

INTERPRETING IN REFUGEE CONTEXTS IN SPAIN. AN OUTSTANDING ISSUE.

Abstract

Interpreting in refugee contexts (IRC) has long been invisible to Western societies and Interpreting Studies. This paper aims at describing the background and features of IRC, and presents a small- scale qualitative study, whose main objectives are: exploring interpreters' perception regarding competences and role, and exploring refugees' perception regarding the quality of the interpreting service. For this purpose, a focus group and unstructured interviews were conducted in Spain. Data were analysed through comparative analysis and coding procedures. Results show interpreters' dissatisfaction with their working conditions and refugees' experience with interpretation seems to be negative and frustrating. Further research in this area is needed in order to raise awareness of communication and integration difficulties of refugees.

Key words

Interpreting, refugees, role, perception, dissatisfaction

INTERPRETING IN REFUGEE CONTEXTS. A DESCRIPTIVE AND QUALITATIVE STUDY

Amparo Jiménez Ivars

Universitat Jaume I

Ruth León Pinilla

Universidad Europea de Valencia

1. Introduction

“Ohne Dolmetscher geht gar nichts. Null” (Hassan Bouryouss, 2015).

“Poor interpreters put asylum seekers at risk” (Stanners, 2012). So ran the headline of *The Copenhagen Post* September 11, 2012, highlighting the situation of police interpreting. It was a comment on a report published by the Department of Business Communication at the University of Aarhus about the low level of training required by the Danish national police interpreters (*Rigspolitiet*) who also interpreted for the Immigration Department (*Udlændinge*) and the Refugees Appeal Tribunal. This situation could be extrapolated to most countries to a greater or lesser extent.

Within the migratory movements probably the most unknown group -at least until the massive influx of Syrian refugees to Europe that began in the summer 2015- and perhaps one of the most affected by language barriers is that of refugees (Berry, 1990). Interpreting in refugee contexts has for a long time been invisible not only to Western societies but also to Interpreting Studies. However, to highlight its importance suffice it to say interpreting for refugees often becomes a matter of life and death. It is essential to bear in mind that in order to obtain the status of refugee asylum seekers must base their request in the story of their personal experiences in a personal interview. From this story immigration officials will decide if an applicant’s request for asylum is accepted or rejected, that is to say that the applicants have the burden of proving that they are eligible for asylum. Therefore, interpreting asylum- seekers’ stories effectively is pivotal to the resolution of their application since authorities must decide if their life is truly at risk in the country of origin or not (Fenton, 2004). This paper aims at presenting a small-scale qualitative study focused on the situation in Spain regarding self-perceptions of role and competences of interpreters working in refugee contexts, on the one hand, and refugee service users’ perception of interpreting quality on the other hand. The paper also features an overview of the concept of refugee and interpreting in refugee contexts.

2. Refugees' depiction

2.1. Definition

The refugee definition as contained in the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, also known as the 1951 Refugee Convention, states that a refugee is someone who “owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.” An asylum-seeker is someone who has applied for refugee status but whose claim has not yet been definitively evaluated. However, for the sake of brevity, hereinafter the word refugee will be used to refer to both asylum-seekers and statutory refugees.

2.2. A Different Type of Migrant

Forced migration. As can be inferred from the 1951 Convention definition, refugees differ from other immigrant groups in that other groups have usually made a positive choice to migrate and change their country of residence (Tribe & Morrissey, 2003: 198-199). The latter have generally been able to plan the move systematically over time. In contrast, refugees usually have to flee at short notice for fear of their lives and often to unknown destinations. They lack national protection and status. This circumstance “sets them apart from the ordinary alien since refugees find themselves without any country’s diplomatic protection” (Read, 1962: 49). They fall into the category of forced migration which is defined by the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration as:

A general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects (IASFM, 2016).

According to the European Union quota system refugees do not have the right to choose a particular country within the EU (European Commission, Sept. 22, 2015). Finally, eligibility for refugee status is determined by the relationship of the refugee to events (Weis, 1954) and not by country.

Traumatic experiences. In a high number of cases, refugees or their family members have suffered some form of violence in their pre-flight experiences. Often they have escaped all sort of brutalities (Patel, 2002: 325). In some cases, their children have even been taken away (The Independent, April 2016) or suffered severe physical or psychological after-effects (Fazel & Stein, 2003; Thomas, Nafees & Bhugra, 2004). Frequently, their flight turned into an ordeal, sometimes a long-lasting one

with fatal outcomes regarding family members. As a result, many of them suffer post-traumatic stress disorder or develop a major depression after arrival (Burnett & Peel, 2001; Silove *et al.*, 2000; Tribe & Morrisey (2003); Warfa & Bhui, 2003 cited by Williams, 2005: 38). Williams, however, (*ibid*: 38) stresses the danger that refugees and mental illness be conflated, “as if migration, especially forced migration, necessarily results in mental health difficulties”.

Mistrust. It comes as no surprise that, after all their prior torments, refugees may be reluctant to trust official bodies and agents with whom they come into contact, especially those in uniform (Daniel & Knudsen, 1995; Summerfield, 2002 cited in Williams, 2005:38). An interview may reproduce past experiences of maltreatment or neglect by persons in authority (Phillips, 2013). They may show a “survival oriented mistrust” (Muecke, 1992). This might even affect interpreters if they are suspected to be fellow country persons from a different political or ethnical side. At the same time, refugees might not be trusted or treated sympathetically by statutory agencies based on a culture of disbelief and denial – the so-called “bogus” asylum-seekers (Souter, 2011).

Feelings of alienation and disempowerment. Furthermore, they might also suffer a cultural shock as they find themselves incorporated into an alien bureaucratic system (Williams, 2005:42) that can become very complex during the asylum-seeking process. Quite often, they are either unaware or misinformed about their legal rights and, typically, cannot afford legal support. Apart from having to grapple with the aforementioned traumas and hardships they had to go through, displaced people must also cope with the stress of building a life in a new country with little or no support (ALSINTL, 2012) and they have to do it from a position of disempowerment marked by many absences (Patel, 2002). They are unfamiliar with the different organisations and procedures, local geography, and culturally defined behaviours (Williams, 2005). They may not have a social network to rely on, suffer discrimination on ethnic or religious grounds, experience a lack of security, job, money, and even decent housing (MacFarlane *et al.*, 2009). More often than not refugees live in constant fear of being repatriated or ending up destitute and homeless (expelled from refugee shelters).

Communication problems. To cap it all, allophone refugees are not able to communicate with the receiving society (without an interpreter) leading to serious communication difficulties when interpreting services are not available or adequate. This situation can prevent them from accessing fundamental services.

Overall, they make up a most vulnerable group, however heterogeneous it

might be, showing a “diversity in language, culture, political or religious affiliations, political histories, experiences of persecution and political violence, and social class” (Patel, 2003: 220). They face an uncertain future having experienced multiple losses among which the loss of “one’s voice, in one’s own language” (Williams, 2005; Fatahi, Nordholm, Mattsson, & Hellström, 2010) and the ability to understand people around them stands out. This situation creates a crippling invisible language barrier that can only be overcome, at the early stages, by the presence of effective interpreting.

3. Interpreting in Refugee Contexts

3.1. The right to an interpreter

The 1951 Refugee Convention, signed by around 150 of the world’s 200 or so states, provides that applicants for refugee status must meet the aforementioned criteria: to be outside the country of origin and to suffer a well-founded fear of persecution on grounds of race, religion, nationality, member of a particular social group, or political opinion. In order to establish whether a claimant meets these criteria an official interview takes place. When the applicant does not speak the language of the country, states must comply with the responsibility of translating for asylum applicants implying therein the right to interpretation. It is the responsibility of the interviewer to listen carefully to the applicant's case, to ask questions and assess whether or not they meet the legal criteria (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' Guidelines for interpreters). Article 33 of the refugee convention prohibits states from expelling (*refouler*) a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where their life or freedom would be threatened. Khan (2013: 96) suggests that if interpreters are not provided or their competences are substandard *refoulement* actually takes place. According to the same author (2013: 95) «significant fundamental human rights such as the right to life and liberty will be infringed if refugees are erroneously returned to their country of origin [...] states are guilty of violating *non-refoulement* by not following fair administrative procedures». As has been mentioned above, asylum cases are not about guilt or punishment but often about life or death (Stanners, 2012); on these grounds, it became a legally binding fundamental right in 2009 under article 18 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. Most countries provide free interpreting within the judicial system, including during the asylum-seeking process. Interpreting is essential to assist in this process by providing a reliable channel for communication. As Alban (2010) remarked this is not just a migration issue, it contributes to consolidate fundamental rights and the rule of law.

By extension of this logic, other fundamental human rights could be indirectly infringed if refugees are denied access to health or housing due to lack of effective communication by means of an interpreter or translator. Williams (2005) quotes a number of commentators who stress that providing effective interpreting services is crucial for this group (Adams *et al.*, 2005; Burnett & Peel, 2001a, 2001b; Tribe, 2002; Las Heras, 2010). The judicial and police setting, although decisive for the asylum seekers' future, isn't the only one at stake. Being able to interact with the health and social services and the host community at large is also critical especially during the adjustment period leading to the resettlement.

Many refugees may have trouble adjusting to the shift in perspective that is often required in order to live in a new culture. Customs, speech and behaviour might be very different from those of the refugee's home country. If there is no one to interpret what the refugee is seeing and hearing, it may become difficult for a displaced person to meet even their most basic needs (Accredited language, 2012).

