizational measures for 2009, including: (1) to enhance international cooperation with the Arctic countries, primarily with Norway, Sweden, the USA, and Canada, on the elimination of man-made pollution, and, in particular, the implementation of the programme of the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants (Stockholm, 22 May 2001) and the Programme of the Commission for controlling transboundary pollution by heavy metals and organic pollutants; (2) to support programmes of the AC on the elimination of pollution in the Arctic; and (3) to create complex emergency and rescue centres in the Russian Federation (in Murmansk, Arkhangelsk, Naryan-Mar, Vorkuta, Nadim, Dudinka, Tiksi, Pevek, Anadyr, Provideniya—ten in total).

The unity of Arctic as a single geographic territory, the officially approved international status of Arctic, and extremely high risk of emergencies in the Arctic determine the necessity of international cooperation in this area.

Going back a few decades, we can note that one of the most well-known and dramatic emergencies of the twentieth century in the Russian Arctic was the accident with the Soviet steamship *Chelyuskin*, an icebreaker specially equipped to navigate through polar ice. The ship became icebound in Arctic waters during its navigation along the shortest sea route from Murmansk to Vladivostok. The expedition's task was to determine the possibility to travel by a non-icebreaker through the whole Norther Maritime Route in a single navigation season and was extremely ambitious for the level of development of engineering at the time as the entire route lies in Arctic waters, which are free of ice only two months during the year. The ship was built in Denmark by the Burmeister & Wain Copenhagen shipyard in 1933 and named after the eighteenth-century Russian polar explorer and navigator Semion Chelyuskin. Pamir and Northern territories explorer, Otto Schmidt, led the expedition, while captain Vladimir Voronin was in charge of the *Chelyuskin*, which carried 111 people on board. They left Murmansk on 2 August 1933; the steamship managed to maintain its course travelling through a large part of the Northern Route before it was caught in the ice fields in September of the same year. Following this, the steam ship drifted in the ice pack before sinking on 13 February 1934, crushed by the ice in the Chukchi Sea. The crew managed to escape onto the ice surface and built an airstrip. Eventually, they were rescued in April. The participation of American mechanics and the use of Nome Airport in Alaska meant the search and rescue expedition had a truly international dimension. The Arctic drama of the *Chelyuskin* revealed the exigency of linguistic assistance in emergencies.

Features of Translation and Interpreting in Emergencies in the Arctic

An interpreter/translator in emergency situations should be at the same time a universal and unique interlingual and intercultural mediator, which is why the set of professional qualities of an interpreter/translator are particularly important. It is significant to identify ways for developing these qualities in formal academic qualifications. The specificity of Em T&I is

determined by the purpose of the mediating activity, which is aimed at ensuring optimal and efficient interlingual and cross-cultural communication for all communication subjects in the emergency area. The specific characteristics of Em T&I include extreme working conditions, different social status of communicants, special attitude of a mediator to the communication situation and its participants generated from the necessity of an interpreter/translator to be inside the emergency and putting his/her life at risk, and heterogeneous subjects of the interpreting/translation.

In emergencies, adherence to the professional ethics of an interpreter/translator—which is a system of professional and moral norms, rules, and values—is of extreme importance: for instance, their responsibility for the correctness of the information (Chuzhakin and Palazhchenko 2000: 13). These norms and ethics necessarily imply confidentiality, neutrality, tolerance, and peer solidarity. Sandra B. Hale, Australian specialist in legal interpreting, offers a compelling opinion which, while oriented towards community interpreting, is undeniably true for Em T&I: all translators' and interpreters' compliance with a code of professional ethics (the basic mechanism of internally controlling and gaining the trust of society) would give all those involved in T&I a clear understanding of their roles, which would in turn reduce the possibility of conflict (Hale 2007: 104). Considering the role of a mediator in Em T&I, we can expect that an interpreter/translator partially loses his/her 'invisibility' due to the increased number of his/her duties.

Em T&I has a heterogeneous nature and lies at the crossroads of many subject areas of specialist translation in the socio-political, scientific, technical, legal, military, and medical spheres. Due to the objective necessity, immediate implementation (*ad hoc*) interpreting (Em I) is a dominant mode of Em T&I, although quite often the written translation of texts is also urgently needed in emergencies (Em T).

The oral form of translation (Em I) shows obvious similarities with community interpreting, widely used in the world at the end of the twentieth century. The emergence of community interpreting was connected with the growing intensity of integration processes in present-day society and the increasing internationalization of the daily, professional, and scientific activities of modern people. As in the case of community interpreting, Em T&I is characterized by a significant increase in the social dimension

of language transfer (along with the linguistic, cultural, and other traditionally allocated aspects of the translation process). Studies on community interpreting have grown considerably in the field of interpretation in the last two decades (Alekseeva 2010; Cambridge 2004; Shadrin 2000). Translation scholars currently use several terms to distinguish aspects of this practice: 'community interpreting' (Alekseeva 2010; Gureeva 2013), 'municipal translation' (Jääskeläinen and Vinogradenko 2013), and the more informal 'daily translation' and 'social and everyday translation' or 'public service interpreting'. In the discourse of Russian translation scholars, the term 'коммунальный перевод' (kommunal'nyi perevod) is used. This terminological unit has a direct correspondence to the English unit 'community interpreting' (Phelan 2001; Tyulenev 2014; Valero-Garcés and Martin 2008). It should be noted that some translation scholars also use such terms as 'dialogue interpreting' (Mason 2000; Wadensjö 1995) and 'liaison interpreting'. We should emphasize that Em T&I—as well as community interpreting, traditionally understood as a complex task of linguistic mediation—requires high levels of professionalism. But the association of community interpreting with ordinary daily activities has been seen as an evident obstacle to the professionalization of interpreting (Niska 2002: 136).

According to Turkish scholars Bulut and Kurultay, Em T&I can be defined as one of the areas of activity within community translation (2001). They rightly point out that Em I, and the broader concept of community interpreting, are the least developed. They use the term 'disaster interpreting' (following Quarentelli's definition (2000) of disasters in relation to their natural causes and scale of impact), and the scope of the translation activities they discuss in their work is limited only to natural disasters of great scale and far-reaching, devastating consequences. Bulut and Kurultay (2001) give the term a specific temporal dimension, which justifies this narrow definition as their work refers to the experience of interpreting services provided during the devastating Izmir earthquakes in Turkey in 1999. The authors emphasize that the main task of municipal interpreters in emergencies can be defined as the provision of assistance in terms of communication and the integration of foreign rescuers, since quick mobilization of search and rescue teams to the scene of an accident depends on the mandatory physical presence and high work

efficiency of an interpreter. The specific and often very exceptional nature of Em T&I gives some researchers studying actual problems of modern translation a reason to consider Em T&I as an independent direction of interpretation, rather than as a subcategory of municipal interpreting (Jääskeläinen and Vinogradenko 2013: 10).

Em T&I requires interpreter/translators to have a continuous and profound improvement of the following required competences: language, intercultural, information mining, thematic and technological, and translation service provision (Gambier 2009). A more detailed list also includes psychological, communicative, social-cultural, and other professional competencies. Moreover, communicative and socio-cultural competence is extremely important in this case. Following Karasik, we understand communicative competence as 'the developed ability to carry out communication in its various registers for optimal goal achievement' (Karasik 2002: 7–8). Particularly important here is the development of interpreters'/translators' behaviour patterns, which must be comfortable for communication participants—as noted in Lang (1978). Not only should the interpreters' and translators' behaviour patterns in the Arctic be designed in accordance with the idea of comfort for communication participants, but it should also consider the idea health and safety of the translators and interpreters involved, who will be working under severe weather and climatic conditions.

Em I is carried out in 'real-time mode', without the possibility of previewing the texts for interpreting in advance, since in extreme conditions the texts are most often generated spontaneously. This circumstance applies equally to both written and oral translations. Interpreting in the Arctic is performed either (1) in direct physical contact with the addresser and addressee of the translated message, or (2) when the interpreter is close to one of the parties of communication (e.g. on board a rescue craft or at focal point of the rescue operation), or (3) via a variety of means of remote communication (e.g. telephone, radio, conferencing, and Skype) where the interpreter is separated from all participants in the communication process (video remote interpreting—VRI). If it is necessary to use a reliable means of communication, preference is most frequently given to the internet, which allows visualization of the participants in the translation process. However, as in the case of community interpreting,

translation in Em T&I lacks the direct physical contact in some (and often in most) cases, which can have a negative impact on the translation process (Hietanen 2001: 285). The interpreters and translators operating in emergencies in the Arctic most often mediate between (1) search and rescue teams and members of the population belonging to different social and cultural groups, religious denominations, and groups, which have different levels of education, varying life, and professional experience; (2) the leaders of organizations dealing with emergency and international rescue teams; and (3) participants of international rescue teams.

Interpreting in emergencies is mostly carried out in the form of consecutive interpreting (Shadrin 2000: 214) in a single direction (one-way translation) or in both directions (bidirectional translation). Bidirectional interpretation is not typical for Western translation practice (with the exception of community interpreting), but it is widely used in the Russian (post-Soviet) translation tradition, being characterized by a set of peculiarities (Min'yar-Beloruchev 1980: 148). One-way and bidirectional translation in emergencies depends on whether the translated messages are monologic or dialogic. Moreover, even in the case of one-way translation, interpreters are permitted to render messages both into their mother (language A) and non-mother (language B) tongues. Extreme weather and climate (abnormally low temperatures, strong wind gusts, lack of visibility due to heavy snowfall) as well as technical conditions (such as lack of, or weak radio and satellite signals) of interpreting in emergencies in the Arctic virtually eliminate the possibility of using interpreting technologies and translation recording systems. In the unpredictable urgency of emergencies, consecutive interpretation is largely used, but methods such as *chuchotage* (whispered translation, Alekseeva uses the term *simultaneous whispering*), which is dictated by the impossibility of the use of simultaneous interpretation equipment (Leinonen 2001: 294–295), may also be used. Consecutive and simultaneous interpretation in emergencies suggests the closeness of the interpreters to the people whose speech they are translating.

In contrast to community translation, involving the mandatory use of several working languages of translation from a management point of view, in terms of translation in emergency situations in the Russian Arctic, there are predominantly two working languages: Russian and English. On the one hand, English serves as the *lingua franca* for all the people involved in

the emergency, and the domination of English in this context fully reflects the broader global trend towards *globanglization*. On the other hand, in post-Soviet Russia, the Russian language is currently used as the *lingua franca*, which is the evident result of language planning and language policy in the former USSR. It must be emphasized that the present language situation in the Russian Arctic also suggests that the Russian language is not only the *lingua franca* in the area, but also the ethnic macro-mediator in socio-political, economic, educational, scientific, and cultural activities for the indigenous population. In most cases, representatives of the indigenous population are natural bilinguals who speak both the Russian language and their mother tongues (the Even, Evenk, Dolgan, Chukchi, Yukagir, Nenets, Chukchi, Selkup, Itelmen, Chulym, and Ket languages), which is a direct result of continuous language policy in the northern territories of the USSR as regards the traditionally scattered indigenous population.

Em T&I is carried out by both professional interpreters/translators and 'natural interpreters/translators'. 'Natural translation' occurs in normal conditions of life and is undertaken by people who have no special translation education (Harris 1976; Harris and Sherwood 1978: 155). 'Natural interpreters/translators' may be the members of rescue teams, local people, and volunteers.

Em T&I is an exceptionally complicated communicative process. It is characterized by increased psychological stress since both the psychosocial state of the translation recipients (especially concerning people in the emergency area) and the objective danger of being in the emergency area create additional stress. The increased stress of Em T&I (even compared to the extremely high stress associated with consecutive and simultaneous interpreting in its most common and traditional working conditions) requires higher self-control and emotional and psychological stability. At present, the few papers dealing with the emotional and psychological issues of interpreting are mostly on community interpreting (Baistow and Taylor 2000). In the specific situation of this form of extreme interpreting, we believe it is more important than ever to develop the interpreter/translator's ability to overcome various types of stress: emotional (emotional stimulation that adversely affects the vegetative and endocrine systems), ethical (which arises as a conflict between personal/individual moral and ethical principles of the translator and a professional

code), psychological, and physiological. The interpreter/translator must have the well-developed techniques and skills needed in order to manage different kinds of stress successfully.

In the area of emergencies, a momentous increase in the role of the interpreter/translator as a cross-language and cross-cultural as well as interpersonal and social mediator has been observed. In an emergency, the role of the translator should not be underestimated, as the translator takes an active part in the formation of the necessary psychological and emotional conditions of immediate productive bilingual communication and ensures the elimination of actual and potential conflicts, as well as implementing high-quality cross-language communication (Jacobsen 2009).

As stated above, the main objective of Em T&I is promptly and effectively overcoming cross-language, cross-cultural, and interpersonal barriers. As with community interpreting, the features of Em T&I are not reduced to the specifics of the translation, but highlight the specifics of the translator's position (Alekseeva 2010: 20). The professional role of an interpreter/translator in emergencies determines the translation model: the behaviour of an interpreter/translator depends on the permanently changing extreme situation of translation, which sets the probability of a certain degree of deviation from the prescribed professional standards with mandatory preservation of high quality of translation and permanent contact with the translation recipients. Without a doubt, an interpreter/translator in emergencies should behave and act in accordance with the social expectations of society.

The training of interpreters/translators for emergency situations such as the Arctic should fulfil the following needs:

1. To develop special (specially tailored) retraining programmes for acting translators and interpreters for further work in emergencies. The main goals are to provide interpreters, translators, and those competent in languages (volunteers) with a special training programme that will enable them to act responsibly in emergency zones. The training programmes should include the following cycles:

   (a) Linguistic cycle (ensuring a high level of language competence in the A and B languages of the translation);

(b) Interpreting/translation cycle (creating specialized glossaries of terms in the form of modules; developing skills to overcome the increased interference of information [information entropy] in the perception of the translated text; improving the skill of switching between languages; improving the mechanism of prediction; and training long-term and working memory);
(c) Cultural cycle (forming the ability to navigate within the system of human values, the ability to be guided by the principles of cultural relativism and ethical standards; rejection of ethnocentrism; mastering the skills of social and cultural communication; and willingness to accept moral obligations towards society and cultural heritage);
(d) Psychological cycle (mastering techniques to increase stress resistance, degree of concentration, and communication skills; developing the ability to analyse and deal with the problem situations and dissonances in the field of cross-cultural communication);
(e) Management cycle (developing management and self-management skills);
(f) Physiological cycle (developing physical endurance; focusing on a healthy lifestyle);
(g) Technical cycle (forming and improving technical competencies that contribute to the elimination of technical problems);

2. To create a special mobile interpreting/translation service under the auspices of EMERCOM, which should be prepared to work in different regimes;
3. To develop and apply specially tailored protocols of Em T&I (similar to the protocols of diagnosis and treatment in medicine).

In order to create an effective system of Em T&I services, it is crucial to use the experience of translation services in emergencies adopted elsewhere. Some significant models or points of comparisons are those developed in the USA, in Turkey (Afette Rehber çevirmen, the ARÇ organization, discussed in Chap. 3 in this volume) as well as UN-supported international organizations (UN-INSARAG—International Search and Rescue Advisory Group in Armenia in 1991), national rescue organizations (*Schweizerisches Korps*

für Humanitäre Hilfe—SKH), and also non-governmental, international humanitarian organizations (Red Cross, Red Crescent). The experience of communication services for the deaf community in the USA (Emergency Management Interpreting—EMI) is also highly valuable.

It is also necessary to create a system to certify and register interpreters and translators able to work in emergencies. For example, sign language interpreters working in emergency management situations should obtain a certificate from their professional associations. It is also necessary to enhance the role of national and international unions of translators (UTR in Russia; Fédération International des Traducteurs/International Federation of Translators, FIT; American Translators Association, ATA; The International Association of Conference Interpreters, AIIC) in the development of legal instructions for translation activities and guidelines for the preparation of interpreters/translators in emergencies.

Cognitive Models of Interpreting in Emergencies: The Arctic Situation

Any case of translation/interpreting involves cognitive abilities such as attention, memory, listening, and speaking, which leaves no doubt that the process itself must be referred to as a cognitive act. The understanding of this fact has caused translation theorists to pay attention to cognitive aspects of translation and focus on the task of analysing the phases of this language mediation process. Cognitive aspects of T&I have been investigated since the mid-1980s under such labels as 'psycholinguistic approaches' and 'translation process research', the interest being ignited in many ways by Gideon Toury (1995/2012)—an Israeli translation scholar who became interested in the mystery of the processes taking place in the 'black box' of the language mediator (Padilla et al. 1999). The primary knowledge of how mental processes are represented by language models was borrowed from investigations in psycholinguistics and cognitive studies and fruitfully developed by translation theorists, opening new horizons in translation studies. Among many, one study on cognitive aspects of translation conducted by a Spanish research team reported in Padilla et al. (1999) is particularly relevant to this study: it came to the

conclusion that the cognitive processes in T&I are not identical to the cognitive processes involved in the tasks of speaking, listening, reading, or writing. For Padilla et al. (1999: 61), 'the processes of language mediation are extremely complex, since they are not only linguistic processes, but must also be understood within their social, cultural and above all psychological contexts'. The authors distinguish three basic stages in the process of language mediation: (1) the communicative function established between the speaker or writer (the first sender) of the source text or discourse and the mediator as first recipient; (2) the mental activity of the mediator processing the message received; and (3) the communicative function established between the mediator as second sender of the target text or discourse and the final recipients of the message.

These stages are actualized by the three-phase cognitive process:

1. Analysis and understanding of the source text or discourse in Language 1;
2. Reformulation of the source text or discourse to Language 2; and
3. Production of the text or discourse, once reformulated, in Language 2.

According to Padilla et al. (1999), the whole process should result in the creation of an adequate 'mental representation'. In their work, they made an attempt to describe the model of mental representation of the translation process in correlation with its language representation on all language levels. In our research, we adhere to the model elaborated by the Spanish research team.

The process of translation (interpreting) depends greatly on the conditions in which translation or interpreting takes place. Thus, the *Skopos* theory of translation considers translation as an activity determined by its goals and conditions rather than by some norms and theoretical assumptions (Vermeer 2004: 221). The circumstances that give rise to the situation of translation, the way in which interpreters comprehend and analyse the information, the type of recipients the translation or interpreting is meant to affect, all greatly determine the translation process, the manner, and the choice of translational strategy. In an emergency, the conditions for interpreting are markedly complex, with an underlying tension that imposes additional requirements on the interpreter—including making quicker and more responsible decisions than in a normal interpreting

situation. According to the pragmatic position of Jiří Levý, who considers the process of translation from the point of view of the working situation of the translator, translation is 'a decision process: a series of a certain number of the consecutive situations – moves, as in a game – situations imposing on the translator the necessity of choosing among a certain (and very often exactly definable) number of alternatives' (Levý 2004: 148). In this respect in an emergency in the Arctic, full of chaos, rush, and other extremes, an interpreter should become a part of the rescue team and be able to manage the emergency and, in a way, he (she) should take the role of systematically organizing and managing the information input. This moment can lead to an imbalance between information input and output that somewhat contradicts the norm of equivalence in translation. Some proponents of descriptive translation studies declare that all forms of translation are worth studying, not just those meeting the norms and requirements of prototypical translation—periphery translation is no less interesting:

> Toury, like Koller makes appeal to a relative notion of equivalence: rather than being a single relationship referring to a recurrent type of invariant, it comes to refer to any relation which is found to have characterized translation under a set of circumstances. The norms that determine the particular concept of equivalence prevalent at different stages of history, or amongst different schools of translation constitute a valid object for descriptive translation studies. (Kenny 2009: 99)

Tymoczko discusses translation as an act of political and social engagement, as 'a sort of speech act: translation that rouses, inspires, witnesses, mobilizes, incites to rebellion, and so forth' (2000: 26). In our view, Tymoczko's perspective is somewhat related to translation acts in emergencies—what is true of anthropogenic catastrophes might be true of natural ones as well. Our research considers the way the professional as well as 'natural' interpreters perform the processes of creating an adequate mental representation in an emergency.

