Towards a Typology of Challenges and Strategies in Community Interpreting: A Grounded Theory Study in Canadian Settings

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ABSTRACT

This thesis adopts Gideon Toury's model of "Problem of Translation" (2013: 38-45) as a framework of analysis in interpreting research, extrapolating the notion of "translation as process" to community interpreting. Thus, as an attempt to broaden the framework of analysis in community interpreting, this study aims to: 1) Register and classify conflicting situations and coping strategies that community interpreters find and use before, during and after assignments. 2) Understand the types of norms that govern community interpreters' work. 3) Observe the interplay between institutional norms and interpreters' actions and interactions.

For these purposes, I conducted an exploratory study using Grounded Theory Methodology with 14 participants (9 community interpreters and 5 service providers) in the cities of Toronto, Ottawa, Gatineau, and Montreal. Interpreters' accounts were triangulated with those of service providers and with institutional codes of ethics for community interpreting.

The dialectical analysis carried out across this thesis allowed me to discover that participant interpreters' coping strategies are twofold: rule bending and rule validating. The major findings shed light on technical aspects of conducting briefings, debriefings, and introductions. Another major finding is the concept of assertiveness, its relevance in the actions and interactions of interpreters, and its potential as a technical competence rather than a social talent. Finally, the challenges and coping strategies presented in the graphics may serve as guidelines for future research.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse adopte la notion de « problème de traduction » (Toury, 2013: 38-45) comme cadre d'analyse dans la recherche en interprétation en extrapolant la notion de « traduction comme processus » à l'interprétation en milieu communautaire. Par conséquent, dans un effort pour élargir le cadre d'analyse de l'interprétation en milieu communautaire, cette étude a comme but de : 1) Enregistrer et classifier les défis et les stratégies que les interprètes trouvent et mettent en place avant, pendant et après les évènements ; 2) Comprendre les types de normes qui gouvernent le travail des interprètes en milieu communautaire ; 3) Observer l'interaction dialectique entre les normes institutionnelles et les actions des interprètes.

Dans ce but, nous avons poursuivi une étude de type exploratoire en utilisant une méthodologie basée sur la Théorie ancrée avec 14 participants (9 interprètes et 5 spécialistes en santé, droit et services sociaux) dans les villes de Toronto, Ottawa, Gatineau et Montréal. On a aussi triangulé les déclarations des interprètes avec celles des spécialistes et avec des codes déontologiques.

L'analyse de type dialectique mise en œuvre dans la thèse a révélé que les stratégies des interprètes participants ont une double nature : transgressive et respectueuse par rapport à la norme. Les résultats majeurs aboutissent sur des aspects techniques pour bien mener les entretiens préalables et subséquents et les présentations. Un autre résultat montre la notion d'assertivité et sa pertinence pour les actions et les interactions des interprètes, ainsi que son potentiel comme compétence technique plutôt que talent social. Finalement, les défis et les stratégies résumés dans les graphiques peuvent servir de guide pour des recherches futures.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

DEFINITIONS

For the purposes of this dissertation, the following terms are defined as follows:

Term	Definition
Accreditation	The recognition of educational institutions or training programs as meeting and maintaining standards that then qualify its graduates for professional practice.
Assignment	Interpreting task/work allocated to an interpreter by a linguistic services agency or another institution.
Certification	A process by which a professional organization attests to or certifies that an individual is qualified to provide a particular service. Certification calls for formal assessment, using an instrument that has been tested for validity and reliability, so that the certifying body can be confident that the individuals it certifies have the qualifications needed to provide interpreting/translation services. A training certificate does NOT constitute certification.
Client	A person that uses the services of legal, social or health service institutions and requires assistance in language interpreting.
Primary interlocutors	In an interpreter-mediated event, primary interlocutors are the service provider and the client.
Register	A stylistic and/or social level of language used by a speaker. A speaker's choice of register is generally defined by the particular topic, the parties spoken to, and the perceived formality of the situation. The register is also related to the type of activity, level of education, etc.
Service provider	Individual member or institutional staff member that delivers legal, social or health services to clients and sometimes requires language interpreting for her/his job.
Setting	The place or institution where legal, social or health services are provided and the interpreter-mediated event takes place.

ABBREVIATIONS

AFIO:	Association des Femmes Immigrantes de l'Outaouais
ATIO:	Association of Translators and Interpreters of Ontario
CAS:	Children's Aid Society
CILISAT:	Cultural Interpreter Language and Interpreting Skills Assessment Tool
DJP:	Direction de la Protection de la Jeunesse
GTM:	Grounded Theory Methodology
ILSAT:	Interpreter Language and Skill Assessment Tool
IRCC:	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada
MLO:	Multicultural Liaison Officer
NSGCIS:	National Standard Guide for Community Interpreting Services
OMISSSS:	Orientations ministérielles concernant la pratique de l'interprétariat dans les services de santé et les services sociaux au Québec.
PAR:	Partner Assault Response
QDAS:	Qualitative Data Analysis Software
SP:	Service Provider
VCU:	Victim Crisis Unit
VT:	Vicarious trauma
V/WAP:	Victim/Witness Assistant Program

INTRODUCTION

0.1. Sources of inspiration and research perspective

Sources of inspiration

My first source of inspiration was George Orwell. When the British author wrote his books *Down and out in Paris and London* (1933/1969) and *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1969), he was able to go beyond ordinary people's and workers' looks and manners, as well as their plain language. He celebrated their honesty and spontaneity, but above all, he acknowledged that their hard work and industrious nature made them the owners of an incredible amount of wisdom that was overlooked, denied, or ridiculed by aristocrats and intellectuals: "All people who work with their hands are invisible or partly invisible, and the more important the work they do, the less visible they are" (Ibid., 1969).