In a large number of countries there is no free interpreting service provided by the administration for health and social settings giving rise to communication problems that may lead to isolation and social exclusion. Allophones can hardly access the same resources as the rest of citizens since they cannot usually afford interpreting services and service providers are hampered in an attempt to provide them with good services (Williams, 2005: 389).

3.2. Background research

Despite the fact that interpreting for refugees, from a comprehensive approach (León-Pinilla, 2015), is not a prominent topic within the Interpreting Studies community, a relatively high number of researchers has indeed addressed this field. However, as happened with the development of conference interpreting research (Gile, 1994: 149) the first publications were anecdotal and impressionistic. According to Pöllabauer (2006a: 23) «they all provide (more or less critical) accounts of the role of interpreters and are not very – or not at all – ‘academic’». Gradually, studies became more rigorous and provided empirical data although not enough to portray its characteristics rigorously. Studies revolve around two main settings: asylum procedures and health.

Asylum procedures. Asylum hearings and procedures have captured attention not only from the field of Interpreting Studies, but also from Communication Studies, Sociolinguistics or Sociology (Pöchhacker & Kolb, 2009b). It is, by far, the most developed area of research within the framework of legal interpreting (Kolb & Pöchhacker, 2008). Khan's article *Interpreting for Refugees: Where practicable and*

necessary only? (2013) could be thought to adhere to a comprehensive perspective but it is solely focused on asylum hearings. So does Pöllabauer's work -probably the most prolific researcher in the area focusing on role issues and communication difficulties- (Pöllabauer, 2003a 2003b; 2004; 2005; 2008; Pöllabauer & Schumacher, 2004; Pöllabauer & Schumacher, 2004; Krainz, Pinter & Pöllabauer, 2006). Other studies are focused on specific aspects within interpreting in asylum procedures such as: children as interpreters (Keselman *et al.*, 2008; Keselman, Cederborg, Lamb & Dahlström, 2008; Keselman, 2009; Keselman *et al.*, 2010; Keselman, Cederborg, Lamb & Dahlström, 2010), interpreter's roles (Merlini, 2009; Barsky, 1993; 1994; 1996; 2000; 2012; Fenton, 1997, 2004; Pöchhacker & Kolb, 2008; 2009); norms and ideology (Inghilleri, 2005), discourse analysis (Maryns & Blommaert, 2001; Maryns, 2006); sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2009); interpreters' stress management (Holmgren, Søndergaard & Elklit, 2003); terminology (Hebenstreit, Pöllabauer & Soukup-Unterweger, 2009), and institutional issues (Lee, 2013). Many a researcher comes from the German speaking world, particularly from Austria: Waltraud Kolb, Franz Pöchhacker, Sonja Pöllabauer, Martina Rienzner encourage final projects and master dissertations within the Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz and the Universität Wien (See Maurer-Kober, 2004; Stroh, 2007; Dahlvik, 2009; Gorn, 2010; Schulz, 2011 among others).

Healthcare settings. These studies focus on interpreting for refugees in health settings in general (Riddick, 1998; Jones & Gill, 1998a; Jones & Gill, 1998b; Youdelman & Perkins, 2002; Bischoff *et al.*, 2003; Bischoff & Loutan, 2004; Bischoff & Hudelson, 2010; Phillips, 2013) and particularly on mental health and psychotherapy for refugees (Tribe, 1999; Tribe & Raval, 2002; Patel, 2002; Tribe & Morrisay, 2003; d'Ardenne, Farmer, Ruaro, & Priebe, 2007; Miller, Martell, Pazdirek, Caruth & Lopez, 2005; Miller & Rasco, 2004; Paone & Malott, 2008; Bhugra, Craig & Bhui, 2010; O'Hara & Akinsulure-Smith, 2011; Carswell, Blackburn, & Barker, 2011; Raval & Tribe, 2014), their children and families (Björn & Björn, 2004; Björn, 2005; Rousseau, Measham & Moro 2011) since they often have multiple needs and experiences of trauma that can complicate the provision of services (Dubus, 2015). Most works focus on role issues regarding the interpreter. It is worth mentioning a study on refugees themselves acting as interpreters within health settings (Williams, 2004).

Other issues and approaches. Other aspects also addressed are: professionalization (Sande, 1998; Musser-Granski & Carrillo, 1997), training (Mikkelsen & Solow, 2002; Straker & Watts, 2003; Lai & Mulayin, 2010), service providers: how to work with interpreters for clinicians conducting psychotherapy (O'Hara & Akinsulure-Smith, 2011) and providers' view of interpreters Hsieh (2006, 2010) or influence of interpreting on refugees' well-being (León-Pinilla, 2015).

3.3. Expanding the context

Few authors refer to interpreting for refugees taking into account a variety of contexts (Biot, 2013; Crezee, Jülich & Hayward, 2013; Crezee, Hayward & Jülich, 2011). The real fact is that when working with refugees, interpreters find themselves in reception centres, asylum and immigration offices, courts, police stations, health including psychotherapy, youth and family centres in doctors' practices, hospitals, schools, NGO premises, social services offices, banks, shelters, negotiating with landlords, job interviews, etc. This varied range of settings requires versatile interpreters as Biot points out:

Each setting can be further subdivided. Working for the NHS, for instance, can involve different departments in a hospital, including accident and emergency, physiotherapy and maternity. Working in all or some of these settings and sub-settings requires an interpreter to have adequate knowledge of various specialised terms (Biot, 2013: 8).

Johnson (2011) also mentions the diversity involved:

When these particular language groups go to interact with UN agencies, with NGOs that are existing in Cairo to provide services to refugees, with medical services, [...] with issues with their landlord [...], school [...] that is where you find interpreting playing a role (Johnson, 2011).

Due to the idiosyncrasy of these groups, refugees' health and social care services require comprehensive and skilful communication (Burnett & Peel, 2001 cited in MacFarlane *et al.*, 2009). However, literature regarding contexts other than health and asylum is almost non-existent. Yohani (2013) presents a rare study referring to interpreting within the educational environment and Whiteman (2005) analyses teachers' needs for the integration of refugee pupils, and the most important among them was interpreting services.

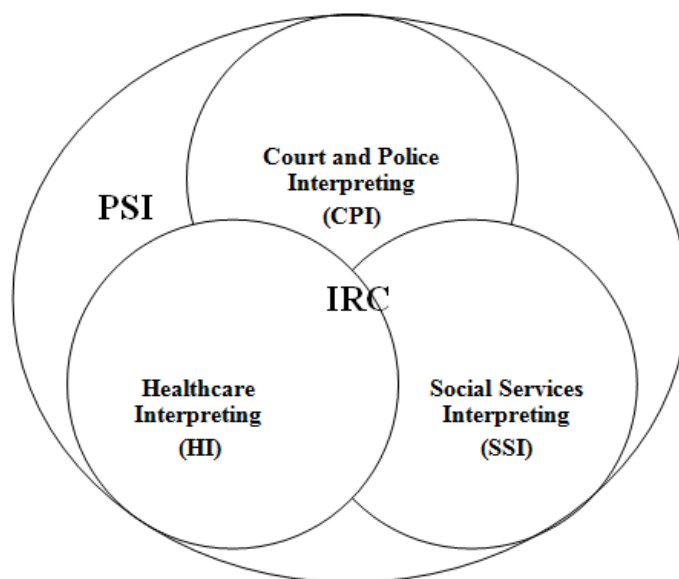
Interpreting in refugee contexts. The needs of refugees go beyond health and asylum, consequently interpretation takes place in any setting in one form or another (Tribe & Morrisay, 2003; MacFarlane *et al.*, 2009; Sernaker & Stocks, 2015). Hence, the need to coin a term that encompasses the different contexts and issues involved in this area (León-Pinilla, 2015). Interpreting for refugees should be seen as a category of its own, based upon the specificity of the service user in any setting where mediated communication between the refugee and the recipient community (public

services like the judiciary, police, health, welfare, media, banks, etc.) takes place. So far, it has been referred to as “interpreting in refugee contexts” (Crezee, Jülich & Hayward, 2011), changed later in 2013 by the same authors to «interpreting in refugee settings”, “refugee interpreting” (Sande, 1998), and also “interpreting in asylum settings”. Denominations used to refer to “settings where they interact with the host government authorities responsible for the granting of rights (asylum and protection) and resources (counselling and medical support)” (Pöchhacker, 2015: 23). From a comprehensive approach that subsumes the diverse settings, the term proposed here, as in León-Pinilla (2015), is interpreting in refugee contexts (IRC) following Crezee and colleagues’ proposal (2011) within the broader framework of public service interpreting. We believe that naming an overlooked phenomenon makes it visible for the academic arena, for the stakeholders (refugees, interpreters and service providers) and, hopefully, for society in general. Ultimately, increasing awareness could contribute to improving the situation of the refugees.

Contextualizing IRC. Contrary to IRC, public service interpreting has been a subject of widespread study for several decades. It has been defined as enabling “people who are not fluent speakers of the official language(s) of the country to communicate with the providers of public services so as to facilitate full and equal access to legal, health, education, government, and social services” (Carr, Roberts, Dufour & Stey, 1995). Abril (2006) includes migrants (political, social or economic), tourists and deaf persons in this group. According to this definition, IRC clearly belongs to the PSI context since it shares the same settings (police, judiciary, health, administration, social, educational, etc.) and a large number of features of the participants: ordinary people who need to interact with the institutions to achieve some social or health benefit.