Since interpreting in emergencies happens in extemporary translation, temporal parameters are more demanding compared to those in normal

situations of interpreting. Translation in an emergency presents a highly demanding communicative act of here-and-now. The reaction time and the production time are shortened, which means that comprehension and reformulation should be faster. The processes of attention and memory in an extreme situation of interpreting differ greatly from those in normal situations, and hence we see a considerable difference in the demands of memory capacity to fulfil the task of interpreting. Interpreting under such conditions requires a greater capacity of short-term memory to maintain the mental model of representation. In the case of *chuchotage*, interpreting requires special skills to distribute the resources of processing between comprehension and production.

Generally, in the conditions of interpreting, the three main phases (comprehension, reformulation, and translation) overlap. An emergency makes the process even tenser. Due to the pressure of time, the consecutive interpreting is marked by quicker overlapping between comprehension of the source message, reformulation, and presenting the decoded information. In case of *chuchotage*, the situation of simultaneity appears—the speaker's oral production is overlapped by the immediate integral process of the interpreter's listening, reformulation to a different language, and oral production, while the next phase of overlapping begins with the speaker's oral production of a new message.

In case of direct communication, the interpreter should acquire the skill of quickly switching between the speech rhythm of the sender and the recipient of the message. In the case of indirect interpreting via means of communication such as the telephone, Internet, and so on—which are typical for extreme situations such as accidents in the sea, fires, and emergency plane landings (all of which happen in the Arctic very often), paralinguistic factors such as a bad connection (noise or interference) might appear due to the specific geographical position in the Arctic. The interpreter should be trained to be able to ignore these factors, which implies that the cognitive ability of listening should be developed in a way to comprehend only relevant information.

As information input and output in the case of emergency interpreting is mostly oral, the phonological level of representation becomes more relevant than in a common situation of interpreting. The mediator's speech should be marked by an appropriate rhythm and clear pronunciation.

In the event that English is not the mother tongue for both parties, the pronunciation should approximate transliteration or transcription of notes for interpreting (in accordance with the principle 'each letter is pronounced as one sound', which is typical for the Russian pronunciation), which is typical for English as *lingua franca* and can allow for easier understanding of the information in emergency interpreting.

An interpreter in an emergency situation has no time for preparation—he (she) cannot count on the procedure of previewing texts and note-taking—which makes prior lexical analysis impossible. Indeed, it makes the stage of creating the lexical level of representation more challenging. Since interpreting in emergencies in the Arctic deals with a variety of cases such as oil spills, forest fires, emergency plane landings, ship wrecks, and others, it implies mostly texts or discourses with high terminology density. To obtain better comprehension and correct mental models, it is desirable for an interpreter to understand the subject's prior knowledge. The latter might be provided by thematic terminological glossaries, made on the principle of frame-cognitive modelling—the type of dictionary which presents the package of information about a certain emergency. Prior knowledge concerning the area of interpreting can also be obtained from different sources, such as governmental documents, orders, and regulations, and mass media sources presenting the current information about the situation in the Arctic. Terminological work in preparation of a specific assignment in these circumstances would be of great help to an interpreter for him or her to reformulate the source text fluently and efficiently.

The main objective of any translation process is the recoding of the linguistic structure produced in one language to another equivalent linguistic structure in a second language. But emergencies may create (and usually do create) an atmosphere of chaos and agitation in which the message by the sender in a state of emotional tension is likely to present the information in an inappropriate way. So, it follows that the processes of linguistic recoding in emergencies must be prompt—but not minimal. One of the theoretical concepts of cognitive linguistics that is called 'attentional view' assumes that what we actually express in discourse reflects those parts of the event which most attract our attention. In rushed and tense situations, the most important events of the situation might become the

subject for repetition, information entropy, or even exaggeration. On the other hand, in the situation of panic, some minor moments, which are not relevant for managing an emergency, might flood the discourse of the message sender. At this level of representation, the task of an interpreter is to process and systemize the informational input. Firstly, an interpreter should segment the discourse for a better comprehension of the meaning, filtering the irrelevant information, which could get into the discourse as a result of the specific emergency situation. Secondly, to produce correct and adequate reformulation, it is necessary to create a propositional structure with precise and clear semantic functions between the basic predicate and arguments. The discourse presents a network of propositions connected by relations of coherence that create a holistic microstructure. The interpreter must construct the reformulation in such a way that propositions of the discourse are connected. This happens when there is an overlap in the arguments the propositions contain. In the situation of interpreting, 'to construct the microstructure the recipient works with chunks of input that can include an average of seven propositions' to be kept in short-term memory (Padilla et al. 1999: 63).

An interpreter in emergencies should follow the rules of interpreters' etiquette since in most cases in the Arctic, the process represents a global effort, with emergency operations being carried out by international salvation teams. An interpreter must have a good command of interpreters' protocol and follow it automatically. Doing so in a situation engendering time pressure and emotional tension provides the right procedure for the interpreters to evaluate and choose the most appropriate strategies in the specific emergency situation and even anticipate the potential effects on the audiences of the strategies implemented.

References

Albamov, Valerian. 2001. *The land of white death. An epic story of survival in the Siberian Arctic*. New York: Modern Library.

Alekseeva, Irina. 2010. *Introduction into translation studies*. Moscow: Saint-Petersburg: Academia.

Bagrow, Leo. 1962. At the sources of the cartography of Russia. *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography* 16(1): 33–48.

Baistow, Karen, and Francesca Taylor. 2000. *Dealing with other people's tragedies: The psychological and emotional impact of community interpreting*. London: Brunel University.

Bulut, Aley, and T. Kurultay. 2001. Interpreters-in-Aid-at Disasters (IAD): Community interpreting in the process of disaster management. In: *The return to ethics*, Special issue of *The Translator*, ed. Anthony Pym, 7(2): 251–263.

Cambridge, Jan. 2004. Public service interpreting: Practice and scope for research. In *Translation research and interpreting research. Traditions, gaps and synergies*, ed. Christina Schäffner, 49–51. Clevedon/Buffalo/Toronto: Multilingual Matters.

Chuzhakin, Andrey, and Pavel Palazhchenko. 2000. *Mir perevoda-2000. Introduction to interpreting*. Moscow: R. Valent.

Gambier, Yves. 2009. *Competences for Professional Translators, Experts in Multilingual and Multimedia Communication*. Brussels. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/programmes/emt/key_documents/emt_competences_translators_en.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Gureeva, Anna. 2013. Communicative actions of interpreter in a situation of municipal interpreting. *Bulletin of Volgograd State University* 2(18): 159–162.

Hale, Sandra. 2007. *Community interpreting*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Harris, Brian. 1976. The importance of natural translation. *Working Papers in Bilingualism* 12: 96–144.

Harris, Brian, and Bianca Sherwood. 1978. Translating as an innate skill. In *Language, interpretation and communication*, ed. David Gerver and Henry Wallance Sinaiko, 155–170. New York: Plenum Press.

Hietanen, Kaarina. 2001. Tulkkausviestintä ammattina. In *Alussa oli käännös*, ed. Riitta Oittinen and Pirjo Mäkinen, 277–294. Tampere: Tampereen yliopistopaino.

Jääskeläinen, Ekaterina and Lioudmila Vinogradenko. 2013. *Classification of municipal translation and the peculiarities of professional ethics of a municipal translator*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Itä-Suomen yliopisto.

Jacobsen, Bente. 2009. The community interpreter: A question of role. *Hermes: Journal of Language and Communication Studies* 42: 155–166.

Kabakchi, Victor. 2009. My language, Quo Vadis? Globalization, "Globanglization" and intercultural communication. In *Language in the paradigms of humanities: 21st century*, 78–97. Saint-Petersburg: Saint-Petersburg State University of Economics and Finance Publishers.

Kabakchi, Victor. 2011. Globalization, "Globanglization" or the second wave of bilingualism in Russia. *Proceedings of 9th International Scientific Conference on Translation Studies "Foydorov's Readings" (Saint-Petersburg, 20–23 October*

2010), 177–189. Saint-Petersburg: Faculty of Philology of Saint-Petersburg State University Publishers.
Karasik, Vladimir. 2002. *Language circle: Personality, concepts, discourse*. Volgograd: Peremena.
Kenny, Dorothy. 2009. Equivalence. In *Encyclopedia of translation studies*, ed. Mona Baker and Gabriella Saldanha, 96–99. London/New York: Routledge.
Krupnik, Igor, and Natalya Narinskaya. 1998. *Living Yamal*. Washington, DC: Arctic Studies Center.
Lang, Ranier. 1978. Behavioral aspects of liaison interpreters in Papua New Guinea: Some preliminary observations. In *Language interpretation and communication*, ed. David Gerver and Henry Wallance Sinaiko, 231–244. New York/London: Plenum Press.
Leinonen, Satu. 2001. Asioimistulkkaus – paljon muutakin kuin asioimisen tulkkaus. In *Alussa oli käännös*, ed. Riitta Oittinen and Pirjo Mäkinen, 294–305. Tampere: Tampereen yliopistopaino.
Levý, Jiří. 2004. Translation as a decision process. In *The translation studies reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti, 148–159. London/New York: Routledge.
Lukin, Yury. 2013. *Russian Arctic in a changing world*. Arkhangelsk: Northern (Arctic) Federal University Publishers.
Marsh, William, and Martin Kaufman. 2012. *Physical geography: Great systems and global environments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Mason, Ian. 2000. Models and methods in dialogue interpreting research. In *Intercultural faultlines*, ed. Maeve Olohan, 214–231. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
McCannon, John. 2012. *A history of the Arctic. Nature, exploration and exploitation*. Chicago: Reaktion Books.
McGhee, Robert. 2001. *Ancient people of the Arctic*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
McGhee, Robert. 2007. *The last imaginary place: A human history of the Arctic world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Min'yar-Beloruchev, Rurik. 1980. *General theory of translation and interpreting*. Moscow: Voenizdat.
Niska, Helge. 2002. Community interpreter training. Past, present, future. In *Interpreting in the 21st century. Challenges and opportunities*, ed. Giuliana Garzone and Maurizio Viezzi, 135–146. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Nuttall, Mark. 2005. *Encyclopedia of the Arctic*. New York/London: Routledge.
Nuttall, Mark and Terry Callaghan (eds) 2000. *Arctic: Environment, People, Policy*. Amsterdam: Harwood.

Padilla, Presentación, Maria Teresa Bajo, and Francisca Padilla. 1999. Proposal for a cognitive theory of translation and interpreting. A methodology for future empirical research. *The Interpreters Newsletter* 9: 61–78.

Pavlov, Pavel, John Inge Svendsen, and Svein Indrelid. 2001. Human presence in the European Arctic nearly 40,000 years ago. *Nature* 413: 64–67.

Phelan, Mary. 2001. *The interpreter's resource*. Frankfurt Lodge: Multilingual Matters.

Quarentelli, Enrico L. 2000. Emergencies, disaster and catastrophes are different phenomena. http://udspace.udel.edu/bitstream/handle/19716/674/PP304.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Sejersen, Frank. 2015. *Rethinking Greenland and the Arctic in the era of climate change. New northern horizons*. New York/London: Routledge.

Shadrin, Victor. 2000. Professiogramme of an interpreter of ethnic diaspora. In *University translation studies. Saint Petersburg: Proceedings of 1st All-Russian Scientific Conference "Foydorov's Readings" 1999*, 214–217. Saint-Petersburg: Faculty of Philology of Saint-Petersburg State University Press.

Tymoczko, Maria. 2000. Translation and political engagement: Activism, social change, and the role of translation in geopolitical shifts. *The Translator* 6(1): 23–47.

Tyulenev, Sergey. 2014. *Translation and society: An introduction*. London/New York: Routledge.

Valero-Garcés, Carmen, and Anne Martin (eds.). 2008. *Crossing borders in community interpreting: Definitions and dilemmas*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Vermeer, Hans-Josef. 2004. Skopos and commission in translational action. In *The translation studies reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti, 221–231. London/New York: Routledge (Taylor & Francis e-Library).

Wadensjö, Cecilia. 1995. Dialogue interpreting and the distribution of responsibility. *Hermes. Journal of Linguistics* 14: 111–129.

Part II

Representations of Emergencies

6

Interpreting in a State of Emergency: Adding Fuel to the Fire

Khaled Al-Shehari

Introduction

Interpreting can be defined as the process of transferring speech given in one language into another language, with the purpose of facilitating communication between parties who are unable to understand each other's languages. Or, as Pöchhacker (2013: 62) puts it 'as a type of communication in which someone says what another person has said in another language', which opens up the discussion in all directions focusing on products (what is said and how it is said), process (cognitive load of saying it), and people (agents in the communicative exchange). While a definition can certainly show the simple principles underlying this complex human task, it remains one of the most controversial human activities in situations where the relationship of trust is low or non-existent. The

K. Al-Shehari
English Language and Literature, Sultan Qaboos University, Muscat, Oman

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

F.M. Federici (ed.), *Mediating Emergencies and Conflicts*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55351-5_6

interpreter is expected to transfer all that is said by one person in one language to another person in a different language, whilst retaining credibility and trust from both parties; this chapter focuses on the latter aspect of the complex act of communication entailed in an interpreted message. In professional and ethical terms, the interpreter should be able to transfer the messages and ideas as they are originally meant by their utterer, regardless of any personal and/or external factors. In this chapter, I will examine a case where the interpreter violates the code of interpreting, and attempt to demonstrate how such a violation of the interpreting code caused tension and misunderstanding instead of facilitating communication, as an example of the concrete damage and repercussions that follow a breach of trust.

Egypt, like some other countries in the Arab World, has witnessed an exceptional and unexpected state of overall disorder as a result of the Arab Spring movement. Serious events have taken place in Egypt since the Arab Spring started, leading Egypt into a state of emergency; yet the country had already been officially under the law of emergency for many decades before the Arab Spring. Dewey (2013) outlines how Egypt underwent a state of emergency for most of the period from 1967 until 2012. Protests started in Egypt on 25 January 2011 and continued for a few days before the government restricted access to the Internet and some other mass media in an attempt to reduce the impact of the media on the spread of protests. The law of emergency ended on 31 May 2012, which meant the end of the *official* state of emergency. Violent protests continued, however, causing the death toll, and the numbers of injuries and detainees to escalate dramatically. Egypt is apparently still undergoing a state of emergency despite no longer being officially designated as such at this time. The removal of Egypt's democratically elected president and his government from power on 3 July 2013 resulted in a more dramatic deterioration of the situation in Egypt. Protests against the military and its government spread throughout the country, and the government apparently used force to end the protests, eventually evacuating the two largest sit-in camps in Cairo on 14 August 2013, resulting in what seems to be a large number of deaths, injuries, and detainees.

The situation in Egypt in the short period between the removal of the democratically elected president and the evacuation of the sit-in camps

by force has witnessed a high level of conflict between pro-military parties and pro-Mursi (the elected president) parties, which has called for many bodies from all over the world to assist in restoring calm by establishing a dialogue between the new regime (supported by the military) and the oppositionists (mainly the Muslim Brotherhood). Catherine Ashton, high representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the EC, travelled to Cairo and met the ousted president on 29 July 2013; the next day she held a press conference along with Mohamed ElBaradei, Interim vice-president of Egypt. This visit received special attention locally and worldwide for many reasons. First, it came at a moment when the Egyptian parties had reached a high level of conflict, and a visit by someone of such a high position was necessary in order to diffuse tensions. Second, it was the first contact the ousted president had had with the outside world since his removal on 3 July 2013. In fact, Catherine Ashton was 'the only world-ranking diplomat whom everyone in Egypt will still talk to, which allowed her to get to the ousted president, Mohamed Mursi, when no one else could' (Perkins 2013). Thirdly, and most relevant to our discussion, the press conference held on this occasion witnessed signs of discomfort, apparently due to what seems to be a failure of the interpreter to abide by the rules of interpreting. This chapter will focus on how such failure on the part of the interpreter led to the press conference not achieving its aim of diffusing tensions. In fact, it will be demonstrated how such failure caused more trouble for the situation in Egypt and placed the new regime in a difficult situation.

The current study analyses how the press conference was interpreted, with special attention given to source messages, and how they were interpreted into the target language. Analysis of source and target messages is based on a number of semiotic concepts which will look at source and target messages as signs and, in turn, help interpret and understand the signs and provide a clear justification regarding the impact on their users (i.e. recipients). In addition, the analysis will include any non-verbal signs that are likely to contribute to the production of messages and their impact. The impact of the target messages on the situation of Egypt is assessed by analysing how this event was reported in the media. Taking into account the most current theoretical framework of research into Interpreting Studies (see Pöchhacker 2013), the focus on interpreting is here considered from

a linguistic perspective that engages with the message—from a Saussurian and semiotic view—and the making sense that is broken by partial and potentially manipulated (or possibly just weak) interpreting.

The next section discusses the theoretical stand, in order to introduce the case of the interpretation of Ashton's conference in Egypt, which is considered in section "Analysis and Discussion" below.

Levels of Meaning

Saussure defines the sign as a combination of two inseparable elements: a signifier and a signified. The signifier is described as the physical form of a sign which can be touched, seen, heard, smelt, or tasted, while the signified is the mental concept of the sign. Semioticians often distinguish between two types of signifieds: a denotative signified and a connotative signified. Some define meaning (or levels of meaning) in terms of 'the denotative and connotative associations produced as a reader decodes a text' (McQuarrie and Mick 1992: 181). As terms which describe the semantic relationship between the signifier and the signified, denotation and connotation are important for the current discussion of interpreting in emergencies. The selection of a particular equivalent from the target language, while excluding other possible equivalents, can generate different connotations from those originally intended by the speaker. For example, by interpreting 'Arab spring' from a speech, given by the Egyptian president in Iran at the Non-Aligned Movement Summit in 2012, into 'Islamic awakening', the interpreter working for the state television of the Republic of Iran creates a new connotative meaning, which, in turn, generates a different message from the one intended by the original signifier 'Arab spring'.