Although comparing Orwell's characters to community interpreters may seem to be an overstatement, this analogy encapsulates one of the principles upon which I set out to conduct this research: to learn from the average, invisible community interpreter. In Translation Studies, some voices have described translators' and interpreters' invisibility in not only technical but also ideological terms. Venuti (2018: viii-xi), for example, underscores three instances that can illustrate invisibility in translation practices across cultures: 1) the so-called "fluent translations" with illusionistic effects for quick readings; 2) the relevance that literary criticism has granted to the notion of originality; and 3) the overlooking of discontinuities in target texts.

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A second source of inspiration was Paul Ricoeur's question about the *foreigner* and the Canadian notion of *Multiculturalism.* Ricoeur's question on the *foreigner* especially deals with the type of foreigner who is not a tourist, skilled worker, or affluent student. Rather, it focuses on those who left their country against their will: refugees, asylum seekers, seasonal workers (2006). The French philosopher concludes his essay by confirming what Charles Taylor had already pointed out about multiculturalism: that the flags of difference and recognition raised by multiculturalism still have not accomplished the goals that they were supposed to achieve (1994: 65-73).

Taylor established a distinction between two different approaches to the foreigner. On the one hand, the politics of equal dignity (interculturalism) is based on the "difference-blindness" presumption. This approach has Kant's universal of the human potential as the core leading principle, claiming that there is a "capacity that all humans share". For the politics of equal dignity, "equal respect focuses on what is the same in all". On the other hand, for the politics of difference and recognition (multiculturalism) "equal respect focuses on and fosters particularity and the definition of one's own identity" (Ibid.: 42 - 43).

This distinction is relevant for this study because the different approaches to community interpreting in Canada reflect directly or indirectly the principles of each policy. To be more specific, the two provinces where data was collected (Quebec and Ontario) offer different linguistic services for immigrants and refugees. In Quebec, for example, if clients present language barriers to access services, they need to pay an interpreter of find volunteer interpreters, who often are not qualified for the job. However, in Ontario, Legal Aid and PAR (Partner Assault Response) are provincial programs that offer linguistic services free of charge to clients with language barriers[1].

The first case, Quebec, illustrates the politics of equal dignity and the second case, Ontario, the politics of difference. Both approaches, however, have virtues and weaknesses. The politics of equal dignity distinguishes essential human values, such as physical and intellectual capacities that belong to all human beings no matter their country of origin, language, beliefs, or ethnicity.

[1] Legal Aid Services Act, 1998, S.O. 1998, c. 26

Respect here is based on the encouragement of the human will to succeed. Nonetheless, these politics disregard socio-economic differences, which have a great impact on the development of human abilities and which in the long term may produce great inequalities.

The politics of difference and recognition promotes acknowledgement and respect for the difference, which in Taylor's view, is fundamental to forming an identity. However, that respect depends on the recognition of particular values from individuals and cultures, and–this is the underlying flaw of this principle–recognition is granted upon pre-established canons of fairness, loyalty, beauty, common sense, admiration, and the like. In addition, according to the author, these standards, in the Canadian context, have been inherited from a "North Atlantic civilization" (Ibid: 71).

In short, one may assume that these two different approaches towards the foreigner may have had an impact on the dissimilarity and inconsistencies in the development and application of norms and standards for community interpreting not only in Canada but also in other countries that receive large numbers of immigrants and refugees.

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The third and final source of inspiration is the Foucauldian approach to institutional discourses. In *Archeology of Knowledge*, Michel Foucault (1972) explained the construction, consistency, and uses of institutional discourses. He maintained, for example, that the discourses of grammar, medicine and economics are historical constructions and have a twofold (or as he called it, trans-discursive) nature: institutional and non-institutional (Ibid: 31-39).

These statements or discourses are thus bestowed with the functions of power and truth, which over time essentially shape people's lives. Along the same lines, he described these institutional strategies as sophisticated ways to control individuals' actions, in what he called the "*economy of* *discursive constellation*"[2] (Ibid: 54-70). This can also be understood as the economy of truth's power, meaning that institutional discourses get so well nested into social functioning and organization that there is no need to resort to coercion or intimidation in order to exercise power. During an informal debate, the French author stated that "power is not the source or origin of discourse, it is something that operates through discourse, for discourse in itself is an element within a strategic device of power relations" [my translation][3] (1978:59).