The figure below shows the interaction between IRC and PSI:

Figure 1. Interpreting in Refugee Contexts within Public Service Interpreting



For the purpose of this study IRC's description will be approached from the participants' parameter following Alexieva's typology (1997) and Pöchhacker's dimensions of interpreting (2004). According to Alexieva (*ibid*) mastery of languages, involvement, status, role, and number of participants are vital for the interaction dynamics. Participants are positioned in a series of scales or continuums: distance vs. proximity, involvement vs. non-involvement, inequality vs. equality, formal vs. informal settings and shared vs. conflicting goals. Later on, Pöchhacker (2011: 114) emphasized the idea of continuums: equal status vs. individuality or representation status. Pöchhacker's dimensions applied to interpreting in refugee contexts yield the following: 1) Medium: human -on site or via telephone. 2) Settings: courts, police stations, reception centres, medical settings, schools, social services offices, NGO's offices and premises. These settings can be subsumed in three: a) Judicial, police and asylum; b) Health; c) Social services. 3) Techniques: Consecutive, *chuchotage*, sight translation. 4) Languages: Spoken different registers and jargon or signed. 5) Different types of discourse: Dialogue or monologue according to the setting and goal. 6) Participants: Refugees and service providers. 7) Interpreters: *Ad-hoc*, semi-professional, self-trained professionals and trained professionals. 8) Problems. Pöchhacker's last dimension seems to be a catchall category for issues that belong to the rest of dimensions since most problems can enter one or other dimension. Problems like a broad diversified even highly technical terminology, regional language varieties or the use of a poorly mastered language on the part of the service users belong to the language dimension. Within the interpreters' dimension we may find: lack of linguistic or cultural competence, lack of interpreting quality, lack of professionalism (for example, overstepping the

interpreters' role or breaching confidentiality), dealing with stressful situations such as interacting with distrustful, frightened and confused people and/or with hostile or aloof service providers, discussing embarrassing or shameful issues or retelling heart breaking stories. As to the participants' problems, they may arise from: emergency or highly charged situations like mistrust, fear, lack of cooperation, nervousness or even altered psychological states. These conditions affect the rest of the participants. Service providers may also cause problems by showing disrespect or lack of interest either towards refugees or interpreters. Unfulfilled role expectations bestowed on the interpreter might be a problem resulting from different role perceptions on either side.

Organization dimension. An additional dimension could be included for the sake of enhancing the description of IRC: the organization of interpreting services. When not properly attended the following situations might come up: no interpreting at all, lack of quality standards when employing interpreters, demanding and poor working conditions like time pressure, lack of previous information, lack of debriefings, low (often very low) pay and low status. Within this dimension, there is one last issue affecting the whole process and that is lack of consequences for mistranslations; this puts interpreters in a very powerful position regarding refugee status decisions (Kirst, 2015). The "problem" dimension has been comprised by other. Now, we are going to focus on one of the issues referring to the participants: that is their perception of the interpreter's role.

4. Role and Expectations Regarding the Interpreter

Interpreters in refugee contexts are considered linguistic and cultural bridges who work in a variety of scenarios. Often, but not always, they are or have been refugees themselves (Williams, 2005: 37; Phillips, 2013; Sernaker & Stocks, 2015). They do not act the same in every receiving society due to a number of reasons among which the degree of professionalization is of paramount importance (Fatahi *et al.*, 2010). Furthermore, the question of which skills and roles interpreters must have is far from clear (Fenton, 2004:1). Hwa-Froelich & Westby (2003: 80–2, cited in Fenton, 2004) propose a continuum from neutral to active; at the neutral end of the range, interpreters “merely pass messages back and forth”, while at the active end, they negotiate between two cultures and establish ties of trust and respect. The various participants in the interaction may have different expectations as will be presented next.

4.1. Providers’ expectations

In general, service providers and officials prefer interpreters to be a neutral conduit and are not expected to add personal information as if conveyed by the provider (Hsieh, 2010). In extreme cases they are seen as invisible entities, “just voice machines” with no personhood attached, a view that does not allow for respect towards their work (Molle, 2012:70). When interpreters have to assert control over information, providers expect them to be transparent about it and inform them of any deviation of their conduit model (MacFarlane *et al.*, 2009). Overstepping expertise is also a critical issue (Hsieh, 2010) as well as any hint of threat that might challenge the providers’ primary position in favour of the interpreter’s (Hsieh & Hong, 2010). Service providers are not always aware of the difficulties interpreters sometimes have when interpreting for refugees and place time constraints on them, not allowing for the necessary rapport building (Valero, 2006). Curiously enough, service providers may also hold interpreters accountable for their clients’ behaviour; they rely on interpreters to provide emotional support if necessary (Hsieh & Hong, 2010) or to make the user stay focused (MacFarlane *et al.*, 2009) or to know whether the refugee is telling the truth. These expectations are not consistent with the pursued neutrality principle. Other providers or institutions consider interpreters part of a team (Granger & Baker, 2002; Hwa-Froelich & Westby, 2003; Hsieh, 2006) showing a much more dynamic and cooperative way of working that, ultimately, may result in a more efficient and satisfactory service.

4.2. Refugees' expectations

From refugees' perspective personal trust regarding interpreters is a major issue (Burnet & Peel, 2001; Tribe & Morrissey, 2003; Hwa-Froelich & Westby, 2003; Williams, 2005; Fatahi *et al.*, 2010; Phillips, 2013) even more relevant than linguistic or professional competence (Alexander, Temple & Edwards, 2004). Some cultures value ongoing relationships with interpreters (Williams, 2005) since service users need the connection with the interpreter to feel comfortable. Interpreters tend to be regarded as advocates by the refugees because they share a culture and a language and maybe politics (Tribe & Morrissey, 2003). Hassan Bouryouss (2015), an untrained professional refugee interpreter living in Germany, defines his job as deaconship in the religious sense or social welfare work. It is not unusual to hear that interpreters are often called at home to solve any kind of issue (Loutan, Farinelli & Pampallona, 1999; Fenton, 2004; Bouryouss, 2015); in order to prevent it some of them do not wish to reveal their name to clients (Fenton, 2004). Professionalism is generally found to be less of an issue than the perceived trustworthiness of interpreters. Appreciation of interpreters' competence is strongly associated with their proactive capacity and, ultimately, with assessment of results. Interpreters are often blamed when users receive bad news through them (Fenton, 2004; Fatahi *et al.*, 2010). They are assumed to have the power to affect the decision of the service provider. There are also differences in the perception of formal and informal interpreting.

User perception of interpreters. We shall now present the perception of both formal and informal interpreters according to service users, interpreters and scholars.

Informal untrained unpaid interpreters. The number of refugees helped by interpreters who fall under the category of lay interpreters with no formal training or pay (relatives, friends or volunteers) is probably larger than those assisted by official agencies (Tribe & Morrissey, 2003: 212), a fact that could probably be applied to every country.

Positive side. Despite the fact that untrained informal interpreters may not be accurate or neutral in their renderings (Flores, 2005; Karliner, Jacobs, Hm Chen, & Mutha, 2007 cited in MacFarlane *et al.*, 2009) they are considered genuinely concerned about their clients well-being (Rosenberg, Seller & Leanza, 2008) and to make conscious efforts to resolve conflicts and facilitate interactions (Hsie, 2006). Users prefer informal arrangements with friends or relatives because of confidentiality issues, support in consultations and the opportunity for shared understanding of advice and instruction after the consultation (Greenhalgh *et al.*, 2006; Rhodes, Nocon, & Wright, 2003 cited in MacFarlane *et al.*, 2009). Some nationalities prefer informal interpreters because of a lack of trust in the official system (Greenhalgh *et al.*, 2006). Refugees feel

volunteer interpreters of their same nationality are more oriented to community and integration roles than professional interpreters who are considered agents of the system (Rosenberg, Seller & Leanza, 2008). Tribe & Morrisey (2002: 212) point out the enormous amount of exceptional quiet work carried out by refugee community groups who assist service users with very little support.

Negative side. Studies carried out so far show several weaknesses in using informal interpreters. MacFarlane *et al.* (2009) note that accuracy of interpretation involving lay interpreters is of low standard as shown by research (Flores, 2005; Karliner, Jacobs, Hm Chen, & Mutha, 2007). The former cite Ebden, Bhatt, Carey & Harrison (1988) who indicate that some sensitive issues are left unexplored or understated because of discomfort on the part of the informal interpreters since they are friends or relatives. Additionally, there are cases reported in which the interpreter asks for further information or even asks for favours after the assignment out of a cultural patron-client relationship (Kirst, 2015). Some studies suggest that refugees would like to have access to professional, trained interpreters for the technical side of communication in order to improve chances for accurate information (MacFarlane *et al.*, 2009). Finally, these authors pose that the much valued trust principle, a major argument in favour of informal interpreters, is a dynamic concept that may change because of breaches of trust in small communities.

Trained professional interpreters. Mostly in police, legal and health settings.

Positive side. Their linguistic competence in both languages is usually superior to that of informal interpreters. They are well acquainted with the culture and proceedings of the host country. Their interpreting skills allow for complete and accurate renditions. They usually seek information and prepare terminology before assignments so that they are highly reliable. They know how to manage and monitor conversations and the correct seating arrangements. Trained professionals have a clearer perception of their role and do not feel so much pressure over results. They can solve problems in a more systematic way expressing a wish to adhere to neutrality, confidentiality, and accuracy in compliance with their Code of Ethics. Finally, professionals who are or have been refugees themselves act as positive role models (Saxthorp & Christiansen, 1991) representing a future successfully resettled refugee (Phillips, 2013).