The first order of signification is that of denotation: at this level, there is a sign consisting of a signifier and a signified. Denotation tends to be described as the literal, obvious, or common-sense meaning of a sign. It describes the relationship that exists between a signifier and a signified within a sign and between a sign and its referent in reality. Connotation, on the other hand, refers to a sign's socio-cultural and personal associations (ideological, emotional, etc.). Connotation is a second-order signification

which uses the first sign (signifier and signified) as its signifier and attaches to it an additional signified. In this framework, a connotative sign derives from the signifier of a denotative sign (so denotation leads to a chain of connotations). This tends to suggest that denotation is an underlying and primary meaning—a notion which many have challenged. Thwaites et al. insist that 'all signs are connotative'; denotations are merely dominant connotations which come to be seen as the true meanings of signs and texts (Thwaites et al. 1994: 63, 75).

Thwaites and his colleagues offer a definition of denotation as 'the most stable and apparently verifiable of [a sign's] connotations' and of the connotations of a sign as 'the set of its possible signifieds' (1994: 58 & 57). Hall (1980: 132) also states that:

> The term 'denotation' is widely equated with the literal meaning of a sign: because the literal meaning is almost universally recognized, especially when visual discourse is being employed, 'denotation' has often been confused with a literal transcription of 'reality' in language—and thus with a 'natural sign', one produced without the intervention of a code.

Significations of second order or connotative meanings are more variable and less predeterminable. For, as Hall explains, connotation

> is employed simply to refer to less fixed and therefore more conventionalized and changeable, associative meanings, which clearly vary from instance to instance and therefore must depend on the intervention of codes. (1980: 132)

In other words, connotations 'derive not from the sign itself, but from the way the society uses and values both the signifier and the signified' (Fiske and Hartley 1978: 41). A car can connote virility or freedom in Western societies, while a particular make of car might connote 'high class' within a developing country. At the connotative level, signs are more polysemic, more open to interpretation, which has clear relevance to the decisions made by interpreters moving between two languages and cultures. However, there is a danger here of stressing the 'individual subjectivity' of connotation: semioticians such as Fiske stress 'intersubjective'

responses which are shared to some degree by members of a culture; with any individual example, they argue, only a limited range of connotations would make any sense (Fiske and Hartley 1978: 46).

Thwaites et al. argue that 'connotations are not simply what you personally make of the sign: they are what the codes to which you have access make of the sign' (1994: 57). Connotations are related to such factors as class, age, gender, and ethnicity. Both connotations and denotations are subject not only to socio-cultural variability but also to historical factors: they change over time. Signs referring to disempowered groups (such as women) can be seen as having had far more negative denotations as well as negative connotations than they do now because of their framing within dominant and authoritative codes of their time—including even supposedly *objective* scientific codes (Thwaites et al. 1994: 59).

Fiske points out that 'denotation is the mechanical reproduction on film of the object at which the camera is pointed. Connotation is the human part of the process: it is the selection of what to include in the frame, of focus, aperture, camera angle, quality of film, and so on. Denotation is *what* is photographed; connotation is *how* it is photographed' (Fiske 1990: 86). Changing the form of the signifier while keeping the same signified can generate different connotations (O'Sullivan et al. 1994: 286). Changes of style or tone may involve different connotations, as in using different typefaces for exactly the same text, or changing from sharp focus to soft focus when taking a photograph.

To sum up: differences between the two orders of signification are not clear-cut, but for descriptive and analytical purposes, some theorists distinguish them along the following lines. The first (denotative) order (or level) of signification is seen as primarily representational and relatively self-contained. The second (connotative) order of signification reflects expressive values which are attached to a sign (Fiske and Hartley 1978: 40–47; Hartley 1982: 26–30).

The central concern of semiotics is how meanings are generated, an issue of crucial significance to interpreting, especially in sensitive situations. Social semiotics takes this concern in a particular direction. As the term suggests, it focuses on social interaction: on how people construct meaning, rather than on the meanings themselves. The central notion of social semiotics is that all meanings are made. They do not exist as objects

or concrete facts. Rather, they are constructed through systems of signs. Meaning relations cannot be understood outside of their use in the social practices of some community (Lemke 1987: 218). Meanings are made through the social practices which construct semiotic relations among forms, ideas, material processes, entities, and social actions. A given community or sub-community has regular patterns of interpretation which are the outcome of cultural and historical factors.

In the context of translation, special attention needs to be given to the connotations words acquire in different contexts (Bassnett 2011: 46). Al-Shehari (2004), for example, shows how the word 'terrorism' as a sign can acquire different connotations in different political and cultural contexts and how this sign proves highly challenging when translated into Arabic. It is found that the commonly used word in Arabic media for this sign triggers different connotations from the ones originally meant by 'terrorism' in English. The current study will examine how adding, excluding, or adopting any possible translation for a certain term or a phrase can result in the addition of new connotations, which are likely to cause tension between the parties involved in an event of communication.

Analysis and Discussion

As discussed above, signs can generate different denotations and connotations through interaction with social and cultural factors. The focus of this analysis will be devoted to the messages generated by signs produced throughout the above-mentioned press conference. Messages generated by the signs produced by the interpreter are analysed and compared to the messages generated by the original speaker. It is worth mentioning that the deviations from original messages in the current case are unlikely to be committed by qualified interpreters—though no evidence is available at the time of completing this chapter, the educated guess here is that the short notice of the visit and the emergency in Egypt at the time of the event might have contributed to either lowering the interpreter's performance on the day or recruiting a less-experienced or non-qualified interpreter.

Pöchhacker (2004: 134–135) outlines a number of strategies that interpreters tend to follow in their work (e.g. implicitation, explicitation,

and adaptation), but none of them can justify producing and/or adding new messages, such as will be demonstrated below. The current study, in order to accommodate a *semiotic* analysis of the interpreting case in hand, will adopt Pöchhacker's (ibid.: 11) definition of interpreting, based on Kade's (1968, in Pöchhacker [ibid.: 10–11]) criteria of translation, as 'a form of Translation in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance in a source language'. An utterance in this definition can refer to any segment of speech, a verbal or non-verbal sign, a message, and any single idea or thought, which would help to explore from a semiotic perspective the various messages in the current case.

This chapter aims to examine which messages were generated by the utterances (signs) produced by Catherine Ashton at the conference press (ONTV 2013) held on 30 July 2013 with Mohamed ElBaradei, and how those messages were transferred to the target audience, resulting in a breakdown of the communicative relationship of trust. It is worth recalling that Catherine Ashton went to Egypt at this time when an elected president had been ousted and detained by the Egyptian army. Supporters of the ousted president were insisting on the return of their elected president. The army with other political and religious parties had devised a so-called 'road map' for the new regime to follow, but supporters of the ousted president refused this map. These two issues: the future of the ousted president and the 'road map' are among the issues that caused controversy around how Ashton's messages were interpreted into Arabic.

Future of the Ousted President

Whether Mohamed Mursi would return to the presidency or not was, in fact, the main point of contention for Egyptians at the time of this conference. Ashton came to Egypt in order to listen to both parties and to try to bring all parties together to the table for diplomatic negotiations. She was supposed to hold an impartial middle ground without preference for any particular opinion, in order to create the ground for a diplomatic mediation to the situation that was continuously escalating. However, the interpreter at this conference delivered the wrong image

about Ashton in this regard, thus distorting the role of neutral peacemaker that Ashton intended to play. Ashton, on many occasions, made it clear that she was not supporting any party against the other (European Commission 2013).

In her brief to the conference, Ashton said: 'particularly, I met with representatives of the Freedom and Justice Party and with Mohamed Mursi last evening'. The signs used by Ashton in this sentence seem to be straightforward and they have more denotative meanings than connotative meanings. Ashton here conveyed the message that she had met representatives of the former-ruling party (she did not, however, use the term 'former') and she had met the ousted president (again without using the expression 'ousted') who was detained by the army (another detail that she did not mention). In fact, the use of the name alone without any titles (e.g. president, former, ousted, detainee, etc.) is likely to be intentional; Ashton's discourse was formulated so as to emphasize her (and Europe's) intention to remain neutral. Therefore, the sign used by Ashton (i.e. reference to the name of Mohamed Mursi without his honorifics or titles) is intended to be neutral. However, this sign can still generate connotative messages, when interpreted by the different parties in Egypt, according to their political views. Mursi's supporters may interpret the lack of 'president' as sign of the EU's approval of what they believed to be a 'coup', whereas Mursi's opponents, on the other hand, may look at the use of the name alone as a sign of the UN's support of Mursi, when they expected the EU's envoy to precede the name with something like 'ousted' or, at least, 'former'. At this very point, the signifieds changed: the interpreter already intervened in the rendering by adding a new sign to Ashton's utterance, producing a new message that Ashton tried not to produce. Ashton's above sentence was interpreted into Arabic as:

وعلى وجه التحديد، لقد حظيت بمقابلة مع حزب الحرية والعدالة ومع الرئيس السابق محمد مرسي.

> particularly, I was lucky to meet with the Freedom and Justice Party and with former President Mohamed Mursi.

Apart from considering this as an interpreting mistake, together with other possible errors that could be easily identified in the whole rendition, the addition of 'former president' by the interpreter generates a new

sign. The new sign, in turn, generates a new connotative message that undermines any assumption about the interpreter's credibility and neutrality for a critical observer. The new message indicates that Mursi is no longer president and that the EU accepts this as a matter of fact.

The 'Road Map'

The 'road map', in the context of events in Egypt following the ousting of the elected president, is a sign which denotes an outline of procedures initiated by the military and supported by many political and religious parties to follow in the interim period before another president is elected. This sign was the subject of controversy in Egypt at that time due to the fact that its signified (i.e. the road map) was created by the military and was meant to be the replacement of the ousted president. Therefore, the 'road map' was a sign that may generate two distinct connotations: one is to signify legitimacy of the new military-backed regime, and another to signify illegitimacy of the so-called military-backed 'coup'. In fact, both connotations are likely to be valid and the user's political view is what determines which connotation is perceived in any given context. Supporters of the new military-backed regime would use the sign to mean the former, while supporters of the ousted president would be likely to refrain from using the sign believing that it connotes the later.

Catherine Ashton, as an EU envoy who travelled to Egypt in order to bring both opposing groups to the negotiating table (i.e. military-backed parties, on one side, and supporters of the ousted president, on the other), is expected to stand in the middle and not to back (or at least to declare that she backs) either party. However, the interpreter made Ashton look as if she supported the new military-backed regime by saying that 'the road map' is the only way to work, although Ashton did not say that. In her brief, Ashton said: 'only, an inclusive process will work', which was interpreted into Arabic as:

وخريطة الطريق الشاملة التي تشمل الجميع هي الخريطة المثلى التي ستصلح

and the inclusive road map which includes everybody is the best map to work

The addition of such a sign by the interpreter would put Ashton in a difficult position, showing her to support the new military-backed regime.

Other Messages

In addition to the two messages above which were heavily distorted in the interpretation, in the overall rendering, the interpreter occasionally failed to represent with any degree of exactness and accuracy the messages produced by Catherine Ashton throughout the conference. On one occasion, for example, Ashton said: 'The future of this great country lies with the Egyptian people', which was interpreted as

فإنّ مصر بلد عظيم وشعبها شعب عظيم

Egypt is a great country, and its people are great.

Ashton's utterance, as a sign, connotes that Egyptians are the only ones who can solve their problems; Ashton emphasizes how she came just to help bring the different parties back to dialogue. This connoted message was changed by the interpreter. In fact, it has disappeared. The emphasis intended by Ashton has lost its significance, even though the new sign does not generate any negative message.

Another example of how the interpreter distorted the messages produced by Ashton is the addition of a new sign to the existing one. Ashton said on one occasion: 'You already know that I've met with many people including General Elsisi, President Mansour, with you, [Ashton was standing next to him and was addressing him] vice-president, the foreign minister, with representatives from the Nur party, from the Tamarud group, and others', which was interpreted into Arabic as

تقابلت وتشاورت مع العديد من الفصائل بما في ذلك اللواء السيسي ونائب الرئيس بجانب وزير الخارجية أيضا إلى جانب حزب النور وحركة تمرد إلى جانب أحزاب سياسية أخرى.

I've met and consulted with many factions including General Elsisi, vice-president, the foreign minister, with the Nur party, the Tamarud group, and other political parties.

Apart from other errors, which are very unlikely to be committed by qualified interpreters, the interpreter added a new sign that would definitely

contradict Ashton's intention. On many occasions, Ashton declared that she did not intend to impose any decisions, which indicated that she only came to listen to the concerned parties. The interpreter added here that Ashton came to consult with people, rather than just to meet with them, which signifies Ashton's intention to make decisions. Another serious error committed by the interpreter in this sentence is the omission of 'President Mansour', which can also raise a question on why Ashton excluded the interim president from her meetings. Indeed, the exclusion of the interim president can itself be a sign which can signify the illegitimacy of the new (interim) president.

Another significant manipulation of the messages given by Catherine Ashton can be seen in how the interpreter rendered Ashton's following messages into Arabic. Answering the following question, directed to her by Kamal Rayyan, from *Al Ahrar Newspaper*:

هل فيه نتائج معينة تم التوصل إليها او على الأقل انطباع بأنّ الأزمة السياسية في طريقها إلى الانتهاء. يعني كنت عايز اسأل عن انطباعها في نهاية جولات الحوار الي عملتها مع كل الأطراف: هل هناك نهاية قريبة للأزمة السياسية أو احتمال لانهاء هذه الأزمة قريباً؟

This question was interpreted into English as 'do you feel that there are tangible and concrete results to the discussions that you have made, and what are your impressions to this visit and to the deliberations that you have conducted? Do you feel that the crisis is going to end?'. Ashton replied:

> You know, I am always struck by my conversations here of the optimism the people have and the determination that people have for this country and for the future. And the challenge really is to find the way in which you can bring people together and go forward, bearing in mind the starting points are far apart. […] I had a two-hour conversation with Mohamed Mursi last night. I will not try and represent what he said because he cannot contradict me and it will be wrong to do that. But I talked to him about what I was trying to do and I listened to what he had to say.

This answer was interpreted into Arabic as

دائماً ما أؤكد في حواراتي على تفاؤلي بهذا البلد ومستقبل هذا البلد. والتحدي الحقيقي يظلّ هو إيجاد طريق للتوصل بين كافّة الأطراف وإيجاد طريق واحد يمكن أن يمشي فيه كافة الأطراف ويتفقوا عليه [...] وقد أجريت حواراً مع الدكتور محمد مرسي في الليلة السابقة، وأنا لن أمثّل ما قاله لأنّ ذلك سيكون متناقضاً للمهمّة التي أتيت لها هنا. ولكنّي تحدثت معه عن المجهودات التي بذلتها وعمّا تم القيام به واستمعت إليه أيضاً.

> I always emphasize in my conversations of the optimism I have towards this country and its future. The real challenge remains to find a way to connect between all parties and to find one way for all parties to follow and agree on […] I had a conversation with Dr Mohamed Mursi last night, and I will not represent what he said because this would contradict the mission I came for here. But I talked to him about the efforts I made and what has been achieved and I also listened to him.

Ashton delivered some particularly significant messages in this answer by using a number of signs. The predominant signs include: people having high optimism and determination for the country and its future, the challenge being in how to bring people together bearing in mind the starting points are far apart, having a two-hour conversation with the ousted president, refraining from representing what he said because of his inability to contradict what she says,[1] and the subject of the conversation being to tell him what she was trying to do and listening to him. In fact, these signs have been distorted by the interpreter generating different messages: Ashton, not the people, has high optimism (no mention of the determination) for the country; she refrains from representing what Mursi said because this would contradict her mission (a new message added by the interpreter here); and she talked to Mursi about her efforts (another new message added by the interpreter). In addition, the interpreter failed to transfer two messages: the length of the conversation, and the fact that the starting points are still far apart. Up to now, the changes are still at the denotative level of meanings. At the connotative level, Ashton is not sure about the optimism of people for their country, she has seen Mursi to tell him about her efforts (which indicates that she did not come to listen only as indicated by her on many other occasions), and she has a hidden mission that she does not want to disclose by disclosing what Mursi said. In fact, this last message may affect all the efforts Ashton came for since the attendees would interpret this particular sign differently according to their political views. In addition, the overall practice of the interpreter, in giving different meanings to many of Ashton's signs, is in itself a sign

[1] At another press conference, (from 03:20:00) Ashton expressed this point using a different sign that corrects (or rather further clarifies the point) http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/player.cfm?sitelang=en&ref=I081066.

likely to connote a bad image of Ashton's mission for those who speak Arabic only and who depend wholly on the messages produced by the interpreter in Arabic. Another connotative message introduced through the practice of the interpreter is likely to be a lack of respect for Catherine Ashton. It is most likely that Ashton, if she had been aware of what was happening with the interpreting, would have reacted unhappily, and this may explain her sudden (and unexpected) departure from the press conference. After just two questions, she interrupted the third question by apologizing for having to catch her flight, which is not normal behaviour for a guest at a press conference.

Different Responses in the Media

This press conference occurred at a critical time in Egypt's history, where an elected president had been ousted and detained by the military and its allies. Demonstrations were spreading all over the country, with supporters of each party gathered for sit-ins in different places, resisting any suggestions or compromise from any local or external mediators. Catherine Ashton, on behalf of the EU, came to the country in the midst of this escalating situation, in order to listen to all parties and to help bring all parties to dialogue. The media were seen to be divided into two distinct voices on this particular issue: one representing the voice of Mursi's supporters, and the other representing the voice of the military-backed regime.

The former voice mostly insisted on arguing that the errors committed by the interpreter were intentional. For example, *Akhbar Al Sabah*, an online news website, published an article (Akhbar Al Sabah 2013) with the title أخطاء متعمدة في الترجمة بمؤتمر آشتون والبرادعي, which literally means 'intentional errors in interpreting at the conference of Ashton and Elbaradei'. 'Intentional errors' is a clear sign to signify the view of the news resource and the ideology of its owners. This is clear also from the language they use in their article, referring, for instance, to the new military-backed regime as a 'coup'. The publisher, in fact, mentioned that this article was cited from another news website called *Islam Today* (2013). Interestingly, on this website, the same article was titled أخطاء فادحة في الترجمة بمؤتمر آشتون والبرادعي, which literally means 'serious errors in interpreting at the conference of

Ashton and Elbaradei'. Although the language in this headline sounds more neutral than the former, the article on both websites ends with an argument that these errors are likely to be the reason for Ashton withdrawing from the conference. On the other hand, the other voice, which represents those supporting the new military-backed regime, describes the errors as just errors that can be committed by an interpreter. *Alahram*, an official newspaper, published in its online version on 31 July 2013 an article (Ahram 2013) outlining the errors committed by the interpreter, but with no mention of any motives. In addition, the article was claimed to be a response to those who suggested that the errors were intentional. This article also mentions that the interpreter belonged to the EU delegation in Egypt and not to Egypt's presidency. This was also a reply to those who suggested that the errors committed by the interpreter were intentionally committed, serving the political views of the new regime, and suggesting that the interpreter belongs to the Egyptian government.

As far as can be demonstrated, there is no neutral source of information that can confirm or deny the identity of the employer of this interpreter. However, *Almasry Alyoum*, an online news website, published an article (2013) with the title 'the European Union apologizes for the interpreting errors committed at the conference of Ashton and Elbaradei'. Such an apology, though no source is given, if true, can indicate that the interpreter was employed by the EU, and this would most likely eliminate the possibility that the errors were intentional. The EU has, in fact, published the 'Remarks by EU High Representative Catherine Ashton following her meeting with interim Vice-President of Egypt, Mohamed ElBaradei' (European Union 2013), which repeats what Ashton said in her brief at the conference. The internationally well-known *Aljazeera* channel produced a special report on this incident, outlining the errors committed by the interpreter (Aljazeera.net 2013). Moreover, this article demonstrates different opinions from different political parties on the nature of the errors and more particularly on the connection between committing such errors and the withdrawal of Ashton from the conference. All the people involved in this discussion confirmed that Ashton's withdrawal was unexpected and sudden. It is concluded in the same article that this was a sign that Ashton was not happy with the type of errors committed by the

interpreter, and she was not happy, in turn, with the messages delivered wrongly to the audience on her behalf through an interpreter.

Conclusion

The analysis above shows how interpreting can cause damage to the image of the original speaker when his/her messages are inaccurately rendered into the target language. A sign, which can be a word, a phrase, or a whole idea, is meant by its user to deliver a certain message. The message can be denotative or connotative. In normal circumstances, denotative messages can be delivered smoothly. Issues of communication can occur when the interpreter distorts the messages meant by their original producer through deletion, addition, or changing any existing sign in a way that leads to delivering a new message that little resembles what the original user meant to convey. The change generates a different message, which, in turn, is likely to connote other new messages, thus ultimately causing problems of communication. Catherine Ashton allegedly had to leave her press conference to catch a flight which would not wait for her. Saad Hagras, a well-known Egyptian writer and leading member of the Tagamuu Party, stated in an interview with the Aljazeera channel that Ashton's justification for leaving the conference was an 'unconvincing excuse' (my translation) (ibid.). According to Aljazeera (ibid.), Hagras also advised the Egyptian regime not to hold any press conferences until the political situation had stabilized, arguing that it is unacceptable 'to host important officials like Ashton while committing such significant errors which will reflect negatively on the political future of the country' (my translation). In the same interview by Aljazeera, Dr Amjad Abul Ezz, a specialist in European affairs, argues that Ashton's withdrawal from the conference is 'abnormal because journalists in international conferences will be informed if there was an intention to shorten a conference due to commitments with the leaders'. *Aljazeera* (ibid.) added that 'the reaction of ElBaradei and his shock at Ashton's withdrawal indicate a lack of coordination between the two parties and despite his request to her to continue and to answer additional questions, she refused and shook hands with him and quit according to Abul Ezz' (my translation). Hagras,

Abdul Ezz, and many other politicians agreed that the errors committed by the interpreter at this conference caused more political tension in Egypt at a time when Egypt was already suffering from tensions arising from the state of emergency.

References

Ahram. 2013. ننشر أخطاء الترجمة خلال مؤتمر البرادعي وآشتون.. مصادر: المترجمة تابعة للاتحاد الأوروبي وليس الرئاسة المصرية . [online] Available at: http://gate.ahram.org.eg/News/378300.aspx. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Akhbar Al Sabah. 2013. أخطاء متعمدة في الترجمة بمؤتمر آشتون والبرادعي. [online] Available at: http://www.akhbaralsabah.com/article3429.htm. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Aljazeera.net. 2013. آشتون بالقاهرة.. قصة الانسحاب واللحاق بالطائرة [online]. Available at: http://www.aljazeera.net/news/reportsandinterviews/2013/7/31/%D8%A2%D8%B4%D8%AA%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D9%82%D8%B5%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%AD%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%82-%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B7%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B1%D8%A9. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Almasry Alyoum. 2013. الاتحاد الأوروبي بالقاهرة يعتذر عن أخطاء الترجمة بمؤتمر «آشتون» والبرادعي [online]. Available at: http://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/243282. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Al-Shehari, Khaled. 2004. Semiotics and the translation of terrorism from English into Arabic. *Translation Quarterly* 31: 1–18.

Bassnett, Susan. 2011. *Reflections on translation*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Dewey, Caitlin. 2013. What it means that Egypt is entering a "state of emergency". [online] *Washington Post*. Available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2013/08/14/what-it-means-that-egypt-is-entering-a-state-of-emergency/. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

European Commission. 2013. Visit of Catherine Ashton to Egypt: Press conference. [video] Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/player.cfm?sitelang=en&ref=I081066. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

European Union. 2013. Remarks by EU High Representative Catherine Ashton following her meeting with interim Vice-President of Egypt, Mohamed El

Baradei. [online] Available at: http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/egypt/press_corner/all_news/news/2013/20130731_en.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
Fiske, John. 1990. *Introduction to communication studies*. London: Routledge.
Fiske, John, and John Hartley. 1978. *Reading television*. London: Methuen.
Hall, Stuart. 1980. Encoding/decoding. In: *Centre for contemporary cultural studies (ed.) Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, 1972–79. London: Hutchinson.
Hartley, John. 1982. *Understanding news*. London: Methuen.
Islam Today. 2013. أخطاء فادحة في الترجمة بمؤتمر آشتون والبرادعي [online]. Available at: http://www.islamtoday.net/nawafeth/artshow-12-190256.htm. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
Kade, Otto. 1968. *Zufall und Gesetzmässigkeit in der Übersetzung*. Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie.
Lemke, J.L. 1987. Social semiotics and science education. *The American Journal of Semiotics* 5(2): 217–232.
McQuarrie, Edward F., and David G. Mick. 1992. On resonance: A critical pluralistic inquiry into advertising rhetoric. *Journal of Consumer Research* 19: 180–197.
O'Sullivan, Tim, John Hartley, Danny Saunders, Martin Montgomery, and John Fiske. 1994. *Key concepts in communication and cultural studies*. London: Routledge.
ONTV. 2013. مؤتمر مشترك لـ د. البرادعي وآشتون حول الموقف الأوروبي من الأحداث في مصر [video]. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n3GBepc-LsQ. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
Perkins, Anne. 2013. Lady Ashton – Once "Lady who?", now the EU's diplomatic secret weapon. *The Guardian*. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/nov/25/lady-ashton-eu-secret-diplomatic-weapon. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
Pöchhacker, Franz. 2004. *Introducing interpreting studies*. London: Routledge.
Pöchhacker, Franz. 2013. The position of interpreting studies. In *The Routledge handbook of translation studies*, ed. Carmen Millán and Francesca Bartrina, 60–72. London/New York: Routledge.
Thwaites, T., L. Davis, and W. Mules. 1994. *Tools for cultural studies: An introduction*. South Melbourne: Macmillan.

7

Analysis of Representation of the War in Afghanistan as a US War in Russian and Western News Media: Systemic-Functional Linguistics Model

Olena Skorokhod

Translation is an integral part of the process of news production. It mediates and transforms news content across contexts and languages. By means of translation and rewriting of news content, information is transferred between different socio-political environments and settings. That said, translation within news production is not without problems. As will be demonstrated, translation can produce misrepresentations of the source material on which it is based and the situations which that source material describes. Frameworks have been devised and used to conduct analyses of translations so as to reveal deviations of a target text (TT) from its source. However, such analyses have frequently been limited in their focus to specific lexicogrammatical features, which, in turn, reflect a very narrow interpretation of what is here intended and discussed as a misrepresentation introduced by an act of translation—the term misrepresentation is

O. Skorokhod
University of East Anglia, Norwich Research Park,
Norwich NR4 7TJ, UK

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

F.M. Federici (ed.), *Mediating Emergencies and Conflicts*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55351-5_7

preferred to manipulation as it is difficult to assess whether or not there was an intention to alter the representation. What is required is a model which broadens the scope of analysis to understand the ways in which translations construct representations of ideology: shaping the public perception of people and events, affecting the effectiveness and even the formation of public policy.

Following existing research in the area of news translation (Valdeón 2008; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Baker 2006; Conway 2010; Federici 2010; van Doorslaer 2010), 'news translation' can be defined as a process of writing and rewriting of news content which involves the incorporation of stylistically and structurally varied information and content from a range of sources, recontextualized and reproduced for a new target audience. The complexity of this process of news translation means that the role of the translator does not fit wholly or simply within the traditional notion of 'translation'. It is the journalist and the translator who create and recreate news content and transfer it across languages, cultures, and contexts.

The significance of the journalist-translator in the process of news-making indicates that more attention and training should be given both to those engaged directly in the translations and to those managing them. van Doorslaer rightly points out that the 'journalist-translator' is 'the crucial actor in this process of meaning-making or meaning-remaking' (2010: 11). Without an understanding of how representations of ideology may be unconsciously constructed, it is difficult to avoid misrepresentations. As such, the production of a translation, which would represent or reflect the ideology of the source text (ST), would be essential to recognizing the ways in which misrepresentations can be constructed. Equally, in terms of the public, the power of translation to make or remake meaning creates significant potential to shape public perceptions. As such it is important to raise public awareness of the ways in which translation can create representations of ideology that are markedly different from those which were reported in the ST and are therefore shaping perceptions of people, events, and policy.

The analysis of news translation is a complex task, made difficult by such issues as the relationship between source and target, the existence of extratextual material and intertextual content. While it is important

to discuss and to deal with each of these topics, the priority is to find or develop a model of analysis which can identify and interpret the ways in which representations of ideology are constructed within texts, and may be misrepresented in translations of those texts.

Constructed Ideology of Representation

Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) has been identified as the theoretical base for the most suitable analytical approach to the present study of the war in Afghanistan for a number of reasons. SFL provides resources for analysing representations on a range of levels where such analysis is not subjectively limited to a narrow range of lexical items or grammatical structures and where evaluation of such items is not seen through the lens of the journalist's motivations but looks at a broader socio-political context. The challenge and the limitation of applying SFL as a theory lies in its analysis of a wide range of linguistic units resulting in a set of data that are both dense and complex. The problem, then, is to analyse a range of categories and linguistic units while being able to do so in a practical way that is applicable to the analysis of lengthy news pieces. The solution proposed is to use a six-stage model. While it makes use of the categories set out in SFL, it classifies these into thematic and transitivity structures and modality that are analysed in a systematized way.

In this perspective, the analysis resulting from the use of the adopted SFL model aims at understanding the 'constructed ideology of representation'. This notion is based on the understanding that in news texts reality is constructed rather than represented (Fowler 1991). As such, representations can be analysed, interpreted, and evaluated.

Baker (2006) has argued that it is possible to apply a narrative framework to the analysis of news texts and to use the term 'frame' or 'framing' for this. The argument is that this form of analysis would account for the representation constructed and reconstructed in a news text as a final product. However, 'framing' is synonymous with the process of making conscious decisions (as a result of which a news story is 'framed'). In contrast, the notion 'constructed ideology of representation' aims to shift the focus from the process—and the potential motivations of the translator

which may be influencing this process—to the news text as a representation of the ideological context, reproduced consciously or unconsciously. As a term, 'constructed ideology of representation' recognizes the three following strands of meaning construction in a news text: (1) understanding of meaning and language as a social semiotic system which can be constructed; (2) ideological frameworks and socio-political settings in which this meaning is formed and presented; and (3) representation in its broad sense that accounts for the understanding of events as being represented rather than reflecting reality.

By identifying the lexicogrammatical structures employed in a target news text and contrasting these to those used in the identified source(s), specific representations can be analysed, interpreted, and evaluated with regard to a given socio-political context. In this way, the adopted analytical model provides linguistic evidence for identifying the constructed ideology of representation in political news texts.

The six-stage model based on the SFL theory has been developed and applied to the translation analysis of Russian and English language news texts. This analysis is illustrated here through examples from a case study consisting of Russian and Western media news texts discussing the war in Afghanistan, thereby constructing representations of the events. During the course of its construction, the meaning of news content can be misrepresented, affecting our understanding of conflicts, the nations, the political or military groups, and their actions.

Six Stages of the Analytical Model

In developing the six-stage analytical model previously discussed, existing research was examined to understand how SFL models had been used for the analysis of translation. This review revealed a somewhat fragmented application of SFL analysis, which often provided evaluations and findings limited to a set of lexical items or structures. Such applications of the SFL model can be found in the work of Mason (2010) and Baker (2011) who examine lexical and structural choices, Munday (2004) studying choices of modality, and House (2006) and Pérez (2007) analysing transitivity, register, and context.

In contrast to these approaches, the six-stage model is based on the notion of context. The analysis starts with a discussion from this perspective and progresses towards the analysis of identified linguistic categories, concluding with the interpretation of these categories in context. The key categories involved in the analysis include thematic and transitivity structure, modality, and context. The SFL model is applied to the textual analysis of news texts in the form of case studies in order to examine individual linguistic choices—for example, those of lexicogrammar in the immediate linguistic and wider socio-political context. Choices of lexicogrammar are interpreted with regard to the particular socio-political context of each political or military event discussed. The analysis progresses through the following six stages:

Stage 1. Case study structure analysis.
Stage 2. Context analysis.
Stage 3. Thematic analysis.
Stage 4. Transitivity analysis.
Stage 5. Modality.
Stage 6. Interpretation and evaluation of the constructed ideology of representation.

Case Study Analysis: The US Military Campaign in Afghanistan in the Russian Press

The following paragraphs present an example of the case study analysis in terms of the six stages previously identified. The case study illustrates the ways in which the analytical model discussed can be applied to the study of translations of news from regions involved in conflicts. For practical and theoretical reasons, the case study has been organized and presented according to the six stages of the analytical model. It focuses on the context of the Afghanistan war—a period of military intervention, war, and political instability in the region. News texts analysed discuss the tactics of the USA with regard to the war in Afghanistan at the time of the appointment of the new International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) commander General David Petraeus in 2010.

Stage 1: Case Study Structure Analysis

This stage presents the news texts that have been grouped as a case study, indicating their relation to each other in terms of actual (or potential) source(s) and target. This case study consists of two texts—a Russian TT and an English language ST. The analysed Russian news text, which appeared in *RIA Novosti* in July 2010, identifies the *USA Today* in the title as its source and refers to it throughout the narrative (Table 7.1).

Stage 2: Context Analysis

This stage describes the context of the events discussed in the news texts. The news texts within this case study present and discuss the appointment of General David Petraeus as the new ISAF commander at a critical point in the development of the US-led operation in Afghanistan. Both texts indicate that at the time of Petraeus' appointment, the Taliban attacks in the region were continuing. General David Petraeus was appointed by the US President Obama in July 2010 to apply strategies which he had successfully implemented in Iraq. In the context of these events, a withdrawal of coalition forces, whose reduction in numbers was planned to start in July 2011, was discussed. General Petraeus would therefore face a challenging time in the development of the operation for both the USA and the coalition. Support for the terrorist activity from countries such

Table 7.1 News texts of case study 1

Date	Source	Title	Relation	Language
22.07.2010	*RIA Novosti*	'Эффективность тактики США в Афганистане вызывает сомнения—USA Today' Literally: Effectiveness of US tactics in Afghanistan evokes doubts	Target text	Russian
21.07.2010	*USA Today*	'Can Afghanistan be saved? As questions about U.S. effort mount, Petraeus steps into the breach'	Source text	English

as Pakistan and Russia was an important factor hindering the potential success of the operation in the war in Afghanistan. Discussing the security crisis in Afghanistan and the role of Pakistan, Russia, and Iran in this context, *Human Rights Watch* emphasizes that

> The civil war in Afghanistan, a geopolitical battleground during the cold war, is once again being sponsored by outside parties: Pakistan, Iran, Russia, and other neighboring countries, with the United States and India working in other ways to influence the war's outcome. (2001: 3)

Although Russia might be seen to have an interest in the stability of the region, its attitude to the presence of the ISAF is rather complicated. As Cordesman and Burke (2012) write in the context of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) research,

> Russia only has a marginal interest in Pakistan and sees Afghanistan largely in terms of containment. It has seen the US and ISAF presence in Afghanistan as both a threat and as a means of limiting the risk that instability in Afghanistan could spread north to Central Asia. It does not want a US presence so close to Russia or the Central Asian states, and has no reason to see the US and ISAF as providing a solution to the problems created by Afghanistan's one major and highly destructive export to Russia: drugs. (2012: 7)

Stage 3: Thematic Structure Analysis

This stage identifies the most significant topical, textual, and interpersonal themes in the text, together making up the thematic structure. As Table 7.2 illustrates, topical themes refer to some of the central issues discussed in the TT. This includes, for example, the question of US tactics in Afghanistan introduced in the title—'эффективность тактики США в Афганистане' (effectiveness of US tactics in Afghanistan). In addition, there are the problems and issues which hinder the success of the US campaign in Afghanistan such as those of corruption 'коррупция и кумовство' (corruption and cronyism). As such, the emphasis would seem to be on the portrayal of the USA, and aspects of the context related to the USA, in a negative light.

The narrative of the TT begins with a discussion of the failure of US efforts in Afghanistan and the loss of hope from the perspective of the local population in the US-led mission. The emphasis on a US newspaper as a source is given by means of a marked topical theme 'по данным американской газеты USA Today' (according to the American newspaper *USA Today*). The text progresses with the discussion of the appointment of General David Petraeus and examines issues which the newly appointed leader is yet to face in Afghanistan.

While the TT does not make use of interpersonal themes, it utilizes textual themes in order to achieve the aforementioned results, emphasizing the assertion that the Afghan local population will likely be unable to take charge either of its own security or of the development of the state. In this way, the textual theme—'кроме того' (moreover)— is used:

> Кроме того, по мнению сенаторов, афганцы могут оказаться не готовы взять на себя обеспечение собственной безопасности, когда американские войска уйдут в 2011 году из Афганистана в соответствии с распоряжением президента Барака Обамы
> Literally: Moreover, according to the senators, Afghans can turn out not ready to take over provision of their own security, when American troops leave in 2011 year from Afghanistan in accordance with the decree of President Barack Obama.

Table 7.2 Case study 1—TT significant themes

Type		Themes
Topical	Marked	по данным американской газеты *USA Today* (according to the American newspaper *USA Today*)
Topical	Unmarked	эффективность тактики США в Афганистане (effectiveness of US tactics in Afghanistan) афганцы (Afghans) Америка (the USA) коррупция и кумовство (corruption and cronyism) 'Силы пробуждения Анбара' (the Anbar Awakening forces) президент США Обама (US President Obama) темпы вывода войск из Афганистана (the pace of the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan) назначение Петреуса (appointment of Petraeus)
Textual		кроме того (moreover)
Interpersonal		None

In contrast to the TT, the ST discusses in detail those critical issues present in Afghanistan that would make the success of the operation more difficult. As such it is not presenting the USA in a negative light, so much as portraying it as operating in a difficult situation, with issues that are critical to its success. These are introduced by such unmarked topical themes as 'a resurgent Taliban', 'corruption and cronyism', 'rules of engagement', and also 'Pakistan'. A marked topical theme 'into this situation' reinforces the difficulty of the conditions in which General Petraeus takes charge (see Table 7.3 below).