Negative side. Although codes insist on neutrality, professionally trained interpreters often tend to side with providers when conflicts arise (Bolden, 2000; Cambridge, 1999 cited in Hsieh, 2006) and feel obliged to fulfil their expectations (Molle, 2012). Often, they only see a person once so it is difficult to build rapport and refugees do not trust them at the beginning. They are not trusted if they are of a different

political persuasion or belong to a different ethnic or religious group. Interpreters are sometimes called upon nationality instead of language giving rise to communication problems when a different language or dialect is spoken¹. A final remark on neutrality: professional interpreters do not or cannot always stick to it (Kaufert & Putsch, 1997; Angelleli, 2004); some authors consider neutrality or invisibility either impossible (Davidson, 2000: 401; Patel, 2002: 222) or not even desirable (Barsky, 1996).

As has been shown in the review, a considerable number of theoretical and empirical studies have been carried out in refugee-recipient countries. Despite Spain being a recipient country, hardly any research in the area of refugees in general has taken place other than a number of medical papers on specific ailments like Brik, Colmenero, Benedicto, Martinez, & Sancho (1988) and on psychosocial issues like Jubany-Baucells (2002). The area of interpreting in refugee contexts is even more neglected with the exception of a doctoral thesis (León-Pinilla, 2015), an article (León Pinilla, Jordà Mathiasen & Prado-Gascó, 2016), and first-hand accounts and reflections by Las Heras (2010, 2011, 2012). As discussed above, the issues of role perception, competences and quality are key to understanding the situation of IRC. Since data and research remain scarce and incipient on this issue in Spain, this paper seeks to share the findings of a qualitative study, which is part of a broader study (León-Pinilla, 2015) focusing on the situation of interpretation in refugee contexts and well-being.

5. Field Study

5.1. Objectives

The two main objectives were focused separately on interpreters and refugee users of interpreting services.

1. Exploring interpreters' perception regarding competences and role when working in refugee contexts.
2. Exploring refugees' perception regarding the quality of the interpreting service they receive.

¹ Blommaert (2009) presents a deep insight into this issue when analyzing with discourse analysis tools and within a wider anthropological framework a case study of a rejection of refugee status on grounds of language because the applicant did not master the official language of his country of origin.

5.2. Interpreters

5.2.1. Method

We present here results that were part of a previous broader study on the situation of Interpreting in Refugee Contexts in Spain (León-Pinilla, 2015), where the agents involved in the asylum process (service providers, institution managers and interpreters) were surveyed.

Procedure. The technique applied was to conduct and record unstructured interviews (in Spanish) with four paid interpreters working in refugee contexts in various Spanish cities. Interesting responses that fulfilled objective 1 were also obtained in a focus group meeting with service users and interpreters. A descriptive qualitative analysis based on free text was carried out after the interviews and the meeting were transcribed.

Participants. Only a small sample could be accessed because the Spanish Ministry of the Interior protects their interpreters on security grounds. Therefore, researchers could only contact interpreters based in Spain through Non-Governmental Organizations and an Interpreting Agency. Interviews were carried out face-to-face or via telephone. The participants were the following:

I1: Trained male interpreter with a university degree and a postgraduate diploma as a translator that included 30 hours training in simultaneous interpreting. Employed by an agency as an interpreter with a substandard salary. Three-month experience with refugees working about 15 hours a week. A statutory stateless refugee himself. Mother tongue Arabic.

I2: Trained male national professional with a degree in Translation and Interpreting working under standard rates and conditions in a wide variety of settings for more than 10 years. Mother tongue Spanish.

I3: Untrained female professional interpreter with plenty of informal experience (a natural interpreter since childhood). University degree in Modern Languages (but not trained in Interpreting) and working professionally for different agencies under both standard and substandard conditions and rates for five years. Mother tongue Turkish.

I4: Untrained male interpreter with a university degree in Modern Languages (but not trained in Interpreting) employed by the Red Cross as a cultural mediator and translator with a standard salary. One year of professional experience with 5 years' previous informal experience. Mother tongues Berber and Arabic.

Additional interpreters from the Focus Group (Focus Group Interpreter).

FGI 1: Untrained national female interpreter employed by a Regional Official Department

working in a Refugee Reception Centre as a staff facilitator with interpreting tasks. Mother tongue: Spanish.

FGI 2: Untrained male interpreter working for NGO's. Statutory refugee. Mother tongue: Lingala.

Instrument. A number of items from a questionnaire (Léon-Pinilla, 2015) was orally presented to the participants. During the interviews, the interpreters had the opportunity to develop their answers and had time to speak out freely; in quite a few cases, there was no direct answer or no answer at all. Some answers prompted other questions not previously planned and the pre-established order was often altered.

Table 1. Interview guide for interpreters

| Sociodemographic Questions: |
|--|
| Mother tongue |
| Nationality |
| Education |
| Years of residence in the country |
| Experience as an interpreter |
| Type of job: employer, conditions, etc. |
| Questions related to interpreting: |
| -Did you have any formal training as an interpreter? |
| -If the answer is negative, how did you begin to interpret? |
| -What comes to your mind when you hear the word interpreter? |
| -Which competences should an interpreter in a refugee context have? |
| -Is this context any different from others? |
| -What do you do if demeaning comments or insults come up? |
| -Do your clients ever ask for your advice or opinion? If so, what do you do? |
| -Have you ever felt compelled to help a refugee while interpreting? |
| -Do you think the interpretation has an influence in the outcome of the asylum petition? |
| -What do service providers and asylum seekers think the role of the interpreter is? |
| -What do you think the role of the interpreter is? |
| -Do you convey everything even if it is long or do you summarize? |
| -Do you use the first or the third person when interpreting? |

Analysis. Data were analysed through open content coding in a process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data. Responses were grouped in a main theme that subsumed categories, subcategories and codes bringing together recurrent ideas, concepts or themes (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

5.2.2. Results

The analysis of the interviews resulted in two themes based on different categories (Tables 3 and 4). Table 2 shows the interpreters who featured them. Subcategories and codes are presented in tables 3 and 4.

Table 2. Identification of interpreters' responses

| Categories | Competences Skills | Role | Norms | Pay | Debriefing |
|--------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| Subcategory | Languages | Neutrality | Confidentiality | Varied fees | Meeting with colleagues |
| Interpreters | I1, I2, I3, I4 | I1, I2, I3, I4 | I1, I2 | I1, I2, I3 | I2, I3 |
| Focus Group | I2 | | | | |
| Subcategory | Biculturalism | Proactivity | Third person | | |
| Interpreters | I1, I2, I3, I4 | I1, I2 | I1, I2, I3 | | |
| Focus Group | | I1 | | | |
| Subcategory | Translation | | Summarizing | | |
| Interpreters | I2, I3 | | I1, I2 | | |
| Subcategory | Empathy | | | | |
| Interpreters | I1, I2, I3 | | | | |
| Subcategory | Stress | | | | |
| Interpreters | I2, I3 | | | | |

Table 3. Theme: Interpreters' Competences and Role.

| THEME | | Interpreter's competences and role | |
|-------------|--|---|-----------------------------------|
| Categories | Competences/skills | Role | Norms |
| Subcategory | Languages | Neutrality | Confidentiality |
| Codes | <i>Lack of language level Solving language problems Regional varieties Importance of terminology</i> | <i>Not giving advice Making it clear when forced to give opinions. Rendering exactly what the other person said</i> | <i>Keeping everything secret</i> |
| Subcategory | Biculturalism | Proactivity | Third person |
| Codes | <i>Making sense of refugees' stories Gestures</i> | <i>Breaking codes Adding Explaining Human not machine</i> | <i>Avoiding misunderstandings</i> |
| Subcategory | Translation | | Summarizing |
| Codes | <i>Knowing languages is not enough Knowing how to translate a message Training</i> | | <i>Cannot remember everything</i> |
| Subcategory | Empathy | | |
| Codes | <i>Patience Identification with the refugee Leaving out insults Respecting the refugee Non-verbal moral support if</i> | | |
| Subcategory | Stress | | |
| Codes | <i>Highly emotional context Being attacked Negative feelings</i> | | |

Category Competences and/or skills.

Subcategory: Languages

Comments on codes. All interpreters (I1, I2, I3, and I4) agreed that language competence is an important asset for an interpreter. I2 and I3 complained about the proliferation of untrained poor interpreters with low language levels. However, I4 did consider that being able to communicate with somebody in a common language is enough to interpret for a newly arrived asylum-seeker, the level of competence in the country's official language is not so important. Along these lines, for I1 "It all boils down to language and terminology. You learn 500-1000 specific words and that's it". I2 mentioned difficulties understanding regional varieties. Agencies should be more aware of the difficulties in understanding the different dialects and interpreters should be "assigned by country rather than language".

Subcategory: Biculturalism

Comments on codes. All interpreters mentioned the importance of knowing the culture of the region their clients come from in order to make sense of their stories and prevent serious consequences due to misunderstandings. All agreed that they sometimes clarify some issues because all too often both sides take things for granted. I1 said that he only does it whenever he is "one hundred percent sure about what he is going to clarify or explain, like political or historical background". However, he also points out that occasionally he can only "translate words" when he is not familiar with a particular culture and cannot really grasp the underlying meaning.

Subcategory: Translation

Comments on codes. I3 highlighted that languages are not enough to facilitate communication. "You have to know how to transmit a message". She considers herself a fully-fledged professional interpreter because "I have been doing it all my life first at home in Britain and later professionally in both countries". I2 mentioned that not all interpreters can have previous formal training but they should receive in-house training courses to become professional interpreters.