Unlike the TT, the ST discusses these issues in detail and focuses on corruption and support for the terrorists from Pakistan as two main problems facing US forces operating in Afghanistan. While the TT thematizes the issue of corruption, 'Pakistan' is not thematized, and, as a result, is not emphasized as one of the central factors hindering the success of the coalition in the Afghanistan war. In the ST, the issue of Pakistan's involvement with and assistance for insurgent groups can be identified as an unmarked topical theme in multiple cases. For example:

> Pakistan must stop the flow of weapons and terrorists from jihadist safe havens within its borders.

Table 7.3 Case study 1—ST significant themes

Type		Themes
Topical	Marked	Into this situation
Topical	Unmarked	Taliban fighters
		The United States
		The Afghanistan war
		A resurgent Taliban
		Corruption and cronyism
		Rules of engagement
		The pace of the withdrawal
		Pakistan
		Pakistan's intelligence services
		Coalition forces
Textual		But
		Though
		As a result
Interpersonal		Can Afghanistan be saved?

> Pakistan's intelligence services helped the Taliban come to power in Afghanistan in the 1990s.

Textual themes used in the ST reinforce the following ideas: that corruption exists in Afghanistan and is one of the factors hindering the success of the operation—noticeable here through the use of 'but'

> Karzai has denied such allegations, but Khalid Pashtoon, member of the Afghan legislature from Kandahar province, says it is happening.

The textual theme here reinforces the concept that success of the operation is more visible as residents are starting to support the coalition—noticeable here through the use of 'though'

> Though militants still mount attacks, the residents are starting to realize the coalition is a better ally than the Islamists, Newman says.

and that increased effort by and spending on behalf of the Afghan government is having positive results for the coalition as well as for the local Afghan police—noticeable here through the use of 'as a result':

> As a result, coalition forces believe they can meet a goal of 243,000 police and soldiers by Oct. 31, Breazile says.

There is one instance of use of an interpersonal theme in the ST, namely in the title of the analysed news text—'Can Afghanistan be saved?' In the context of the clauses which follow within the title, it both asks the question and answers it:

> Can Afghanistan be saved? As questions about U.S. effort mount, Petraeus steps into the breach.

Such use of an interpersonal theme reinforces an ideology of representation constructed in the ST. According to this, a range of factors and circumstances exist in Afghanistan which can hinder the success of the operation. Yet the appointment of General Petraeus gives hope for such success. Such an ideology of representation is not only constructed by means of choices of themes but also through the use of participants, processes, circumstance, and modality, as will be analysed in the following

paragraphs. This demonstrates the importance of using the SFL framework for this kind of analysis and therefore allows for a very detailed and nuanced understanding of the construction of representation in the text. The analysis of news texts such as that conducted here (i.e. of longer, complex articles) is only practicable with an adaptation of the SFL framework which makes the analysis, and the data generated by it, more manageable.

Stage 4: Dominant Processes, Participants, and Circumstances Analysis

At this stage, significant patterns of participants, processes, and circumstances are defined as dominant. These patterns are identified and analysed as transitivity structures within the news texts. Among the dominant participants of the analysed TT, the following can be identified: 'афганцы' (Afghans), 'Америка' (the USA), 'талибы' (the Talibs), 'Петреус' (Petraeus), 'Карзай' (Karzai), and 'Обама' (Obama). Nominalizations are also used to represent participants. Examples of these are: 'тактика США' (US tactics), 'правила применения оружия' (rules of engagement), and 'вывод войск' (withdrawal). These are mainly associated with mental, material, and verbal process types, as shown in Table 7.4.

The idea that the local population will most likely be unable to take responsibility for the development of the state or be actively involved in it is emphasized by means of the textual theme. This once again contributes to the creation of a representation that portrays the involvement of US forces in Afghanistan from a negative point of view. As previously discussed, the participant 'старейшины' (the elders) refers to the population of Afghanistan and is used with a mental process (as those below). Following are the examples of the use of mental process types with participants associated with the residents of Afghanistan:

По данным американской газеты USA Today, афганцы *недовольны* тем
Literally: According to an American newspaper USA Today, Afghans *are not* happy that.
Многие афганцы уверены
Literally: Many Afghans are sure that.

Table 7.4 Case study 1—TT dominant participants, processes, and circumstances

Process Types		Material	Mental	Verbal	Relational
Participants	афганцы (Afghans)		недовольны (are not happy)		
	Америка (America)		принесла (brought)		
	который [усиливающийся Талибан] (which [the increasing Taliban])	действует (acts)			
	они [старейшины] (they [the elders])		не знают (do not know)		
	многие афганцы (many Afghans)		уверены (are sure)		
	талибы (the Talibs)	дождутся/ начнут (will wait/ will start)			
Circumstances		вместо мира и развития (instead of peace and development)			

In turn, 'the Talibs' are represented as active participants as they are used with material process types. For example:

> талибы дождутся ухода американцев, а затем начнут мощное наступление.
> Literally: the Talibs will wait till Americans leave and then will start a major offensive.

As for the verbal process types, these are used with participants referring to authorities such as 'Petraeus', 'Obama', and 'Karzai'. The use of verbal process types in this way suggests that the authorities have less power and ability to act than the Taliban. This is consistent with the representation created through other means indicated previously, whereby the US forces are depicted as likely to fail.

As with the TT, the following participants can be identified as dominant in the ST—'the Taliban', 'U.S.', 'coalition', 'Afghans', 'Petraeus', and 'Karzai', which is presented in Table 7.5. Importantly, 'Pakistan' is used as

a participant in the ST. The TT does mention Pakistan but it is not used as a participant, and, as a result, the idea of Pakistan as an active participant hindering success of the operation is not reinforced.

Unlike in the TT, the ST uses these participants with quite a different range of process types to construct a rather different ideology of representation of the discussed events. For example, the USA and the coalition are associated with material and mental processes. Participants referring to Afghan residents are used with not only mental processes but also material and relational processes (see Table 7.5).

As with the TT, 'the Taliban' is mentioned in the ST with material process types. However, 'Pakistan' is also used with material processes,

Table 7.5 Case study 1—ST dominant participants, processes, and circumstances

Process Types		Material	Mental	Verbal	Relational
Participants	Taliban fighters	Burned			
	We		Consider		
	Gen. David Petraeus, the counter-insurgency expert	Steps/ spearheaded			
	People				Are ready to fight
	The coalition	Pushed out/is keeping out			
	Taliban forces	Had ruled			
	Afghan troops	Forced out			
	Pakistan	Fails to step up			
	Pakistan	Is trying to play			
	The Afghan government	Boosted			
	Coalition forces		Believe		
	Circumstances	From jihadist safe heavens within its borders			
		In the border areas of Pakistan			
		Until recently			
		During the past year			

which reinforces the idea that Pakistan's assistance is, at least in part, a reason behind the Taliban's activity. In this way, the ST once more creates a representation of the situation in which the success of the actions of the US is influenced, if not determined by factors outside their control. As for verbal processes, the ST uses these in relation to the authorities such as 'Petraeus' and 'Karzai' in this context. 'Petraeus' is also used with a material process, which reinforces the idea that General David Petraeus' appointment as the new ISAF commander has the potential to bring success to the operation. Pakistan's involvement in supporting terrorist groups is reinforced by the circumstances of its location. For example:

> Karzai complains that Pakistan must stop the flow of weapons and terrorists from jihadist safe havens within its borders.
> and many of the terrorist groups operating in Afghanistan have their leadership located in the border areas of Pakistan, according to the International Security Assistance Force, the U.S.-led coalition that oversees Afghan military operations.

To suggest that there is a degree of progress and potential success in the operation, the circumstance of time is used in the following cases:

> until recently, the coalition lacked the trainers and resources to build effective fighting units.
> and it nearly doubled the number of coalition trainers during the past year to more than 3,100.

What the analysis of the thematic structure of the two texts reveals then is how consistently the diverging constructed ideology of representation is reinforced through a variety of devices. As indicated in the section outlining the constructed ideology of representation, it is not so much that this representation has been chosen by the translator, to consciously 'frame' the situation in a certain way, but rather that the representation reflects the ideology and the understanding of the situation stemming from that of the translator working on the piece.

Stage 5: Modality

This stage identifies expressions of modality which contribute to the construction of the representations presented in the news texts. Modality is used more widely in the ST than the TT. In the TT, a prominent case of the use of modality is the following:

> и назначение Петреуса может изменить ход войны в Афганистане.
> Literally: and appointment of Petraeus could change the course of the war in Afghanistan.

The modal verb 'could' in this case reinforces the possibility of success for the USA and the coalition in Afghanistan. In the ST, a relational process type is used instead—'has the potential'—to convey a similar idea. The use of modality in the ST emphasizes Pakistan's involvement and reinforces the idea that a change in its actions is necessary if the coalition is to be successful. The modal verb 'must' expresses the obligations of Pakistan as seen by the USA and the coalition—for example, 'Pakistan must stop' and 'Pakistan must take stronger actions'. In the context of the discussion of various factors hindering the success of the coalition, a modal verb 'may' is used to express a possibility that time is one of the factors affecting the likelihood of success:

> Time may not be on the coalition's side.

'May' is used in the following cases to examine various possible options available for constructing a successful military strategy in Afghanistan:

> Petraeus may seek to expand on them.
> Self-defense groups, sometimes referred to as militias, may be part of that strategy.

This use of modality reflects an ideology that exerts an influence on the construction of the representation of the situation. In the case of the ST, the representation is one of a complex situations in which the actions of the US forces and of their commanders are only one of many influences.

While the TT uses modality to suggest that there is a possibility of success for the US forces following the appointment of Petraeus, that success is represented as being his responsibility, or being within his control.

Stage 6: Interpretation of Results and Evaluation

This stage presents a discussion of the representation as a cumulative effect from the analysed categories. Case study 1 presents an effective example of the ways in which translation creates an ideologically constructed representation in a political news text. Reporting on the US tactics in the Afghanistan war and discussing the appointment of the new North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) commander, the TT refers heavily to its source—*USA Today*. It seems to report on the information in the source, transferring this to its readers. However, the use of the adaptation of the SFL framework, as outlined above, reveals that the representation of the situation is markedly different in a number of important ways when comparing the ST and the TT.

At first glance, it may seem that the topical themes of the TT are similar to those of the ST. However, certain themes, for example, 'Pakistan', are omitted. In the context of the discussed events, Russia's interest in Pakistan as a factor hindering US success is not prominent. As discussed in the context analysis of this case study, this can be explained by Russia's aversion to having US forces on its doorstep, taking control of the area. In addition, the fact that Pakistan is seldom referred to in the TT could also be seen as reflecting Russia's assistance of certain militant groups in Afghanistan and its aversion to any mention of this. The suggestion of this study is that this ideology underpins the representation of the situation that has been constructed.

Equally, in its choice of dominant participants and process types, the TT places the emphasis on the inability of the Afghan population to take charge of the region and its security. In addition, the effectiveness of the US tactics is questioned. On this point, it is important to note that the representation in the TT is not achieved by the use of explicit negatively charged expressions. Instead, it seems that bias is constructed through the choice of certain topical themes and the omission of others. Examples

of this would include the omission of 'Pakistan', as well as the choice of process types, for example, mental (as opposed to material used in the ST) to represent Afghan residents as inactive, reluctant, and unable to take responsibility. In this regard, Van Dijk (1998) rightly points out that bias is not necessarily formed by means of 'prominent expressions'. The author suggests that while readers who feel a certain ambiguity towards minority groups might not form a biased perception through such 'prominent expressions', they 'may, however, be unable to detect more subtle forms of semantic ethnic bias in news reporting […]' (Van Dijk 1998: 233). Following the analysis of the discussed news texts, it is possible to suggest that such means of the construction of bias apply not only to the representation of ethnic minority groups but of any groups involved in the context of conflict and instability. This is well illustrated by the choice of mental process types in the TT to present and discuss the local Afghan population as a group involved in the military conflict.

As indicated in the opening section to this study, analysis of translation within news texts has sometimes been limited to a narrow range of lexical items or grammatical structures, resulting in a potentially subjective and somewhat restricted interpretation. Alternatively, where the SFL framework has been used, this application has been somewhat fragmented, providing evaluations and findings limited to a set of items or structures.

The six-stage model outlined above is a better tool, at least for the purposes of the kind of analysis outlined here in a number of ways. Starting from the notion of context, it places the translation in a broader sociopolitical view, allowing for a clearer understanding of the ideology which may be (unconsciously) influencing the lexicogrammatical choices. In providing a range of categories, which the six-stage model has refined, it enables a detailed analysis resulting in a manageable data set which can result in a nuanced interpretation of the constructed ideology of representation.

Conclusion

By adopting a model of analysis that privileges a rigorous attempt at achieving a form of interpretative neutrality as a tool for textual analysis, the case study above identifies some of the wide variety of ways

in which representations are constructed and of the ways in which the chosen analytical tool enables an observer to discuss them for their logical causations, while maintaining a certain degree (as humanly possible) of neutrality. We have seen that each particular news text constructs an ideology of representation within the ideological framework to which it belongs. One of the major advantages of basing the model used on the SFL framework is that doing so allows for analysing representations on a range of levels, identifying the many varied ways in which the representations are constructed.

The constructed representation of ideology can have a significant impact on public perceptions and public policy. In terms of the case study discussed, we have seen that the text from the Western news media foregrounds a number of issues which are critical to the success of the US actions in Afghanistan, including corruption, cronyism, and aid from Pakistan for terrorist groups in Afghanistan. These are presented as sources of socio-economic problems within the country. As such, the public would understand, consciously or otherwise, that policy would have to take these factors into account: that neither the appointment of a general nor his plans alone would be responsible for the success or failure of the US forces in the region. This representation not only affects public perceptions of the actions being taken, recognizing that the situation is complex, but also influences the formation of that policy in that it can afford to be more nuanced and complex.

In contrast, factors such as corruption and cronyism are hardly mentioned. The representation constructed could be seen as one in which these issues are not important, having no impact on the actions of the USA in the region, in which case those in charge of the forces are more responsible for the success and failure of their actions. This presents the situation as being simpler, the policy as needing to be much more straightforward, and those involved as being more responsible and more influential. It may be argued that such a construction of representation is more likely to result in policies and public perceptions that are too simplistic.

Another alternative is to see this construction of representation as resulting from the ideological position (of the translator) that such things as corruption and cronyism are not factors to be foregrounded. This ideological position may emerge because these phenomena are perceived as

intrinsic within society, or because they are understood to be topics that the authorities wish to avoid. The result of such an omission though is that the public may fail to see how such factors are responsible for problems in other conflicts and regions, including their own. In this way, the representations constructed of other contexts affect the perceptions that the public may have of their own. The more simplistic such representations are, the more stereotypical and straightforward, the more likely it is that the public will see their own situation in these terms.

As such, a strong case can be made for raising awareness of the power of translation to construct ideologies of representation, both within the community of those involved in the translation of news texts and among the wider public. It would seem vital that there is a better understanding not just that misrepresentations can occur and have a potentially significant impact on public perception and public policy. Given the power of translation, a strong case could be made for better training of those involved in the translation of news reporting, directly or indirectly, including a clearer understanding of how misrepresentation occurs. Such is the potential of translation to influence the creation and success of public policy and public perceptions that more research in this area focused on the constructed ideology of representation seems essential.

References

Baker, Mona. 2006. *Translation and conflict: A narrative account*. London/New York: Routledge.

Baker, Mona. 2011. *In other words: A coursebook on translation*. London/New York: Routledge.

Bielsa, Esperança, and Susan Bassnett. 2009. *Translation in global news*. London/New York: Routledge.

Conway, Kyle. 2010. News translation and cultural resistance. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* 3(3): 187–205.

Cordesman, Anthony, and Burke Arleigh. 2012. *Transition in the Afghanistan-Pakistan war: How does this war end?* Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Federici, Federico M. 2010. Legitimised texts: Translations in Italian media during the Calipari case. In *Political discourse, media and translation*, ed. Susan

Bassnett and Christina Schäffner, 117–142. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholar Press.

Fowler, Roger. 1991. *Language in the news: Discourse and ideology in the press*. London/New York: Routledge.

House, Juliane. 2006. Text and context in translation. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38: 338–358.

Human Rights Watch. 2001. *Afghanistan: Crisis of impunity. The role of Pakistan, Russia, and Iran in fueling the Civil War*. Available at: www.hrw.org/reports/2001/07/01/crisis-impunity-role-pakistan-russia-and-iran-fueling-civil-war-afghanistan. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Mason, Ian. 2010. 'Discourse, Ideology and Translation'. In *Critical Readings in Translation Studies*, ed. Mona Baker, 837–95. London and New York: Routledge.

Munday, Jeremy. 2004. A comparative analysis of evaluation in Spanish and English World Cup reports. *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 49: 117–133.

Pérez, Maria Calzada. 2007. *Transitivity in translating: The interdependence of texture and context*. Bern: Peter Lang AG.

Valdeon, Roberto. 2008. Anomalous news translation: Selective appropriation of themes and texts in the Internet. *Babel* 54(4): 299–326.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 1998. *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage.

van Doorslaer, Luc. 2010. Journalism and translation. In *Handbook of translation studies*, vol. 1, ed. Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, 180–184. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

8

Ghostly Entities and Clichés: Military Interpreters in Conflict Regions

Caroline Gaunt

Since the inception of the most recent wave of conflict between the Western armed forces and insurgent forces in Iraq and Afghanistan in the early 2000s, several Western countries and their military personnel have had to rely more than ever before on Arabic-native-speaker interpreters in order to mediate between local groups and temporary authority and institutional figures. According to figures released by the US Army, '50,000 Iraqi and Afghan nationals have served as translators over the past decade' (Ryan 2015: n.p.). In Britain, approximately 600 Afghans offered their services as interpreters to the Ministry of Defence (BBC 2013). However, despite widespread insistence that, in many instances, the success of military campaigns pivots on the stressful and extremely dangerous work that interpreters undertake, both British and American armed forces' narration of their native-speaker interpreters is exclusively damning and derisory. They rarely depart from stereotypes, which have

C. Gaunt
Durham University, School of Modern Languages and Cultures, Elvet Riverside, New Elvet, Durham DH1 3JT, UK

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

F.M. Federici (ed.), *Mediating Emergencies and Conflicts*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55351-5_8

been embedded in Western perceptions of Arabic-speaking countries and their inhabitants for centuries. These stereotypes and cliché are then taken up and fed by the media discourse (in a cycle in which it is impossible to see whether new cliché are formed or just adopted and enforced by the media).

The following chapter collects evidence from military personnel's reference to their interpreters. It offers a detailed analysis and criticism of three key clichés which are used by the media and the military to describe the native-speaker interpreters who work for them in Iraq and Afghanistan. I have explored and discussed data from the autobiographies of high-ranking to low-ranking military officials to achieve a greater sense of how far these clichés are truly inherent across the board. Media data have been gathered from a variety of newspapers, online news channels, and online comment forums. All resources are in English language. Given that this chapter is part of a broader project that addresses trends in the narration of native-speaker interpreters working in the so-called war on Terror in Iraq and Afghanistan, I have included resources which address both countries and nationalities separately. As this war can be considered as an ideological rather than a geographical conflict, it may be argued that the restriction of the discourse to Iraq and Afghanistan is limiting. However, the decision of analysing them together rests on the intuition that the discourse generates ghostly entities, as if interpreters did not have a body incarnation but were themselves disembodied functions and services, ghosts rather human beings, and clichés of similar nature; hence for the sake of succinctness, I have analysed them together to avoid unnecessary repetition.

It may be argued that the media organizations, especially news agencies and online journalists, due to the constraints of time, space, and immediacy, are not able to provide nuanced characterizations of interpreters. Whether or not there is an intentionality in this representation is not possible to corroborate with evidence here; it is however evident that journalists seem to fall back on using worn-out clichés, also because they are prevented from exploring other sides of the story. Therefore, the validity of research such as this, which suggests that the employment of clichés is *deliberate*, is called into question if *only* media resources are analysed. The project broadened to consider also military autobiographies,

which are not similarly limited; indeed, they are much more extended and detailed pieces of writing, whose style might be expected to be slightly less cliché-ridden. Yet they appear to feature exactly the same clichés as are frequently observed in media reports; this fact has been taken as the hypothesis that the trend cannot be simply circumscribed to a by-product of time and space constraints of writing for news media. This, consequently, re-confirms the necessity of researching this trend further.

I am aware that any attempt to 'debunk the myths' surrounding native-speaker conflict interpreters cannot compare with the interpreter's own assessments of themselves and also that any such attempt is another 'narrative' in itself. Nevertheless, it is useful to point out the ways in which some clichés and reflections emerge out of the biographical pages of soldiers. Considering the predominant media and military discourses as clichés should, however, create both a more neutral platform for understanding the interpreters as individuals and perhaps solicit a future wariness towards simplifications.

Professional Money-Grabbers

As Shaheen, a Middle Eastern Affairs scholar, points out in his *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People* (2012) on Arab representation in the media, Arabs[1] are Semites, and their representation in media resources often follows established anti-semitic prejudices that have traditionally been levied against Jewish people (also in Shaheen 2003). Like Jews, 'Arabs,

[1] A terminological note is here necessary. The sobriquet 'the Arab world' should denote the 22 states comprising the Arab league, hence Afghanistan, which is not a member, is not an 'Arab' state (although Iraq is). However, Afghanistan's geographical position in the Middle East has led to this distinction being blurred in both media and military discourse, symptomatic of a wider tendency in Western discourse to 'invent collective identities for large numbers of individuals who are actually quite diverse' (Said 2014: 28). According to Said, 'for imperialists… the Oriental… is a member of a subject race and not exclusively an inhabitant of a geographical area' (Said 2014: 92). As the focus of this chapter is on developments in interpreting in conflict zones post-9/11, for the sake of coherence, 'Middle East' or 'Middle Eastern' is the term I have chosen to use in this paper. Although Afghanistan's location as a Middle Eastern state is contentious, Stewart concedes that 'since 9/11 Afghanistan is… included on maps of the Middle East, reflecting the importance of Islam in South Asia and the role that Afghanistan's recent history has played in creating the leaders of militant Islamic movements such as Al-Qaeda' (Stewart 2013: 25).

for example, are thought of as camel-riding, terroristic, hook-nosed, venal lechers whose undeserved wealth is an affront to real civilisation' (Said 2014: 108). The representation of Iraqi native-speaker interpreters is similarly marked with suggestions of avarice. Notably, however, the military do not make any distinctions between Iraqi and Afghan interpreters—the concept of 'the avaricious Arab' transcends the borders of the Arab world and the often enormous differences between far apart and different cultures that may only share a language (Arabic) and a religious credo (Islam).

Both the armed forces and the media see greed as the only possible motivator behind enlisting as an interpreter. Gallagher, former US army captain and Scout Platoon leader, veteran of Iraq, notes that 'the money they made was surely a primary reason for their chosen vocation and their English could best be described as rudimentary' (Gallagher 2011: 16). By trade, training, and lack of understanding of interpreting skills, Gallagher cannot see evidence of professional ability in the field of interpreting, and he assumes that the native-speaker interpreters cannot have been motivated by their professional skills, and instead they had to be motivated by the opportunity of taking advantage, somewhat ruthlessly, of a money-making opportunity. As explained by Ashcroft, a former British soldier and security contractor in Baghdad, some armed forces personnel, believing that money will be attractive to native-speaker interpreters, use this carrot to persuade them to enlist their services: 'come and work for us. My outfit is paying interpreters three hundred dollars a month and some of them don't even speak English' (Ashcroft and Thurlow 2010: 111). Furthermore, it is not only the initial enlisting that is prompted by avarice, but in the words of Friedman, an infantry officer in the 101st Airborne Division of the US Army, every subsequent decision whilst working with the armed forces: 'for Ammar [the interpreter], it wasn't a question of *if* he would do it, but… how much more money he was going to make' (Friedman emphasis in original, 2007: 163).

The media similarly narrates money as the primary motivation behind the interpreter's career choice. Katz reports that 'Sam signed up because of his family's need for money… he says that good pay and lack of required qualifications were the biggest factors in attracting recruits' (Katz 2009). In Katz's interviews with former interpreters, a disproportionate amount of the soundbite is devoted to money or wages, with the result that the

interpreters sound obsessed with wealth and status: 'my family, we used to be a wealthy family, a very wealthy family, we had three houses… then the insurgents came to our houses and they threatened us… We lost everything. I told my dad that we needed money' and further, 'they pay really good amount of money' (Katz 2009). Even where Gordts quotes US soldier Robert Payne saying, 'the Afghans and Iraqi who worked for us were *not just* there for the money' (Gordts 2013, my emphasis), the tacit implication is that money was *one* of the motivating factors, if not the overriding concern.

Ruthlessness in the pursuit of money, which was hinted at by Gallagher, is a further strand to this portrayal. Klay, a veteran of the US Marine Corps, suggests that interpreters are willing to run any risk and challenge any established personal convictions as long as they get their wages at the end of it: ' "I hate you more than I've ever hated you right now", the Professor [interpreter] said… "Why do you even work for us?" I said. "Forty. Dollars. A day." "Nonsense", I said. "You're risking your life for us" ' (Klay 2014: n.p.). West's interpreter Yusef, similarly, is 'translating for the stupid Americans for good pay' (West 2005: 169), which suggests that the irritation of the stupidity of the Western armed forces is mollified, perhaps even overridden, by his wage. This idea has been echoed by the media—'the interpreters who are sticking it out [i.e. continuing to work for Western armed forces] say that they do it for the money' (Levinson 2006: 'Iraq's "terps" face suspicion from both sides')—even to the extent that Western governments have openly used money as a bargaining tool: '[David Cameron, British PM] has ordered officials to draw up a "really generous" financial package to persuade [Afghan interpreters] to stay [in Afghanistan]' (Farmer 2013), 'under the new proposals, those who wish to remain in Afghanistan will receive an improved financial offer' (Al-Jazeera 2013). Sultan's article would seem to suggest that the interpreters themselves recognize that the promise of a good wage is all-encompassing for them: ' "we sold off our lives for a few thousand dollars", inveighs Farhad, an interpreter whom the group designated their spokesman' (Sultan 2013). Clark goes further, actively accusing the interpreters of a selfishness and disloyalty to their home countries that he narrates as verging on the criminal, certainly punishable: 'the interpreters did not work for "us", the British people, but for themselves… let's do all

we can to keep self-centred mercenaries who betrayed their fellow countrymen and women for financial gain out of Britain' (Clark 2007: 'Keep these quislings out').

Other commentaries, such as those of Van Dyk, portray the interpreters as totally unscrupulous in the pursuit of all forms of material wealth: 'the translators take cars, motorcycles, whatever they can, as bribes from those who want jobs with the Americans' (2010: 28) or Mills, Sergeant with The Princess of Wales' Royal Regiment, veteran of Iraq, 'there below us were the interpreters… they were having away everything and anything that wasn't bolted down. It wasn't just that they were nicking our stuff, but *they were doing it in broad daylight and right in front of our very eyes'* (Mills] 2008: n.p., my emphasis). The military personnel sees the interpreters as part of the local commerce, 'I find the guards, I get them wine and special things you can't find in the CPA [Coalition Provisional Authority]. I always charge a few dollars more' (Ashcroft and Thurlow 2010: 111); the experience of American journalist embedded with the 1st Reconnaissance Battalion of US Marine Corps in Iraq, Wright, is not dissimilar:

> the first time I try speaking with him he refuses to talk until I bribe him with several packs of Marlboro reds… Meesh hates Iraqis… and every time he interrogates civilians or soldiers on behalf of the Marines, he forces them to hand over any cigarettes, cash, valuable trinkets, liquor or beer they might be carrying (Wright 2011: 211).

Moreover, it is not only their employers that the interpreters are rumoured to exploit financially. More vulnerable members of their own cohort are also in thrall to their more enterprising colleagues, as reported by Hennessey, former officer in the British Grenadier Guards:

> a short, bullying Kabuli seemed to be designated "head 'terp"… we quickly realised that unless a 'terp was… making sure [the 'head 'terp'] took a cut of his pay, [the 'terp in question] would get disproportionately picked on for the dangerous, uncomfortable missions' (2012: 49–50).

If we were to interpret these representations following Said's works, he would see here unmistakeable reinforcement of historical orientalist discourse, when he quotes Glidden's observation that 'in Arab society only "success counts" and "the end justifies the means" ' (Said 2014: 48).

This cliché has its roots in other stereotyped aspects of native-speaker interpreter characterization. The references to avarice carry with them connotations of wiliness, an ability to make the best out of a bad situation through instinctive cunning approaching the animalistic. It is suggested that native-speaker interpreters are able to instinctively 'sniff-out' an opportunity to make money, irrespective of legality; according to Campbell, former Marine platoon commander in Iraq, '[the interpreter] then began a fairly sizeable side business selling pirated DVD's to all the company's Marines' (2009: 117). The report on the trial of Daniel James presents the only suggestion that I have been able to unearth that interpreters, whilst perceived as mercenary, are just as allegedly irresponsible with money as they are in other areas of their professional life: 'James also needed money. He was £25,000 in debt and had four mortgages on flats in Brighton' (Press Association 2008: 'British general's interpreter in Afghanistan jailed for spying').

Greed does not always have to be motivated by money or material goods. The motivation can be more abstract: in the case of Jameel, an Iraqi civilian, 'I realised that as an interpreter, I was privileged above the others, and that meant I might get preferential treatment' (Jameel 2011: 8). This is echoed in media reports: Levinson writes that 'most of all, [the interpreters] say, they hope their loyal service will earn them American citizenship' (Levinson 2006). Bates writes that the increased wage 'enabled [the interpreter's] family to live in comfort' (Bates 2014: 'Death-defying Iraqi adopted by the SEALs: Elite interpreter who formed a bond with elite soldiers and started new life in the US with help of comrades including Chris Kyle'). Leithead's report includes the following quote from former Afghan interpreter Barri: 'I became rich—I was getting $1,800 every month and that was a lot of money for me. I bought a car and built a property and was able to start a business' (Leithead 2013). One of the interpreters interviewed for Anderson's report scorns his financial reward: 'during the three years' working, I only made about $14,000 or $15,000. I'm not crazy. I wouldn't put myself in danger for $14,000. *The only privilege* was to get the visa and go to the States, to get out of this misery' (Anderson 2014). All these quotes subtly reinforce the dominance of Western culture over the Eastern alternative. The suggestion is that joining the Western armed forces was calculated to ensure a lifestyle that enjoys the privileges of Western culture.

Fact or Fiction?

It may be stated that many native-speaker interpreters are indeed motivated to take on their position by a desire to earn more money. The economic situation of any war-torn country is fraught—war often brings with it considerable economic toil and social disaster, for example, recession, mass unemployment, or famine. Both Iraq and Afghanistan have been no exception to this rule: both societies continue to be devastated by the impact of conflict, and Patrick reports an 'exodus of six million people' in Afghanistan provoked by 'twenty-three years of conflict, four consecutive years of drought, and a repressive government unconcerned with economic development' (Patrick 2003: 'Reconstructing Afghanistan: Lessons for Post-War Iraq?'). With regard to Iraq, the website of the Heritage Organisation (2014b) states that 'with its economic growth highly volatile, Iraq's ongoing economic reconstruction… has been fragile… Operating *well below potential*, the Iraqi economy is burdened by systematic problems' (emphasis in original) and, with regard to Afghanistan, the country 'remains severely burdened by numerous systematic shortcomings… political uncertainties further [undermine] progress in economic reconstruction' (2014a). Furthermore, unemployment in both societies has been at astronomical levels since the advent of conflict: according to some reports 35% of Afghans were unemployed in 2008 (versus 6.6% of the population of the UK; see Nation Master 2014), whilst unemployment in Iraq 'averaged 18.39% from 2003 to 2012' (Trading Economics 2014).

It is likely that levels of employment for all the native-speaker interpreters employed by Western armed forces would have been affected by this economic turmoil to varying degrees. Many had families to support; children, parents, or elderly relatives, as well as day-to-day living expenses. Note also that according to Baker, many native-speaker interpreters were '*ex*-students or professionals' (Baker 2010: 216, my emphasis)—that is to say, *formerly* employed.

Furthermore, the avarice cliché implies that interpreters are being lured in with astronomical pay cheques, whilst the available data would seem to question this. The Ministry of Defence is notoriously wary

about providing numerical data relating to any part of military procedure, but the media is by no means as reticent to publish exact statistics as to how much interpreters are earning. However, concrete facts do not preclude hyperbole and wild surmise—many reporters state that the figures constitute a good wage in the country in question without considering the perilous economic states of both countries under analysis, therefore forcing the reader to accept the judgement of a 'good wage' as universally applicable. For example, 'the $1050 monthly salary for combat interpreters is a decent salary in Iraq today' (Levinson 2006), 'Walker's pay was increased $200–$500 a month, a small fortune by Iraqi standards, and his family were able to live in comfort' (Bates 2014), 'they are paid around £16 a day, an excellent wage in Iraq' (Clark 2007), 'they were paid well for their work. Many translators received about 650 euros ($848) a month, or about ten times the average Afghan income' (Sultan 2013).

To the average reader, not knowing the 'average Afghan income', a tenfold salary may appear as a huge amount of money. Without understanding how these figures compare internationally, it is easy to then accept further implications that interpreters are indeed mercenary. However, what is an excellent wage in a country that, in both war and peacetime, struggles to prop up an exceptionally unstable economy is likely to be very far removed from Western perceptions of a 'living wage'. Indeed, £16 a day is well below the poverty line in the UK. The Vice News documentary, *The Afghan Interpreters*, points out that 'people also think, *wrongly*, the [Afghan] interpreters were paid well'—in an interview with a former interpreter, the interpreter reveals that 'the only money we gained was about 15,000 dollars, 14,000 dollars… it's not good money for us' (Vice News 2014: my emphasis).

It should also be noted that, whilst the military uphold their interpreters as the antithesis of Western morality and social mores, the chasm between the two camps may not be as wide as the armed forces would encourage us to assume. Inghilleri notes that 'the motivations and rationales of interpreters to serve in war are similar to the reasons individuals give for enlisting in the military… motives for enlistment have become much more rooted in *individual self-fulfillment* than in civic responsibility' (2010: 180–181, my emphasis). Furthermore, Inghilleri suggests that

interpreters learn to mimic the pervading moral standards that they see exercised by their military counterparts:

> given… interpreters' contractual ties to the military, their personal ties to the members of their combat units, and the absence of an independent institutional location, it is perhaps not surprising that interpreters come to uphold the same or similar moral and ethical principles as the soldiers with whom they serve. (2010: 185)

There are points of contention within this argument, which would seem to assert that native-speaker interpreters are easily manipulated and swayed by more dominant Western personalities, and in itself, this is hardly a gratifying depiction. However, it is a compelling contrast to the suggestion of an extreme cultural deviation from Western standards. The military must, it would seem, take some responsibility for the behaviour that it deems inappropriate in its interpreters but potentially does not recognize in itself.

Of course, when a country is ravaged by war, the inhabitants of that country must fight to keep themselves and their families away from poverty, a job such as interpreting that pays well is a very tempting prospect. In assuming that interpreters are motivated by avarice, the armed forces ignore or at least downplay what actually prompts sometimes-desperate individuals to seek employment with them.

The Interpreter as the Punchline

Unsurprisingly, there are also portrayals of instances in which military life offers some light relief to soldiers and personnel, even within active conflict. It is, however, notable that many of these instances, as narrated by their Western colleagues, seem to come at the expense of the native-speaker interpreters, who are objectified, derided, and even bullied in an attempt to create from them a comedy figure whilst leaving the dignity of the armed forces intact.

Some instances where the interpreter acts, unknowingly, as the butt of the joke are particularly heinous. There is something frankly distasteful, not to mention unethical, about relating instances such as the following with scant

concern for the interpreter's dignity: 'a member of the interpreter staff arrived with a complaint that he was initially reluctant to describe… he was masturbating so often and so vigorously that he had developed arm and back pain' (Wiss [a captain and military doctor with Canadian forces who served two tours of Afghanistan] 2010: 295). Discussing any doctor–patient consultation, let alone one that is so intimate and personal, in an autobiography intended for a readership of many millions, in itself raises questions of ethics. The fact that the interpreter was 'reluctant' to describe his complaint even within the confines of a doctor's surgery again raises questions about why Wiss would choose to discuss it at all, presumably without the patient's permission. It shows a lack of respect for the interpreter both as a person and, perhaps more crucially, as a patient, which is mirrored in other narratives.

Wiss' anecdote demonstrates the invasion of privacy that Western soldiers seem to consider appropriate in the pursuit of entertainment. US Army veteran of Iraq, Buzzell comments on the décor, 'all the rooms that our Iraqi interpreters lived in had walls completely covered in pictures of Maxim pin-up girls' (2006: 134); these remarks are clearly intended to incite derision, despite the fact that a bedroom is a private space, even more preciously so on an army base where privacy is minimal. Hennessey is similarly disparaging about the state of the interpreters' living quarters and, by extension, calls their personal hygiene into question:

> the "terps" lived six, seven, eight—we were never sure—to a room, a parody of student living, the heating or the aircon always turned up to max, a neat row of shoes at each door the only tidy thing about the dark, messy rooms that smelled unmistakeably of young men and feet and always seemed to have someone snoozing in the corner despite a radio or TV blasting away in the background (Hennessey 2012: 49).

It is necessary to establish whether these anecdotes are being used to 'laugh *with*' or to 'laugh *at*'. The former is a more innocuous and collaborative type of humour, the latter slyer, even malicious. First Sergeant Patrick Cosgrove's admission that 'the interpreters are always entertaining, not always for the reasons they think they are' (Currier Burden 2006: 222) evokes an army that casts the interpreters as comic figures without the interpreters being aware of this, so they cannot *participate* in the jokes and instead must necessarily be cast as comic foil. Furthermore, the armed

forces appear to wish to extrapolate as much entertainment from their interpreters as possible before these individuals have done or said anything at all. As in the account of the journalist who followed a field team in Afghanistan, Gesari, 'the soldiers gave funny nicknames to all their interpreters to mask their identities… even Ron Jeremy after a well-known porn star' (2013: 11). It is notable that Ron Jeremy is an *American* porn star and though he may indeed be 'well-known' in the USA, it is unlikely that native-speaker interpreters would understand the significance of such a nickname—again suggesting that they are being objectified in order to be laughed *at*.