Subcategory: Empathy

Comments on codes. Empathy turned out to be a relevant topic. I3 focused her discourse around this issue. As far as she is concerned it is one of the most important features an interpreter can have, along with patience. This is the reason why she is prepared to interpret for asylum seekers even when she is underpaid. Not interpreting insults or pejorative comments was also an area of commonality among the rest of interpreters. I3 pointed out that refugees are in a very vulnerable position, having often gone through horrors and she feels the need to spare them further

unnecessary suffering. Therefore, she skips contemptuous and/or irrelevant messages. I1 informs the recipient of the impropriety without expressing it unless they are requested to do so. I2 considers that omitting offenses is pure common sense. Furthermore, he works for an agency with a protocol that prevents them from interpreting affronts; the protocol states that interpreters should inform of the insult without voicing the expression. The same interpreter explained that the worst moments arise when they have to communicate negative outcomes and the applicant “goes to pieces”. Sometimes they are commanded by the officers to “comfort the applicant”. He brings to the fore how difficult it is to just stick to the code and express a bold refusal. “We are all human and it is impossible to remain aloof when you are physically with a devastated fellow human being”. Finally, I3 informed that she is prepared to work for substandard fees out of personal commitment.

Subcategory: Stress

Comment on codes. Due to having to interpret brutal stories, cold or hostile ways of questioning and negative outcomes, interpreting this context was considered by I2 and I3 a very stressful task that needed emotional debriefing among peers. I3 had very negative feelings and bad memories regarding interactions with officials showing disrespect for refugees.

Category Role.

Subcategory: Neutrality

Comments on codes. Despite most of them were untrained interpreters they expressed an allegiance to not speaking on behalf of any of the participants. They do not believe it is their job to solve conflicts or to restore the balance of powers. Interpreters do not see themselves as part of the decision-making process. They are also not prepared to give advice or opinion even when commanded and suggest participants to ask questions themselves instead (I1, I2, I3, and I4). “I do not offer my opinion when I am asked although sometimes I would like to” (I1). Interestingly enough, I3 even regretted being “too neutral” on one occasion by not taking the initiative and telling the officials that the applicant’s understanding of the interpreter’s language was not enough for the interview to take place. On another occasion officials exerted coercion to extract information from Focus Group I2 about the applicant. Even though he had no training in interpreting or experience he felt it was not part of his job; he wished to remain neutral but, as a refugee himself, he felt disempowered by the authority. I4 said that he and his colleagues translate everything even if they are asked not to do so.

Subcategory: Proactivity

Comments on codes. Despite most participants declared their allegiance to

neutrality, Focus Group I1 indicated that sometimes refugees do not tell their story according to Western patterns (Blommaert, 2001; Maryins & Blommaert, 2006), but, rather, they tend to focus on apparently irrelevant issues while omitting crucial information they take for granted. She mentioned people fleeing war-torn countries who sometimes just say they left the country because “there is nothing to eat and no life there”. In such cases, Focus Group I1 felt the need to add this piece of supplementary unsolicited information: “because there is a long-lasting armed conflict in my country” in order to give this person a chance of receiving a fair hearing. I1 said that he adds background information when he knows that without it communication will not take place. I1 is also proactive when attending a newcomer in asylum interviews. He explains the procedure himself in order to save time and because it is more convenient. He considers it best for everybody. I2 justified the necessity to explain cultural differences in “the same manner that a translator would have to explain it in a footnote”. I2 added “cultural codes have to be broken for the sake of communication and the only one who can do it is the one who is familiar with the other culture. That is the difference between a human interpreter and machine translation” (I2). The same interpreter said that sometimes he asks for clarification when the participants are referring to a previous conversation he does not know about and they may be having an aside conversation. Finally, he explained that occasionally interviews have to be terminated on his own request when the service user’s command of the language is not adequate.

Subcategory: Expanding the role

Comments on codes. Cultural mediation

I4 made it clear that do not give advice or answer questions despite having a wider role as an NGO employee. They plan and prepare appointments with other service providers and try to act as professional and neutral as possible.

Category Norms.

Subcategory: Confidentiality

Comments on codes. Only I1 and I2 mentioned this highly professional issue. I1 stated that “you have to keep confidentiality no matter the type of client”. I2 even went so far as to say that sometimes confidentiality turns into overprotection with possible

detrimental effects: “I need to know the topic they are talking about otherwise I cannot use grammar properly”. He emphasized the high degree of confidentiality offered by telephone interpreting.

Subcategory: Third person

Comments on codes. All interpreters except I2 stated that they always use the third person to safeguard neutrality. This contrasts with professional standards, however. I2 said that in his agency the third person is only used in telephone interpreting in order to avoid confusions.

Subcategory: Summarizing

Comments on codes. Since most interpreters in the study were not trained in interpreting they are not familiar with note-taking, so exchanges are very short. I2 does not use them either in telephone interpreting. Whenever confronted with a longer piece of discourse they “summarize it because I cannot remember everything” (I1) or “ask the person to stop speaking” (I4).

Another theme not directly related to the interpreters’ themselves cropped up and can be included in the organization dimension proposed above.

Table 3. Theme professional organization

| THEME | Organization | |
|-------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| | Category | Debriefing |
| Subcategory | Pay | Meeting with colleagues |
| Codes | Varied fees | Substandard fees |

Category Pay

Although none of the questions touched upon this subject, it was one of the first topics that was brought up by most participants.

Subcategory: Varied fees

Comments on codes. It became apparent that fees vary considerably from substandard wages, as explained by I1 and I3, to standard wages represented by I2. Staff facilitators that devote an important part of their daily routine to interpreting did not mention this issue. I3 works for different agencies and she feels satisfied with some of them regarding pay and conditions, she praises “working with a team of professional interpreters, conducting meetings for emotional debriefings, decent wages, etc.” Nevertheless, out of a personal commitment to helping refugees she is still prepared to work for agencies practising wage dumping.

Category Debriefing

Subcategory: Meeting with colleagues

Comments on codes. I2 and I3 talked about the fact that they often identify with clients and are affected by abuses of their clients and the system. They said they would like to be debriefed especially after difficult assignments or at least on a regular basis. They said they work with severely traumatised or tortured people and that takes a toll on them. They mentioned an employer that provided opportunities for colleague debriefing. I3 complained about employers who do their best to avoid interpreters meeting each other, so they feel it is a lonely job and miss opportunities to debrief with colleagues.

5.3. Interpreting users: Refugees

5.3.1. Method

Procedure. Five interviews with refugees (R1, R2, R3, R4, and R5) and a focus group composed of three refugee service users were conducted. The interviewer posed three general open questions to trigger debate (objective 2) and moderated the discussion, which was transcribed later on in order to conduct a descriptive qualitative analysis based on free text.

Participants. Five asylum-seekers from different Middle East and African countries (four males and female-labelled refugees 1 to 5) interviewed at NGO's offices in different cities. The focus group and the individual interview revolved around the specific objective of the study regarding the quality of interpreting perceived by refugee service users. Age is approximate.

R1: Christian Syrian female with a university degree. 25-30 years old.

R2: Kurdish Syrian man with a university degree. 20-25 years old.

R3: Male from the Democratic Republic of Congo with a university degree. Journalist and writer. 35-45 years old.

R4: Male from Cameroon. Heavy equipment technician. 30-35 years old.

R5: Male from Mali with Secondary Education Diploma. Forced to flee his country he could not continue his studies. 18-20 years old.

Focus group:

FG1: Male from the Democratic Republic of Congo with a university degree. 35-45 years old.

FG2: Male from the Ivory Coast with a university degree. 30-40 years old.

FG3: Male from Guinea with a Secondary Education Diploma. 20-30 years old.

Instrument. The interview and focus group guide consisted of three simple questions for service users of interpretation.

Table 5. Unstructured questions for interpreting service users.

| |
|--|
| -Do you have any experience with interpreters here? |
| -Do you know if they were professional interpreters? |
| -What is your experience with interpreters like? |

Analysis. The same type of qualitative analysis technique as in the interpreters’ study was conducted.

5.3.2. Results

In this case, the theme revolved around a generalized poor perception of interpreting. The next table presents responses as featured by refugees.

Table 6. Identification of responses given by refugees

| THEME Poor perception of interpreting quality | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| Categories | No interpretation | Poor interpretation | Role | Interpreters’ qualifications |
| Subcategory | No interpreters | Low language level | System agents | No qualifications |
| Refugees | R1, R2 | R2, R4 | R1, R2 | FG1, FG2, FG3 |
| Focus Group | | | FG 2 | |
| Subcategory | | Regional varieties | | |
| Refugees | | R1, R2 | | |
| Focus Group | | | | |
| Subcategory | | Biased interpretation | | |
| Refugees | | R1, R2 | | |
| Focus Group | | FG1 | | |
| Subcategory | | Time pressure | | |
| Focus Group | | FG1 | | |

Table 7. Theme, categories, subcategories and codes according to refugees

| THEME Poor perception of interpreting quality | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Categories | No communication | Poor interpretation | Role | Interpreters' qualifications |
| Subcategory | No interpreters | Low language level | System agents | No qualifications |
| | | | <i>Co-responsible for rejections.</i> | <i>Any person can interpret</i> |
| Codes | <i>I cannot understand</i> | <i>Her French was like my Spanish.</i> | <i>Confronting refugees</i> | <i>They should be vetted</i> |
| | | | <i>Interrogated by the police</i> | |
| | | | <i>Allowed to express opinions</i> | |
| Subcategory | | Regional varieties | | |
| Codes | | <i>Misunderstandings</i> | | |
| Subcategory | | Biased | | |
| Codes | | <i>She said what she thought not what I said.</i> | | |
| | | <i>From opposite political positions.</i> | | |
| | | <i>A friend of the abuser (gender violence case).</i> | | |
| Subcategory | | Time pressure | | |
| Codes | | <i>Squeezing a long speech in one or two words</i> | | |

Category No communication.