Bellavia, a US Army veteran of Iraq, encapsulates this sense of the armed forces actually pitting themselves against the interpreters by narrating the following as a disapproving, even disgusted spectator: 'our translator is in the middle of the Iraqi gaggle, dancing between the three men as they bump him/her from side to side with their pelvic regions, like some homoerotic tetherball. This is not a pretty sight' (Bellavia 2012: n.p.). The excuse that this comedy is born out of camaraderie cannot, therefore, stand up to scrutiny, bearing in mind that camaraderie is inherently inclusive, and would not involve exposing individuals without their permission, laughing covertly at the things they do or painting uniquely unfavourable portraits of them.

These instances of comic relief that the interpreters unwittingly provide are often coupled with implicit suggestions of unprofessionalism: 'the terp had developed a curious habit… of inserting 'fucking' into every sentence he translated' (Anderson 2012: 184), 'the ever-dutiful Suge, who had been boots-up in his bed watching Turkish soap operas and smoking cigarettes… donned his body armor quickly, loudly proclaimed himself to be the only interpreter worth a fuck, and staggered off downstairs' (Gallagher 2011: 172), 'Meesh, the translator, showed up, groggy, not having had his first beer of the morning yet' (Wright 2011: 225). Furthermore, members of the armed forces make personal, disrespectful, and largely irrelevant remarks about body shape, age, clothing, personal hygiene, and habits, as in the examples listed below:

- 'a reasonably good interpreter, a cheerful, middle-aged man with a pot belly' (Ashcroft and Thurlow 2010: 96);
- 'Sammy had his plump fingers on all the buttons' (ibid.: 112);

- 'Sammy, though always spick and span, smelled faintly of petrol' (ibid.: 123);
- 'Hammed was a local resident hired by the battalion as translator. He arrived at the power plant shortly after sunrise, dressed with great dignity in a rumpled suit, probably the finest outfit in his wardrobe' (Fick [former US Marine Corps officer, veteran of Iraq and Afghanistan] 2006: 340);
- 'The translator is a seriously overweight nineteen-year-old Kuwaiti who goes by the nickname "Meesh"… [he] is a heavy dope smoker. The whole invasion he's been bumming because the night before we left Kuwait he got so stoned that, as he says, "dude, I lost all my chronic in my tent. I'm hurtin" ' (Wright 2004: 210);
- '[The interpreter] was a portly, good-natured computer science guy' (Friedman 2007: 152).

This habit of derision is so ingrained that even where there is little or nothing conspicuous about the interpreter's attire, an element of doubt still remains: the 'terp called David dressed head to toe, far too accurately and smartly, in British Army issue' (Hennessey 2012: 352). There is a strong implication that the armed forces actually find their interpreters disgusting—in writing 'Sammy took me in an embrace and planted a slobbery wet kiss on both cheeks' (Ashcroft and Thurlow 2010: 112), Ashcroft narrates Sammy almost as a well-intentioned, affectionate but nauseating dog.

Friedman's quote 'the translator's name was Amman Ammar… he liked women, American movies and beer' (2007: 152), ticks off a hat-trick of native-speaker interpreter misconceptions, all of which have been exploited previously for comedic value, that is lasciviousness ('women'), a desire to fit in with Western values ('American movies'), and gluttony ('beer'). Furthermore, not only are Afghan and Iraqi men portrayed as lecherous, affirming representations of Middle Eastern men as 'oversexed degenerate[s]' (Stewart 2013: 8), their sexual habits form another subject of constant ridicule, as in the dialogue reported in Ashcroft and Thurlow (2010: 98):

> 'I have cared for this car for ten years and it has *never* let me down. I love my car more than I love my women.' 'Women?' He took a breath and threw up his plump hands. 'It is the burden I must abide. The women, they love me too much.'

These kinds of remarks are unproblematic in works of fiction where a *character* is being established but to show such a lack of consideration for individuals who *genuinely exist,* who do not have the opportunity to narrate themselves, and who are being immortalized in print as so ridiculous that is laughable and is ungracious, bearing out Courter's complaint that 'too many American soldiers seem to look down on… terps at times' (Courter [Sergeant First Class, veteran of Afghanistan] 2008: 72). The armed forces in the Western world are treated largely with overwhelming respect, even if a war is considered to be unjustified (Western involvement in Iraq met with widespread criticism both in the USA and UK). Whilst the 'heroic' trope does tend to be overstated, it is facile to mock a profession which requires a great deal of courage in the face of immeasurable danger. The fact that the armed forces are not allowing interpreters the personal dignity that soldiers insist is given to them, despite the fact that interpreters are facing exactly the same challenges, is hypocritical. Indeed, the armed forces see this kind of treatment of interpreters as not only acceptable but also inevitable: US Sergeant Chipman's assessment that 'the terps and all local nationals are always going to be treated [poorly] except for by the people they immediately work for' (cited in Levinson 2006) effectively exonerates Western soldiers from any personal responsibility of kindness or respect towards their interpreters.

A Vital Piece of Equipment: On the Concept of Savagery

Said has commented that 'the language of the war is dehumanizing in its extreme' (2014: 27) and that 'no matter how much a single Oriental can escape the fences placed around him, he is *first* an Oriental, *second* a human being' (emphasis in original, ibid.: 102). The following section examines both of these trends in the depiction of Iraqi and Afghan interpreters; how far the military have perpetuated a narrative that dehumanizes their Middle Eastern counterparts whilst affirming that 'unlike the Oriental, [the Western consumer] is a true human being' (ibid.: 108).

Attempts to create an impression of someone who has nothing whatsoever in common with human nature as represented by the Western

world—indeed, is frighteningly disparate from it—may be traced back to the historic concept of savagery. The fear that is prompted by the evocation of the 'savage' is borne out of a terror of confronting an individual who is 'not like us'. In this context, the native-speaker interpreters are not only different but, more than this, they are the opposite of all that Western individuals are. Therefore, following the diktats of the philosophy of savageness, the Western world must mistrust them, not simply because they are different but because this difference is likely to be directly threatening to us.

Examining this in the context of Iraq and Afghanistan, we may assert that our media-fed glimpses of the East suggest a world that is anti-diversity and anti-progress—concepts that the Western world considers to be the backbone of the success of economically thriving and largely peaceful Western countries. Therefore, when US Army veteran of Iraq Dyer writes 'when I asked one of our interpreters about the idea of civil rights for women, his reply was quite stern and focussed' (2010: 153), when Sergeant Solomon Black (officer in the Marine Corps who served in Iraq) writes 'we had an interpreter named Ahmed… [I say] "I'm Jewish." He says "you shouldn't tell people you are Jewish"… then I used to catch this guy, I could feel his eyes on me' (cited in Tripp 2008: 101) or when Levinson includes in his report native-speaker interpreter Vivian's seemingly placid acceptance that 'my parents no longer consider me a daughter… [because] they think of me as a soldier' (Levinson 2006), these are implicit threats to ideals that we consider to be the cornerstones of the Western world. Indeed, we like to believe that 'the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as *its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience*' (Said 2014: 1–2, my emphasis). Senior politicians such as George W. Bush have cast the inhabitants of the Middle East as not only impenetrably different from 'us' in the West, but envious and angry because of this difference: 'they hate our freedoms—our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other' (George W. Bush, cited in Little 2008: 2).

This negative perception of the Middle East has also been exacerbated by graphic depictions of insurgent violence: '[the Taliban] burn schools, they kill people, they are beasts' (interpreter Khan, in Butt 2011). This depiction continues,

> [the Taliban] told the villagers, 'If you help the Americans we're going to burn your children,' Payne recounts […] One day during his tour, villagers brought in an 11-year-old boy. Taliban had poured gasoline over his head and had set his little body on fire. In a separate incident, a 4-year-old girl's foot was plunged in boiling water. (Gordts 2013)

Of course, as it emerges as a cliché, there is a plethora of references alike this one: 'meanwhile, insurgents searching for him in 2007 killed his stepbrother instead—by gouging out his eyes with a power drill… "[the Taliban] call me on my personal phone… they said they will cut my head and put it in my [rectum]" ' (Wong 2013). The threat of decapitation is seen across many newspaper articles, as the list of similar descriptions below illustrates:

> [the Taliban] said 'tell him, "One day we will catch you and we will cut off your head", […] "they're going to catch me, they're going to… [p]robably cut my head off, you know? I saw it on YouTube: They got the interpreters and they cut their heads off", 'in a recent interview with the Taliban's official spokesman, Zaibullah Mujahid, I was told that the interpreters will be 'targeted and executed' (Anderson 2014)

- 'folks are still under threat of decapitation…' said Katie Reisner, national policy director for the Iraqi Refugee Assistance Project (Wong 2013);
- Yewazi…was unable to return home: 'I'd be killed and beheaded…' (Bandow 2013);
- The father [of former interpreter Barri] defended his son at the mosque saying the coalition forces were in Afghanistan to improve the country. Two days later, he was executed by the Taliban (Leithead 2013).

The threat would sound melodramatic if it were not supported by a proliferation of YouTube videos of public executions, freely uploaded by Taliban insurgents. As it is, the Western world is well aware that the Taliban usually carries out its threats in very literal terms. The reiteration of these threats in newspaper articles is a chilling reminder of the brutality of this group but serves to further sharpen the prejudice against the Middle East as a whole, where we *know* (because we have seen) that such horrific events are allowed to happen and the general public is powerless to stop them.

Indeed, even authority figures in Middle Eastern societies are depicted as either impotent—'the Afghan police and security forces would not only be unlikely to be able to protect [the interpreters], given their own spiralling casualty rate, but may also target them, in view of their vulnerability and the high levels of corruption in the country' (Maniar 2013)—or as untrustworthy and unpredictable: 'there was another US Marine officer who was on a patrol, and an Afghan National Army (ANA) officer was looking at him in a very bad way. I heard that he was going to try to shoot the American because he really didn't like him' (Anderson 2014).

Furthermore, Courter's admission that he 'asked our terp if he had toys as he grew up. Expected him to say he had as his family lived in a better part of Kabul… I was shocked to find he never had any toys as a child either' (2008: 281) evokes a world where even those considered to be privileged must live a life with a certain amount of deprivation—a frightening alternative to the privileges enjoyed by the wealthy in the Western world. This is echoed by Abrams, veteran of Iraq, deployed with the 3rd Infantry Division: 'Hussein's family is quite poor even though they are considered middle class here in Baghdad… they… did not even own a TV until last year and when at last they got one you would have thought it was a national holiday' (2013: 116–117). 'The classic orientalist myth of the primitive but happy native' (Little 2008: 25) is one that the Western world is, of course, familiar with and which is, in itself, harmless, but which must at all costs be kept at a safe distance and within clearly defined geographical parameters if it is not to impinge directly on the West. The fact that Afghanistan is described as 'a deviously opaque and complex tribal society' (Editors 2013) is a further source of concern to the West, given that tribalism seems emblematic of an archaic society.

Building on these (already formidable) sources of threat and fear is the fact that the Iraqi and Afghan interpreters are not exempt from the suspicions and fear of terrorism which prompted Western involvement in the Middle East in the first place. This is a frequently cited concern in reports on the Special Immigrant Visa (SIV) process (in the USA) to offer asylum for former interpreters: 'some express concern that U.S. sympathies for the asylum seekers… could inadvertently facilitate the entry of terrorists' (Bandow 2013), 'we screen all our local nationals living and working in the FOB [Forward Operating Base] however, you

can never know what's in their mind' (Drummond 2007); or alternatively, the situation is described in even cruder terms, according to Kirk W. Johnson, founder of the LIST project, charity for Iraqi asylum seekers in the USA: 'nobody wants their signatures on the next hijacker's visa' (cited in Gordts 2013), 'caution is understandable: officials are surely worried that a visa will turn up in the hands of a terrorist' (Editors 2013). This policy of assuming guilt until innocence can be proven has led to the implementation of draconian restrictions on army bases: 'cellular phones, e-mail, satellite TV, computers, video game consoles, CD players, cameras, the weight room, and even the swimming pool are all off limits… they are not allowed to take food to-go… some commanders take their interpreters' national ID cards so they can't leave the base without permission' (Levinson 2006). Whilst the interpreters are not being denied basic human requirements (food and water, for example), the activities that they are banned from do amount to 'the luxuries that make life on a US military base tolerable' (ibid.). It is notable that Levinson, although critical of the harshness of the policy, admits that 'it is, of course, a valid concern in a struggle against a faceless insurgency in which every Iraqi is a potential enemy' (ibid.)—therefore defending the army against charges that it may be going too far in its desire to protect itself. The interpreters, quite literally caught in the crossfire between acceptance and suspicion, are at a disadvantage both with their compatriots and the invading military forces: 'they are considered traitors by their fellow countrymen and potential enemy spies by their US employers' (ibid.).

Some scholars have argued that to not apply this overarching standard to the interpreters would be to blur the lines between 'friend' and 'foe', which in conflict is usually denoted by nationality/ethnic affiliation: Baker notes, for example, that 'the "other", the enemy, has to be narrated as radically different from ourselves if the violence of war is to be justified… the enemy is evil, threatening, dangerously out of control and intransigent. *It represents the opposite of everything we stand for*' (Baker 2010: 198, my emphasis). The late Chris Kyle provides a further perspective in his autobiography: 'savage, despicable evil. That's what we were fighting in Iraq. That's why a lot of people, myself included, called the enemy "savages". There really was no other way to describe what we

encountered there' (Kyle et al. 2012: n.p.). With these demarcations in mind, it is unsurprising that the media is quick to point out the risks in allowing native-speaker interpreters to be treated like Western soldiers.

As recently as 1996 (notably, prior to the advent of 9/11 and subsequent media polemic), Huntington was suggesting that the differences are accentuated by *religion*; that 'Islam has bloody borders' (Huntington 1996: 35). Although Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations* (from which these quotes are taken) has been widely criticized for its inflammatory and largely erroneous content, his statement that 'it is clearly in the interest of the West… to limit the expansion of the military strength of… Islamic states' (1996: 48) continues to appear relevant to the West in light of the increased terrorist threats and attacks of the 2000s and the current climate of uncertainty with regard to the Islamic State militants. Huntington suggests that without extreme Western control, the consequences of allowing Islamic states in the Middle East to proliferate will be disastrous, because the combination of Islamic and Middle Eastern is a volatile one. This is a laughably extreme caricature but one which still retains credence in the Western world because, as above, it has been easy to uphold 'stereotypes that Muslims were… congenitally predisposed to commit acts of terror like flying airliners into skyscrapers' (Little 2008: xii), however minimally this reflects the genuine reality of Islam.

Not only this, but Huntington also insists that 'Islamic culture' wholeheartedly rejects Western cultural cornerstones, so that these elements are characterized as not only foreign to the East, but foreign to Islam also. Indeed, many in the West have internalized a predominantly negative, threatening, and reactionary image of the Islamic faith:

> a transnational study of Western perceptions of Muslims asked respondents to identify terms associated with Islam… 'terrorists' (39 percent) figured prominently. Terms such as 'pro-democracy' (5 percent), 'pro-American' (5 percent) and 'pro-modern' (6 percent) were rarely associated with Islam or Muslims (Yalonis 2005). (cited in Stewart 2013: 4)

Huntington states that 'Western ideas of individualism, liberalism, constitutionalism, human rights, equality, liberty, the rule of law, democ-

racy, free markets, the separation of church and state, often have little resonance in Islamic… cultures' (1996: 40). Since these are all the elements which contribute to making Western societies peaceful and prosperous, the reader has no choice but to accept Huntington's assessment of the East, and Islam, as a threatening and impenetrable behemoth. Huntington is building on a long tradition of fear-mongering and polemical discourse regarding the East which can be traced back through Richard Burton in the 1800s to the very earliest Western glimpses into the Middle East through *The Arabian Nights*. Indeed, Said notes that 'Islam [has come] to symbolise terror, devastation, the demonic, hordes of hated barbarians' (Said 2014: 59), and that even the Prophet Mohammed has been perceived as 'the epitome of lechery, debauchery, sodomy and a whole battery of assorted treacheries' (ibid.: 62).

Having thus outlined the fundaments of the 'savagery' myth as it has been applied to the Middle East as a whole, let us now examine how this historical fear has impinged on how the armed forces narrate their native speakers. Sergeant First Class Gregory L Strong's admission that 'we called the interpreter Big Paws because he was big for an Afghan… When we would go out he would look around like a dog sniffing the wind' (cited in Spiller 2013: 59) is particularly salient in this context: the use of 'paws' serves to support the tacit assumption that the inhabitants of the East are not only 'not like us', but vastly inferior—indeed, more like animals than humans. Bates notes that one of Walker's particularly valuable skills was being able to '*sniff out* when suspects were lying or had fake ID's when they were *rounded up*' (Bates 2014: my emphasis), evoking a sheepdog and flock of sheep. Moreover, the image of 'a squad of Iraqi police traveling [sic] on a US military flight sleeps on rocks in a fenced-in *pen, guarded* by US soldiers' (Levinson 2006: my emphasis) is unmistakeably reminiscent of a *wild* animal, not a domestic one—the reader is not permitted to make the mistake of assuming that Iraqis are innocuous creatures, given that it is far easier to apply the concept of savage to a frightening wild creature than it is to a household pet.

The following article by Drummond infers that, like a very young child, mentally deficient individual or, indeed, animal, interpreters are not even capable of the most basic care of the human body: 'Garcia said some Iraqis squatted on the rims of unfamiliar American-style toilets or

had used showers as toilets, forcing private contractors who maintain the facilities to clean up after them'. The illations continue, 'another soldier at the administrative hub who declined to give his name or rank cited conflicts over hygiene habits. "*We can't accept* people washing their feet where I brush my teeth", he said' (Drummond 2007: my emphasis). These perceived lapses in personal hygiene are likely not only to incite the reader's disgust but to reaffirm his own position as vastly superior to these inhabitants of the Middle East who leave such chaos in their wake. The reader's disgust, moreover, is compounded by the knowledge that the interpreters' difficulties were caused by 'unfamiliar *Western-style* toilets'—that is to say, cultural disparity is seen to create a mess, literally.

With hindsight, however, the above descriptions of an interpreter as either an animal or very underdeveloped human are, in fact, more dignified portrayals than some of the alternatives below. The depiction of interpreters as machinery is not usually explicit, with the exception of that provided by the military historian embedded in Afghanistan with coalition forces in 2004, Bruning who describes 'Rogers and his interpreter, a 300 pound monster named Josef' (Bruning [a military historian who was embedded in Afghanistan with coalition forces in 2004] 2006: 209, my emphasis) and Campbell's 'the army translator, a large, fit Iraqi known only as 'Monster" (Campbell 2009: 90). This kind of phraseology cannot possibly create an impression of humanity, given that 'monsters' are the antithesis of all that humanity represents, and are intrinsically threatening and frightening. This nicknaming is symptomatic of a wider tendency to strip the interpreters of the fundaments of what makes them human, most usually by refusing to acknowledge their names: 'an interpreter named Izzy, whose name was not really Izzy' (Finkel 2010: 79). Their birth dates or ages also remain sketchy: '[Izzy] had no idea even when he was born, he said… birth dates were nothing more than a way for the government to divide the population for military service' (Finkel 2010: 167). Bellavia goes even further, not only nicknaming his interpreter but also calling their *gender* into question, without resolution, so the resulting characterization is consistently androgynous and ambiguous: 'I call our terp "the Enigma"—nobody can figure out what gender he/she is… some have sworn that they've seen him/her pissing standing up in the latrine. Others swear he/she is a woman. Money has been

wagered and the bet is still riding' (Bellavia 2012: page unknown). Whilst it might be suggested that naming the interpreters is not always advisable due to the continuing threat of insurgent attack, even bearing this in mind, Finkel comes across as dismissive, accepting that his interpreter has another name but making no effort to learn or even acknowledge it.

In other cases, the interpreter is collated with vital equipment, with the result that a sense of uniformity is created, that is, it is assumed that 'interpreter' belongs to the same semantic field as, for example, 'tank'. The following are pertinent examples: 'everyone [else] grabbed all the interpreters there were' (Hoffman [U.S. Colonel] 2010: 123), ' "who will ever work for the British army in a war zone if they know that later they will be tossed aside like a spent cartridge?" asks Adam Lebor ["Harry's Place" contributor/journalist]' (Clark 2007), 'his interpreter was killed and his sport utility vehicle flipped over' (Chandrasekaran [national editor of the Washington Post] 2009: n.p.), 'Hafez was our lead interpreter and… our best warning system' (Meyer [U.S. Marines veteran of Afghanistan] 2012: 49), 'using translators and loudspeakers, a group of paratroopers warned away the mob' (West 2005: 12), 'we headed back to the Dam to pick up 25 hot tray breakfasts for the platoon and a translator named Todd' (Wojtecki [Corporal Matthew, served in Iraq with the Marines] 2010: 130), we would just get bombarded with complaints about mail, food, water, being able to take showers and needing translators' (Clay 2007: 125). This quote by Clay is particularly notable—the interpreter is indiscriminately mixed with food, water, and personal hygiene products, thereby relegating the interpreter to *something* which is necessary to *maintain* life, but not some*one*, alive in their own right. The interpreters are conceptually of use, but only insofar as a flak jacket or rifle is also useful in a conflict zone—their involvement as humans is largely ignored. This is encapsulated in Ashcroft's quote 'if our principal was kidnapped a shot of Sammy might turn out to be useful' (Ashcroft and Thurlow 2010: 98), which relegates Sammy to a potential bargaining tool, there to be exploited if necessary.

Fontan, a Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies who has previously lived and worked in Iraq, echoes this by emphasizing the singularity of 'a soldier being kind and respectful to his Iraqi translator by allowing her to eat with him and his crew inside his tank instead of leaving her to stand in the blasting sun while he eats' (2009: 12). Affording the Iraqi transla-

tor something which really is a basic human right reflects on the soldier as kindness and respectfulness, a *privilege* for the interpreter, rather than simple adherence to normal standards. This, in turn, suggests that normal standards of human rights do not apply to native-speaker interpreters/Afghans and Iraqis in general, and thus leads the reader to question whether these individuals are human at all. Whilst the situation may be improved, the onus is on the army to enable the transition from machinery to human. Wong's statement from interpreter Connor that 'when I worked as a translator, I felt I was human' (Wong 2013) forces the reader to conclude that Connor did not feel human *until* he was working for the American armed forces—Connor's life pre-involvement with the Western armed forces is consequently denigrated as practically meaningless, certainly less valuable.

There is another facet to 'savagery', that is, to behave in a way which is basically inhuman. A particularly pertinent quote in this context is 'when the Kuwaiti interpreters came, they seemed far more interested in watching the Iraqis in their defeat than in offering any help processing them' (Kenderian [Iraqi-born US citizen who became a US POW after being forcibly conscripted into Saddam Hussein's army] 2007: 206), given its twin suggestion both of professional incompetence and schadenfreude. The Iraqi interpreter Faris offers a telling example 'the Arab interpreters turn to the Iraqi soldiers and swear at them for the most trivial reasons, and threaten them with sticks, too' (2009: 140), especially considering the primitive nature of the sticks being used as weapons. Indeed, Katz narrates Arab reactions as extremely dramatic, violent, and physical: 'one of the times I remember an Iraqi house… the female she started calling me a disloyal blahblahblah… Leaving the house, she came right behind me, she had a knife with her. She wanted to stab me' (Katz 2009).

It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, with the combination of the ubiquitous fear of the terrorist threat, the sense that the East, or Islam, and the West are, in all walks of life, polar opposites, and the proliferation of derogatory stereotypes about the inhabitants of the Middle East that call even their status as humans into question, that not only the military, but even the interpreters themselves, buy into implications that Iraq and Afghanistan are essentially complicit in their own destruction because 'Iraqis "had the seed of destruction in us all along" ' (Bates

2014). Savagery is irredeemable, precluding any optimism about the future of either country: 'the US is leaving Afghanistan, as it must. No one knows what the future holds for Afghans, but the past offers little optimism' (Bandow 2013). Others continue with a similar tone: 'I feel here in my country, I can't do anything, just wait', he said. "The more patience, that means the more dead" ' (Wong 2013), 'this country is the worst country in the world. I'm afraid of that day when NATO and the US forces leave Afghanistan. It means we are done' (Anderson 2014: n.p.). There is a sense of constant tension, even real hatred, not only between representatives of East and West, but between Eastern compatriots too: 'George wrapped up our meet and greet by blandly informing me that he hated all Iraqi people, apparently seeing no contradiction between his hatred for Iraqis and the fact that he himself was one of them' (Campbell 2009: 117). The investigative reporter Smith, who spent more time in Iraq than any other Western journalist between 2005 and 2011, recounts that 'I asked [the interpreter] why the foreigners' good intention amounted to so little, in his opinion. "Because they're idiots", he said' (2013: n.p.).

Hopes of anything better than violence, insurgency, and conflict are seen as futile: 'still, he has *high hopes* for his native country. "My hopes for my native country are to become a prosperous and developed country… (that) the different ethnic groups get along and live in peace, to have a decent economy and a well trained and equipped army and police force", he said. *Even with these hopes, Afghanistan's future looks uncertain*' (Moore 2012: 'The Afghan Interpreter, an Unsung Hero', my emphasis). Concepts such as economic stability and good governance, which are standard expectations of a Western society, amount to high, and probably unattainable, hopes in the Middle East. In fact, being at all hopeful about the future of the Middle East, as a member of that society, is viewed as naive.

Concluding Remarks

At the time of writing, the Western world is once again facing a severe terrorist threat in the form of the Islamic State insurgents (ISIS/ISIL) who, over the course of Summer 2014, have been gradually gaining influence

and territory in Iraq and Syria. The USA has begun airstrikes (September 2014) and Britain looks set to follow suit: 'Cameron said he hasn't "ruled out" British airstrikes. "We very much support the actions the Americans and others have taken…"' (NBC News 2014) and eventually the vote in favour of British airstrikes went through in December 2015. The current situation means that the memories of the West's initial involvement in the Middle East as part of the war on terror, in the early 2000s, are particularly resonant and that it would be an opportune moment for the Western armed forces to revise their relationship with native-speaker interpreters.

The synoptic overview given from an extract of the broader corpus used for this study seems to reflect on the current struggle of the Western world's ability to reconcile with cultural difference. This creates a breeding ground for the perpetuation of clichés, whereby any attempt to dismantle them or suggest that interpreters are being unfairly represented meets with massive resistance in the form of the sheer volume of quotes that coalesce with each other to suggest otherwise. It may be, therefore, that even in their first encounters with interpreters, the army is not assuming a neutral position, rather, a negative preconception of the role they themselves will be expected to play and that their interpreters will fulfil. None of the clichés above suggests that interpreters will be, on the one hand, competent and helpful, nor, on the other, welcomed and accepted.

This overwhelmingly negative style of narration is prejudicing not only the interpreters but also the army themselves, because it is likely to prevent the army from getting the most out of their interpreters. Whilst it would be naive to hope that a change in narrative style will substantially change matters, given that negative Middle Eastern stereotypes are, as has been demonstrated earlier in this chapter, centuries-old and endemic in many media, if the armed forces and the media can take each individual interpreter on merit, the armed forces will no doubt find that they are benefitting from the presence of these individuals. Giving public credence to excellent linguists is only recognizing the reason behind their employment in the first place. The army admitting this would be a step on the road to a more truthful, nuanced, and charitable narration of native-speaker interpreters working in war zones.

References

Abrams, David. 2013. *Fobbit*. London: Harvill Secker (Random House).

Al-Jazeera News Network. 2013. Britain to offers visas to Afghan interpreters. Available at http://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2013/05/201352245622558159.html. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Anderson, Ben. 2012. *No worse enemy: The inside story of the chaotic struggle for Afghanistan*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.

Anderson, Ben. 2014. "How can you be a Muslim? You work with Americans": An excerpt from "The Interpreters". Available at https://news.vice.com/article/the-interpreters-part-i-afghanistan. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Ashcroft, James, and Clifford Thurlow. 2010. *Making a killing: The explosive story of a hired gun in Iraq*. London: Virgin Books.

Baker, Mona. 2010. Interpreters and translators in the war zone: Narrated and narrators. *The Translator* 16(2): 197–222.

Bandow, Doug. 2013. Endangered wartime interpreters: The U.S. should protect those who protect us. Available at http://www.forbes.com/sites/dougbandow/2013/02/25/endangered-wartime-interpreters-the-u-s-should-protect-those-who-protect-us/.. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Bates, Daniel. 2014. Death-defying Iraqi adopted by the SEALs: Elite interpreter who formed a bond with elite soldiers and started new life in the US with help of comrades including Chris Kyle. Available at http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2552004/Johnny-Walker-book-The-death-defying-Iraqi-interpreter-went-missions-Navy-SEAL-Iraq-started-new-life-US-help-thankful-comrades-including-deadliest-sniper-Chris-Kyle.html. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Bellavia, David. 2012. *House to house: An epic memoir of war*. New York/London/Toronto/Sydney: Free Press.

Beattie MC, Doug. 2008. *An ordinary soldier: Afghanistan*. London: Simon and Schuster.

British Broadcasting Corporation. 2013. Afghan interpreters to get right to live in the UK. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-22620207. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Bruning, John R. 2006. *The Devil's sandbox: With the 2nd Battalion, 162nd Infantry at war in Iraq*. Minnesota: Zenith Press.

Bulut, Aley. 2011. Emergency and disaster interpreting in Turkey: From past into future. *Symposium on community interpreting in Turkey,* March, *5–7, 2011.* Bogazici University, Istanbul.

Butt, Riazat. 2011. Khan's kitchen: The difficult life of an interpreter for the British military. Available at http://www.theguardian.com/news/blog/2011/aug/30/khan-kitchen-difficult-life-afghan-interpreter-british-military. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Buzzell, Colby. 2006. *My war: Killing time in Iraq*. London: Doubleday.

Campbell, Donovan. 2009. *Joker one: A marine platoon's story of courage, leadership and brotherhood*. New York: Random House.

Chandrasekaran, Rajiv. 2009. *Imperial life in the Emerald City: Inside Baghdad's green zone*. London: Bloomsbury.

Clay, Steven E. 2007. *Iroquois Warriors in Iraq*. Fort Leavenworth, KA: Combat Studies Institute Press.

Clark, Neil. 2007. Keep these quislings out. Available at http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2007/aug/10/keepthesequislingsout. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Courter, Jeff. 2008. *Afghan journal: A soldier's year in Afghanistan*. North Charleston: Createspace.

Currier Burden, Matthew. 2006. *The blog of war: Front-line dispatches from soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Drummond, Mike. 2007. At U.S. base, Iraqis must use separate latrine. Available at http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article18135.htm. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Dyer, Morris Maurice Antoine. 2010. *Insight: My experience during the Iraq urban conflict*. Pennsylvania: Red Lead Press.

'Editors' 2013. Afghan interpreters deserve visas. Available at http://www.bloombergview.com/articles/2013-12-30/get-afghan-interpreters-out-of-the-taliban-s-sights. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Faris, Amer. 2009. *Red flags: Memoir of an Iraqi conscript trapped between enemy lines in the 2003 invasion of Iraq*. North Carolina: McFarland and Company.

Farmer, Ben 2013. Afghan interpreters begin High Court battle for asylum in Britain. Available at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/10033598/Afghan-interpreters-begin-High-Court-battle-for-asylum-in-Britain.html. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Fick, Nathaniel C. 2006. *One Bullet Away: The Making of a Marine Officer*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Finkel, David. 2010. *The good soldiers*. New York: Sarah Crichton Books, Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Fontan, Victoria. 2009. *Voices from post-Saddam Iraq: Living with terrorism, insurgency, and new forms of tyranny*. Westport, CO and London: Praeger Security International.

Friedman, Brandon. 2007. *The war I always wanted: The illusion of glory and the reality of war*. St Paul: Zenith Press.
Gallagher, Matt. 2011. *Kaboom.* London and Toronto: Bantam Press.
Gezari, Vanessa M. 2013. *The tender soldier: A true story of war and sacrifice*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
Gordts, Eline. 2013. 'America's Afghan and Iraqi interpreters risk lives but wait years in danger for visa. *Huffngton Post*. Available at http://www.huffington-post.com/2013/06/23/afghan-iraq-interpreters-siv_n_3481555.html. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
Hennessey, Patrick. 2012. *Kandak: Fighting with Afghans*. London: Penguin Group.
Heritage Organisation. 2014a. Afghanistan: Economic freedom score. Available at http://www.heritage.org/index/pdf/2014/countries/afghanistan.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
Heritage Organisation. 2014b. Iraq: Economic freedom score. Available at http://www.heritage.org/index/pdf/2014/countries/iraq.pdf. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
Hoffman, Jon T. 2010. *The tip of the spear: U.S. Army small unit action in Iraq, 2004–2007.* Washington, DC: CMH Pub 70-113-1, Pap.
Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon and Schuster Paperbacks.
Inghilleri, Moira. 2010. "You don't make war without knowing why": The decision to interpret in Iraq. *The Translator* 16(2): 175–196.
Jameel, Issam. 2011. *Iraq through a bullet hole: A civilian wikileaks*. Ann Arbor: Modern History Press.
Katz, Louis. 2009. Iraqi interpreters. Available at http://warnewsradio.org/read-more/iraqi-interpreters/. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
Klay, Phil. 2014. *Redeployment*. Edinburgh: Canongate Books Ltd.
Kenderian, Shant. 2007. *1001 nights in Iraq: The shocking story of an American forced to fight for Saddam against the country he loves*. New York: Atria Books.
Kyle, Chris, Scott McEwen, and Jim DeFelice. 2012. *American sniper: The autobiography of the most lethal sniper in U.S. military history*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
Leithead, Alistair. 2013. Afghan interpreter left in limbo after fleeing Taliban. Available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-22794066. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.
Levinson, Charles. 2006. Iraq's "terps" face suspicion from both sides. Available at http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0417/p01s01-woiq.html. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Little, Douglas. 2008. *American orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Maniar, Aisha. 2013. Should Britain offer asylum to Afghan interpreters who served its forces? Available at http://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/aisha-maniar/should-britain-offer-asylum-to-afghan-interpreters-who-served-its-forces. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Meyer, Dakota, and Bing West. 2012. *Into the fire: A firsthand account of the most extraordinary battle in the Afghan war*. New York: Random House.

Mills, Dan. 2008. *Sniper one: The blistering true story of a British battle group under siege*. London: Penguin.

Moore, David. 2012. The Afghan interpreter, an unsung hero. Available at http://www.veteransunited.com/network/the-afghan-interpreter-an-unsung-hero/. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Nation Master. 2014. Labor: Unemployment rate. Countries compared. Available at http://www.nationmaster.com/country-info/stats/Labor/Unemployment-rate. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

NBC News. 2014. Britain's David Cameron on ISIS: "These people want to kill us". Available at http://www.nbcnews.com/storyline/isis-terror/britains-david-cameron-isis-these-people-want-kill-us-n209706. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Patrick, Ein. 2003. Reconstructing Afghanistan: Lessons for post-war Iraq?. Available at http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/reconstructing-afghanistan-lessons-post-war-iraq. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Press Association. 2008. British general's interpreter in Afghanistan jailed for spying. Available at http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2008/nov/28/military-afghanistan. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Ryan, Kyla. 2015. Left behind: The Afghan translators who served with the U.S. military. Available at http://thediplomat.com/2015/01/left-behind-translators-the-afghans-who-served-with-the-u-s-military/. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Said, Edward W. 2014. *Orientalism. 25th anniversary edition with a new preface by the author*. New York: Random House.

Shaheen, Jack. 2003. Reel bad Arabs: How Hollywood vilifies a people. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 588: 171–193.

Shaheen, Jack. 2012. *Reel bad Arabs: How Hollywood vilifies a people*. Updated edition. Northampton: Interlink Publishing.

Smith, Graeme. 2013. *The dogs are eating them now: Our war in Afghanistan*. Mississauga: Alfred A. Knopf.

Spiller, Harry. 2013. *Veterans of Iraq and Afghanistan: Personal accounts of 22 Americans who served*. North Carolina: McFarland and Co.

Stewart, Dona J. 2013. *The Middle East today: Political, geographical and cultural perspectives*. Oxford: Routledge.

Sultan, Christopher. 2013. A question of morality: Germany's Afghan staff fear reprisals. Available at: http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/afghan-employees-of-german-military-face-threats-from-taliban-a-894494-2.html. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Trading Economics. 2014. Iraq unemployment rate. Available at: http://www.tradingeconomics.com/iraq/unemployment-rate. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Tripp, Elise Forbes. 2008. *Surviving Iraq: Soldiers' stories*. Massachusetts: Olive Branch Press.

Van Dyk, Jere. 2010. *Captive: My time as a prisoner of the Taliban*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Vice News. 2014. The Afghan interpreters. Available at: https://news.vice.com/video/the-afghan-interpreters-full-length.. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

West, Bing. 2005. *No true glory: Fallujah and the struggle in Iraq: A frontline account*. New York: Bantam Dell (Random House).

Wiss, Captain Ray. 2010. *A line in the sand: Canadians at war in Kandahar*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.

Wojtecki, Matthew D. Corporal. 2010. *Every other four: The journal of Cpl. Matthew D. Wojtecki, Weapons Company 3rd Battalion 25th Marines, Mobile Assault Team Eight*. Bloomington: AuthorHouse.

Wong, Kristina. 2013. Iraqi interpreters feel frightened and "fooled" as U.S. visa programme ends. Available at: http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/sep/26/iraqi-interpreters-feel-frightened-and-fooled-as-u/?page=1. Accessed 19 Oct 2015.

Wright, Evan. 2004/2011. *Generation kill*. London: Bantam Press.

Index

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

F.M. Federici (ed.), *Mediating Emergencies and Conflicts*,
DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-55351-5