Subcategory: No interpretation

Comments on codes. It is surprising to realize that in some cases already on arrival refugees find themselves totally bereft of interpretation and being unable to claim asylum at the border. Several refugees also complained about how difficult it is to go to the doctor: “I do not understand what he says” (R2), “I was very surprised to learn that doctors here do not speak English” (R1), “My husband speaks Spanish a little bit but he cannot understand doctors” (R1).

Category Poor interpretation.

Subcategory: Low language level

Comments on codes. Lack of language knowledge is especially resented in the case of Francophone Africans (and presumably Anglophones) when the interpreters assigned do not master any of these languages. R4 complained that “The interpreter’s French was terrible, like my Spanish now”. Although he did not speak Spanish, he could sense that the interpretation was not being effective and his claim was rejected the first time. On an appeal for review, he was granted refugeehood. In his opinion, this was due to a better interpreting service. Focus Group I2 argued that low language level is the only reason interpreting can have negative consequences. He blamed the interpreter’s low language competence for having been denied asylum status when he first arrived. R2 said that after some time in Spain he could manage some basic Spanish, but he did not think it sufficed to speak in court so he asked for an interpreter: “When I heard what she was saying I interrupted her and continued in my broken Spanish since she was changing everything”.

Subcategory: Regional language varieties

Comments on codes. R2 reported complaints from Arabic interpreters speaking different dialects: “It was very difficult”. It was even more serious for R1 who was shocked months later when she read the translation of her story “The interpreter changed everything I said. He was from Morocco and I am from Syria. We had difficulties understanding each other”.

Subcategory: Biased interpretation

Comments on codes. R2 said he could not trust an unknown interpreter from his country because he could not be sure of his political stand “The interpreter might be a political leader with opposite views from mine and that is no interpretation”. FG1 commented on a particular case of gender-based violence in which the interpreter was a friend of the abuser and gave the victim his advice. R1 complained that the interpreter did not translate his words, instead she conveyed what she thought was correct, fully distorting the intended meaning.

Subcategory: Time pressure

Comments on codes. After complaining of the brevity of the interpretation (“Squeezing a long speech in one or two words”), FG1 asked whether interpreters are paid by the hour or by assignment. In his experience as a service-user, he felt interpreters act in haste.

Category Interpreter's role.

Subcategory: Agents of the system

Comments on codes. Refugees consider interpreters “part of the problem” of massive rejections of refugee applications (RI, R2, FG2). The refugees see interpreters as system agents with the same lack of interest in granting asylum. FG3 said that he entered in an argument with an interpreter who did not believe his story claiming, “what you are saying cannot be true because that is not happening in my country”. The applicant told her to check it out on the internet. Officials intervened saying that interpreters are entitled to give their opinions. FG2 recounted that a police officer broke off the interview and interrogated the interpreter instead. The discussion group seem to agree that a high number of claims were rejected because of interpreters.

Category Interpreters' qualifications.

Subcategory: Lack of qualifications

Comments on codes. Participants reported that they knew many other refugees with similar negative experiences. FG1, FG2 concluded that authorities just “pick any person to be an interpreter”. FG3 added that “interpreters should be vetted”.

6. Discussion

Although the studies presented are not meant to generalize but to shed light on a sensitive issue, results are somewhat discouraging. Since interpreters and refugees' experiences recounted here are so intertwined both studies will be discussed together keeping in mind that most results show subjective perceptions and not so much realities.

Interpreters are not happy with their working conditions and refugees' experience with interpretation turns out to be negative and frustrating. Of course, it cannot be implied that this is always the case in Spain but those testimonies are worthy of analysis in order to understand what can go wrong in interpreting in refugee contexts. Different malpractices have been brought to light, from offering very poor or no interpretation at all to encouraging and even demanding interpreters' opinion on the part of the authorities. Some refugees expressed the view that interpreters were an active part of the problem as agent systems who are against asylum granting. However, in the light of results it would be unfair to infer that interpreters consciously work against applicants' interests. But the combination of negative factors like no vetting, lack of the necessary skills, working under time-constraints, being denied by some agencies the opportunity to debrief or meet colleagues, not being granted a clear independent role and low wages do not contribute to a just resolution. Many of the

agencies interpreters work for are outsourced contractors of Ministries and, as a result, qualified, experienced, self-employed interpreters hardly ever work for the administration due the low labour standards imposed by the agencies. Interpreters portray a realistic picture of the situation in Spain composed mainly of underpaid (or voluntary) interpreters working in the public service area (Valero & Raga, 2006; APTIJ, 2014). Not surprisingly, it must also be pointed out that Spain's refugee status rejection rate is one of the highest in the EU –around 70%- according to Eurostat although we cannot venture an opinion here as to why this is so.

The European Union, with some honourable exceptions, is not much more sensitive to this issue. At the peak of the humanitarian Syrian refugee crisis, the agency Frontex demanded from the EU members 30 magistrates and 400 interpreters. Governments offered 33 magistrates but only 22 interpreters (*El País*, April 4, 2016) failing to comply with the refugees' right to an interpreter.

Nevertheless, interpreters in this study show a genuine commitment to provide effective interpreting, breaking cultural codes when necessary and following professional norms such as confidentiality and neutrality. Most participants have also mentioned empathy in an explicit or implicit way despite the view posed by refugees that interpreters do not favour asylum granting. However important these competences might be, they cannot offset lack of language skills or conditions imposed by employers or service providers especially when the latter are police officers.

As the results show, service users are well aware of interpreters' shortcomings and malfunctions and tend to blame them for denial of asylum although, there is no evidence for it. Whether these malfunctions are imposed on the interpreter or not refugees are wise to request some sort of accreditation for interpreters. We shall conclude this section mentioning that, as it usually happens, good experiences with interpreters go almost unnoticed, only one refugee mentioned in passing that he was granted asylum on appeal thanks to a better interpretation

7. Conclusion

Being a refugee is a disempowering experience that can be aggravated by substandard interpretation. Effective interpreting services are needed in all areas so that these groups can access basic public services. In an ideal world, and according to most professional codes, interpreters should only accept work for which they are competent both linguistically and in terms of specialist knowledge or skill. Part of this specialist knowledge is being aware of refugees' idiosyncrasies, struggles and the multiple losses they have endured and, consequently, showing patience and empathy. Authorities

should provide for effective interpreting at all levels and not only during the asylum procedures. Therefore, the importance of the new dimension proposed in this paper: the organizational dimension of interpreting to comply with the state's responsibility of translating for asylum applicants or, as proposed in this paper, interpreting in refugee contexts. When organizational shortcomings are not addressed, the possibilities of being granted refugeehood are dramatically reduced and this is perceived as such by the applicants. The same can be said about this group's well-being and successful integration.

Overall, authorities, more often than not, show a lack of awareness - or no interest at all - in improving refugees' possibilities for communication especially in countries like Spain that rely heavily on *ad hoc* or voluntary interpreters. It is dispiriting to realize the lack of motivation or will to fully apply binding international law by denying refugees the right to effective interpretation for all. In spite of this bleak scenario, we believe that it is still important to bring to the fore the situation of IRC; hence the relevance of coining the term 'interpreting in refugee contexts'. Continuing research in this area can contribute to raising awareness of communication and integration difficulties of refugees for the benefit of those fellow human beings who currently (or eventually might) find themselves under these grim circumstances.

References

- Abril Martí, M. I. (2006). La Interpretación en los Servicios Públicos: Caracterización como género, contextualización y modelos de formación. Hacia unas bases para el diseño curricular. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Granada. Universidad de Granada.
- Alexander, C., Edwards, R. & Temple, B. (2004). *Using interpreters to access services: user views*. London: London South Bank University.
- Alban, K. (2010). La traducción y la interpretación contra la exclusión social: una experiencia personal. La traducción y la interpretación contra la exclusión social. Conference held October 1, 2010, Madrid.
- Alexieva, B. (1997). A typology of interpreter-mediated events. *The Translator*, 3(2), 153-174.
- ALSINTL, Accredited Language Services (2016). Retrieved April 20 2016 from <https://www.alsintl.com/blog/refugees-language-interpretation/>
- Angelelli, C. (2004) *Medical interpreting and cross-cultural communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- APTII. (2014). Asociación Profesional de Traductores e Intérpretes Judiciales y Jurados. Communiqué. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/CZK6xK>
- Barsky, R. F. (1996). The interpreter as intercultural agent in convention refugee hearings. *The Translator*, 2(1), 45-63.
- Becker, R. and Bowles, R (2004). 'Stuck in the Middle. Debriefing for Interpreters.' *Refugee Transitions*. Sydney: FASSTT, 40-42.
- Berry, J. W. (1995). Psychology of Acculturation. *The Culture and Psychology Reader*, 20, 457-491
- Bhugra, D., Craig, T. & Bhui, K. (2010). *Mental health of refugees and asylum seekers*. Oxford University Press.
- Biot, S. H. (2013). Negotiating asylum. *The Linguist*, 52/4 August/September, 23/09/2013-8-9.
- Bischoff, A., Bovier, P. A., Isah, R., Françoise, G., Ariel, E. & Louis, L. (2003). Language barriers between nurses and asylum seekers: their impact on symptom reporting and referral. *Social Science & Medicine*, 57(3), 503-512.
- Bischoff, A. & Hudelson, P. (2010). Access to healthcare interpreter services: where are we and where do we need to go? *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 7(7), 2838-2844.
- Bischoff, A. & Loutan, L. (2004). Interpreting in Swiss hospitals. *Interpreting*, 6(2), 181-204.
- Björn, G. J. (2005). Ethics and interpreting in psychotherapy with refugee children and families. *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry*, 59(6), 516-521. doi: 10.1080/08039480500360740
- Björn, G. J. & Björn, Å. (2004). Ethical aspects when treating traumatized refugee children and their families. *Nordic journal of psychiatry*, 58(3), 193-198.
- Blommaert, J. (2001). Investigating narrative inequality: African asylum seekers' stories in Belgium. *Discourse & Society*, 12(4), 413-449.

- Blommaert, J. (2009). Language, asylum, and the national order. *Current Anthropology*, 50(4), 415-441.
- Bouryouss, H. (2015) Ohne Dolmetscher geht oft gar nichts. *Norddeutsche Rundschau*. 2-5-15
- Brik, E., Colmenero, A., Benedicto, J., Martinez, J., & Sancho, C. (1988). An Analysis of Psychiatric Ailments among Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Spain. In D. Miserez (Ed.), *Refugees – The Trauma of Exile: the Humanitarian Role of Red Cross and Red Crescent* (pp. 179-191). Boston, MA: Martinus Nijhof.
- Burnett, A. & Peel, M. (2001a). Health needs of asylum seekers and refugees. *British Medical Journal*, 322(7285), 544.
- Burnett, A., & Peel, M. (2001b). Asylum seekers and refugees in Britain: Health needs of asylum seekers and refugees. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 322(7285), 544.
- Carr, S., Roberts, R., Dufour, A. & Steyn, D. (1996). The Critical Link: Interpreters in the Community. Papers from the 1st International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health, and Social Service Settings, Geneva Park, Canada, June 1-4, 1995. Amsterdam: Benjamins
- Carswell, K., Blackburn, P. & Barker, C. (2011). The relationship between trauma, post-migration problems and the psychological well-being of refugees and asylum seekers. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 57(2), 107-119.
- Crezee, I., Hayward, M. & Jülich, S. (2011). The complexities of interpreting in refugee contexts: An examination of issues and practice. In A. Arnall & U. Ozolins (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 'Synergise!' Biennial National Conference of the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators* (110-126). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Crezee, I., Jülich, S. & Hayward, M. (2013). Issues for interpreters and professionals working in refugee settings. *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Professional Practice*, 8(3)
- d'Ardenne, P., Farmer, E., Ruaro, L. & Priebe, S. (2007). Not lost in translation: Protocols for interpreting trauma-focused CBT. *Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy*, 35(03), 303-316.
- Dahlvik, J. (2009). Interaktion beim Dolmetschen im Asylverfahren. Vienna: Unpublished Master Thesis. Universität Wien.
- Davidson, B. (2000). "The Interpreter as Institutional Gatekeeper: The social-linguistic role of interpreters in Spanish-English medical discourse". *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4/3, 379-405:
- Dubus, N. (2015). Interpreters' subjective experiences of interpreting for refugees in person and via telephone in health and behavioural health settings in the United States. *Health & Social Care in the Community*. doi:10.1111/hsc.12270
- Fatahi, N., Nordholm, L., Mattsson, B. & Hellström, M. (2010). Experiences of Kurdish war-wounded refugees in communication with Swedish authorities through interpreter. *Patient Education and Counselling*, 78(2), 160-165.
- Fazel, M. & Stein, A. (2003). Mental health of refugee children: comparative study. *Bmj*, 327(7407), 134. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/bmj.327.7407.134>
- Fenton, S. (1997). *The role of the interpreter in the adversarial courtroom*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 19, 29-34.

- Fenton, S. (2004). *Expressing a well-founded fear: Interpreting in convention refugee hearings*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 50, 263-270.
- Flores, G. (2005). The impact of medical interpreter services on the quality of health care: a systematic review. *Medical Care Research and Review MCRR*, 62(3), 255-299. doi: 62/3/255
- Gile, D. (1994). *Opening up in Interpretation Studies*. In M. Snell-Hornby & K. Kaindl (Eds.), *Translation Studies: An Interdiscipline*. Selected papers from the Translation Studies Congress, 149-158. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Gorn, A. (2010). *Rollenverhalten von LaiendolmetscherInnen bei Rechtsberatungen im Asylbereich*, Masterarbeit. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. Universität Wien, Wien.
- Granger, E., & Baker, M. (2003). The role and experience of interpreters. *Working with interpreters in mental health*. Hove, UK: Brunner–Routledge, 99-121.
- Greenhalgh, T., Robb, N. & Scambler, G. (2006) Communicative and strategic action in interpreted consultations in primary health care: a Habermasian perspective. *Social Science & Medicine*, 63 (5), 1170–1187
- Hassan Bouryouss, (2015) *Norddeutsche Rundschau*, May 2, 2015. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/Nk5ELC>
- Hebenstreit, G., Pöllabauer, S. & Soukup-Unterweger, I. (2009) *AsylTerm: Terminologie für Dolmetscheinsätze im Asylverfahren*.
- Holmgren, H., Søndergaard, H. & Elklit, A. (2003). Stress and coping in traumatised interpreters: A pilot study of refugee interpreters working for a humanitarian organisation. *Intervention, the International Journal of Mental Health, Psychosocial Work and Counselling in Areas of Armed Conflict*, 1(3), 22-28.
- Hsieh, E. (2006). Conflicts in how interpreters manage their roles in provider–patient interactions. *Social Science & Medicine*, 62(3), 721-730.
- Hsieh, E. (2010). Provider–interpreter collaboration in bilingual health care: Competitions of control over interpreter-mediated interactions. *Patient Education and Counselling*, 78(2), 154-159.
- Hsieh, E. & Hong, S. J. (2010). Not all are desired: providers’ views on interpreters’ emotional support for patients. *Patient Education and Counselling*, 81(2), 192-197.
- Hwa-Froelich, D. A. & Westby, C. E. (2003). Considerations when working with interpreters. *Communication Disorders Quarterly*, 24(2), 78-85.
- Inghilleri, M. (2005). Mediating zones of uncertainty: Interpreter agency, the interpreting habitus and political asylum adjudication. *The Translator*, 11(1), 69-85.
- IASFM. International Association for the Study of Forced Migration. Retrieved 20 April 2016 from <http://iasfm.org/>
- Johnson, A. (2011). *Interpretation and Immigrant Communities*. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/e6tZLr>
- Jones, D. & Gill, P. (1998b). Breaking down language barriers. The NHS needs to provide accessible interpreting services for all. *BMJ (Clinical research ed.)*, 316(7143), 1476.

- Jones, D. & Gill, P. S. (1998a). Refugees and primary care: Tackling the inequalities. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 317(7170), 1444.
- Karliner, L. S., Jacobs, E. A., Chen, A. H. & Mutha, S. (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.
- Kaufert, J. M. & Putsch, R. W. (1997) 'Communication through interpreters in healthcare: Ethical dilemmas arising from differences in class, culture, language and power', *Journal of Clinical Ethics*, 8, 71- 87.
- Keselman, O. (2009). Restricting participation: unaccompanied children in interpreter-mediated asylum hearings in Sweden. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/QkDDCS>
- Keselman, O., Cederborg, A., Lamb, M. E. & Dahlström, Ö. (2008). Mediated communication with minors in asylum-seeking hearings. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(1), 103-116.
- Keselman, O., Cederborg, A., Lamb, M. E. & Dahlström, Ö. (2010). Asylum-seeking minors in interpreter-mediated interviews: what do they say, and what happens to their responses? *Child & Family Social Work*, 15(3), 325-334.
- Khan, F. (2013). Interpreting for refugees: "Where practicable and necessary only?" *Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 28(2)
- Kirst, (2015). Die gefährliche grosse Mache der Asyl-Dolmetscher. *Die Welt*. 27-11-15
- Kolb, W. & Pöchl, F. (2008). Interpreting in asylum appeal hearings: Roles and norms revisited. *Interpreting in Legal Settings*, 26-50.
- Krainz, K., Pinter, C. & Pöllabauer, S. (2006). In Bundesministerium für Inneres der Republik Österreich, UN-Flüchtlingshochkommissariats UNHCR in Österreich, Österreichischer Verband der allgemein zertifizierten Dolmetscher, Institut beideten und gerichtlich für Theoretische und Angewandte Translationswissenschaft der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz (Ed.). *Dolmetschen Im Asylverfahren. Handbuch*. Horn:
- Lai, M. & Mulayim, S. (2010). Training refugees to become interpreters for refugees. *Translation & Interpreting*, 2(1), 48-60.
- Las Heras Navarro, C. (2010). Traduciendo para los refugiados: servicio de traducciones de la Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/LsalsH>
- Lee, J. (2013). A Pressing Need for the Reform of Interpreting Service in Asylum Settings: A Case Study of Asylum Appeal Hearings in South Korea. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 27, 62-81
- León-Pinilla, R. (2015). La interpretación en el contexto de refugiados. Camino hacia el bienestar. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Castellón. Universitat Jaume I.
- León Pinilla, R., Jordà Mathiasen, E., & Prado Gascó, V. (2016). La interpretación en el contexto de los refugiados: valoración por los agentes implicados. *Sendebarr*, 27, 25-49. Retrieved from <http://revistaseug.ugr.es/index.php/sendebarr/article/view/4921>
- Loutan, L., Farinelli, T., & Pampallona, S. (1999). Medical interpreters have feelings too. *Sozial- und Präventivmedizin*, 44(6), 280-282.
- MacFarlane, A., Dzebisova, Z., Karapish, D., Kovacevic, B., Ogbebor, F. & Okonkwo, E. (2009). Arranging and negotiating the use of informal interpreters in general practice

- consultations: experiences of refugees and asylum seekers in the west of Ireland. *Social science & medicine*, 69(2), 210-214.
- Maryns, K. (2006). *The Asylum Speaker: Language in the Belgian asylum procedure*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- Maryns, K., & Blommaert, J. (2001). Stylistic and thematic shifting as a narrative resource: Assessing asylum seekers' repertoires.
- Maryns, K., & Blommaert, J. (2006). Conducting dissonance: Codeswitching and differential access to context in the Belgian asylum process. In *Language Ideologies, Policies and Practices* (177-190). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Maurer-Kober, B. (2004). Die aktuelle Praxis des Dolmetschens in Asylverfahren vor dem UBAS: Eine Bestandsaufnahme. Wien: Diplomarbeit.
- Merlini, R. (2009). Seeking asylum and seeking identity in a mediated encounter: The projection of selves through discursive practices. *Interpreting*, 11(1), 57-92.
- Mikkelsen, H. & Solow, S. N. (2002). Report from the Front Lines: Multilingual Training-of-Trainers for Refugee Interpreters. Originally Presented at the Conference of Interpreter Trainers Annual Conference, Minneapolis, MN October 2002, 36
- Miller, K. E. & Rasco, L. M. (2004). An ecological framework for addressing the mental health needs of refugee communities. In K.E. Miller & L.M. Rasco (eds). *The Mental Health of Refugees: Ecological Approaches to Healing and Adaptation*, 1-64.
- Miller, K. E., Martell, Z. L., Pazdirek, L., Caruth, M. & Lopez, D. (2005). The Role of Interpreters in Psychotherapy with Refugees: An Exploratory Study. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 75(1), 27-39. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0002-9432.75.1.27>
- Molle, E. L. (2012). The experiences of interpreters working in a medium secure forensic mental health unit: and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. Unpublished Doctoral dissertation. London. University of East London. Retrieved from http://roar.uel.ac.uk/1861/1/2012_Molle_DCounPsych.pdf
- Muecke, M. A. (1992). New paradigms for refugee health problems. *Social Science & Medicine*, 35(4), 515-523.
- Musser-Granski, J. & Carrillo, D. F. (1997). The use of bilingual, bicultural paraprofessionals in mental health services: issues for hiring, training, and supervision. *Community Mental Health Journal*, 33(1), 51-60.
- O'Hara, M. & Akinsulure-Smith, A. M. (2011). Working with interpreters: Tools for clinicians conducting psychotherapy with forced immigrants. *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care*, 7(1), 33-43.
- Paone, T. R. & Malott, K. M. (2008). Using interpreters in mental health counselling: A literature review and recommendations. *Journal of Multicultural Counselling and Development*, 36(3), 130-142.
- Patel, N. (2003). Speaking with the silent: addressing issues of disempowerment when working with refugee people. *Working with Interpreters in Mental health*, 219-237.
- Phillips, C. (2013). Remote telephone interpretation in medical consultations with refugees: Meta-communications about care, survival and selfhood. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, fet005.

- Pöchhacker, F. (2004). *Introducing interpreting studies*. London: Routledge.
- Pöchhacker, F. & Kolb, W. (2009). Interpreting for the record: A case study of asylum review hearings. *The Critical Link*, 5, 119-134.
- Pöllabauer, S. & Schumacher, S. (2004). Kommunikationsprobleme und Neuerungsverbot im Asylverfahren. *Migralex*, 1, 20-28;
- Pöllabauer, S. (2003a). Translatorisches Handeln bei Asylanörungen. Eine diskursanalytische Untersuchung. Unpublished Dissertation. Graz: University of Graz.
- Pöllabauer, S. (2003b). Translationskultur und kulturelle Identität bei gedolmetschten Asyleinvernahmen. Presentation at the Workshop at "Translation Targets—the 10th International Conference on Translation and Interpreting". Prague, Charles University, Institute of Translation Studies.
- Pöllabauer, S. (2004). Interpreting in asylum hearings: Issues of role, responsibility and power. *Interpreting*, 6(2), 143-180.
- Pöllabauer, S. (2005). "I don't understand your English, Miss": Dolmetschen bei Asylanörungen. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Pöllabauer, S. (2006a). During the interview, the interpreter will provide a faithful translation. The potentials and pitfalls of researching interpreting in immigration, asylum, and police settings: Methodology and research paradigms. *Linguistica Antverpiensia*, 5, 229-244.
- Pöllabauer, S. (2006b) "'Translation culture' in interpreted asylum hearings", in A. Pym / M. Shlesinger / Z. Jettmarová (eds) *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 159.
- Pöllabauer, S. (2008). Forschung zum Dolmetschen im Asylverfahren: Interdisziplinarität und Netzwerke. *Lebende Sprachen*, 53(3), 121-129.
- Raval, H. & Tribe, R. (2014). *Working with Interpreters in Mental Health*. Routledge.
- Read, M. (1951) 1953 *Magna Carta for Refugees*. Rev. ed. New York: United Nations.
- Read, J. M. (1961). United Nations and Refugees: Changing Concepts. *The International Conciliation*, 34, 5.
- Riddick, S. (1998). Improving access for limited English-speaking consumers: a review of strategies in health care settings. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved*, 9(5), S40-S61.
- Rosenberg, E., Seller, R., & Leanza, Y. (2008). Through interpreters' eyes: comparing roles of professional and family interpreters. *Patient Education and Counselling*, 70(1), 87-93.
- Rousseau, C., Measham, T., & Moro, M. R. (2011). Working with interpreters in child mental health. *Child and Adolescent Mental Health*, 16(1), 55-59.
- Sande, H. (1998). Supervision of refugee interpreters: 5 years of experience from Northern Norway. *Nordic Journal of Psychiatry*, 52(5), 403-409.
- Schulz, M. (2011). *AsylTerm; Terminologiedatenbank zum Asylverfahren aus Sicht der Dolmetschenden*. Retrieved from http://othes.univie.ac.at/13976/1/2011-04-05_0407583.pdf

- Sernaker, E. & Stocks, H. (2015). *Refugees Helping Refugees*. Berkeley. University of California. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/1FfSjN>
- Souter, J. (2011). A culture of disbelief or denial? Critiquing refugee status determination in the United Kingdom. *Oxford Monitor of Forced Migration*, 1(1), 48.
- Stanners, P. (2012). Poor interpreters put asylum seekers at risk. *The Copenhagen Post* 11/09/2012
- Straker, J. & Watts, H. (2003). Fit for purpose? Interpreter training for students from refugee backgrounds. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 46, 163-176.
- Strauss A, Corbin J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. 2. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Stroh, S. (2007). *Dolmetschen im Asylverfahren am Beispiel eines Berufungswerbers aus Angola*. Unpublished Diplomarbeit. Vienna. Universität Wien.
- Thomas, S., Nafees, B. & Bhugra, D. (2004). 'I was running away from death'—the pre-flight experiences of unaccompanied asylum seeking children in the UK. *Child: care, health and development*, 30 (2), 113-122.
- Tribe, R. & Morrissey, J. (2003). The refugee context and the role of interpreters. *Working With Interpreters in Mental Health*, 198-218.
- Tribe, R. & Raval, H. (2003). *Working with Interpreters in Mental Health*. London: Routledge.
- Tribe, R. (2002). Mental health of refugees and asylum-seekers. *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment*, 8(4), 240-247
- Tribe, R. (1999). Bridging the gap or damming the flow? Some observations on using interpreters/bicultural workers when working with refugee clients, many of whom have been tortured. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 72(4), 567-576.
- Tribe, R. & Morrissey, J. (2003). The refugee context and the role of interpreters. *Working with Interpreters in Mental Health*, 198-218.
- Valero Garcés, C. & Raga Gimeno, F. (2006). Retos del siglo XXI en comunicación intercultural: nuevo mapa lingüístico y cultural de España *Revista española de lingüística aplicada* 19.
- Valero-Garcés, C. (2006). El impacto psicológico y emocional en los intérpretes y traductores de los servicios públicos: un factor a tener en cuenta. *Quaderns: revista de traducció*, (13), 141-154.
- Weiss, P. (1954). The international protection of refugees. *The American Journal of International Law*, 48(2), 193-221.
- Weis, Paul (1960) Le concept de réfugié en droit international. *Journal du droit international*, (87), 929-1001.
- Whiteman, R. (2005). Welcoming the stranger: a qualitative analysis of teachers' views regarding the integration of refugee pupils into schools in Newcastle upon Tyne. *Educational Studies*, 31(4), 375-391.
- Williams L (2005a) Refugees and asylum seekers as a group at risk of adult abuse. *Journal of Adult Protection*, 6 (4).
- Williams, L. (2005b). Interpreting services for refugees: Hearing voices? *International Journal*

of Migration, *Health and Social Care*, 1(1), 37-49.

Yohani, S. (2013). Educational cultural brokers and the school adaptation of refugee children and families: Challenges and opportunities. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 14(1), 61-79.

Youdelman, M. & Perkins, J. (2002). Providing Language Interpretation Services in Health Care Settings: Examples from the Field (541) Field Report. Commonwealth Fund. Retrieved from <http://goo.gl/fcBi87>