These ideas are relevant to this thesis because they shed light on my understanding of participants' statements about conflicting situations, expectations, and coping strategies that take place before, during, and after community interpreting assignments within institutions such as hospitals, health centres, schools, shelters, police stations, border services, courtrooms, lawyers' offices, and community centres. Furthermore, in his essays *Truth and Juridical Forms* (2000: 1-89), *Truth and Power* (Ibid: 111-132), and *The Birth of Social Medicine* (Ibid: 134-156), Foucault laid out the historical events that originated the ways of functioning and the discursive practices of institutions of major relevance for us today, such as the school, the court, and the health centre.

Research perspective

A dialectical perspective frames this research. In Antiquity, dialectics was a rhetorical device, utilized as a pedagogical method, especially when there were two different or opposing propositions and the interlocutors wanted to distinguish the constituent elements of each proposition, and decide whether one or the other appeared to be more appropriate for the subject matter in question.

In modern or contemporary thought, dialectics has evolved to be an analytical method used to understand how things work. It still maintains the need for two conflicting, or apparently

[2] Emphasis original

[3] Spanish original: "El poder no es fuente ni origen del discurso, es algo que opera a través del discurso, puesto que el discurso mismo es un elemento en un dispositivo estratégico de relaciones de poder" (Foucault, 1978: 59).

conflicting propositions, but in Fichte (1794: cited in Edwards, 1967), for example, both propositions–called thesis and antithesis–became united by means of analysis, and the end result was called synthesis. However, the dialectical perspective widely used today was introduced by Hegel, with a novel or more refined device in the analysis: “involving the passing over of thoughts or concepts into their opposites and the achievement of a higher unity” (Edwards, 1967: 388-9). This higher unity has been called synthesis, although Hegel never used the term. Hegelian dialectics introduced movement to the analytical method; thus, in his view, not only thought but also nature and society can be regarded as compelled to newer phases of development.

Throughout this thesis, I use a dialectical approach for the analysis of the problems. My intention is not only to understand and describe challenging situations and the strategies participants used to handle them but also to contrast them with academic insights and/or institutional norms and expectations, with the ultimate purpose of reaching syntheses–theoretical or practical–that may contribute to improve the practice of community interpreting.

0.2. Research problem, questions, and theoretical framework

0.2.1. Problematization

Since delving into the exploration, study, and practice of community interpreting, I have observed two different problematic issues: one of a practical nature (or micro) and the other of an institutional nature (or macro). By micro, I refer to the practical issues that take place before, during, and after the interpreting assignment, and by macro, I refer to the underlying and not obvious norms that govern the actions of the practice of community interpreting, within institutions or legislative frameworks. In the following sections, I explain the two research problems of this study and the underlying dialectical nature that brings them together. From a micro perspective, I discuss Toury’s notion of ‘Problem’ in translation and how this should be enlarged when it comes to the study of community interpreting. From a macro perspective, I explain how power dynamics permeate the discourses and practices of community interpreting within institutional or legal frameworks.

Research problem 1

I have approached the first problem from a theoretical perspective. When Toury explained his notion of "problem" in translation, he described three types of problems. Problem 1 is defined as an abstraction that "involves a phase of recognition before any measure can be taken" (2013: 39). He concluded that this was not an actual problem, for it did not have a material form. Problem 2 consisted of the actual existence of texts that could be taken as a body of translations, but could only be studied as a reconstruction and "backwards". In this case, the actions of translation were not really discernible. This came to be known as translation as product (Ibid: 43).

With Problem 3, Toury added the notion of "decision-making clues" and their discussion —what we understand today as "translation as process" with detailed commented analysis. In this category of translation problem, the analyst details or recreates all actions and decisions carried out in the translation. Therefore, Toury understood Problem 3 as the actual translation problem, involving the description of any traces of translation acts, problem-solving techniques, and final solutions (Ibid: 44-45). Seen like this, translation problems became target-oriented, which opened up multiple possibilities to better observe and understand translators' performances.

The aforementioned framework was groundbreaking for the discipline and has been used in studies to shed light on translation analysis. Similarly, Toury's framework has been adopted for the study and analysis of interpreting. In general, we can observe that the greater number of studies on interpreting practices focus on transcriptions of interpreter-mediated situations, placing them within the description of Toury's Problem 2. Notably, these analyses are focused on cognitive issues and the psycholinguistic aspects of the interpreting act, and have led to important findings such as the cognitive load[4] (Gile, 2009:192-198).

Nonetheless, taking into consideration that interpreting is "an immediate type of translation activity" (Pöchhacker, 2016:11), my claim is that the framework for analysis should be expanded. I propose that the analysis of the interpreter-mediated event should go beyond "interpretation as product" to include "interpretation as process", encompassing a broader scope than that of the textual analysis of transcriptions.

The analysis of an interpreter-mediated event should be done from the preparation (before the assignment) to the end of it (sometimes even after the assignment). One of the technical reasons to support this claim is the critical importance of *anticipation* in interpreting, notably of knowledge-based cognitive anticipation and other cognitive-related processes (Ibid: 59, 115). Ghelly Chernov (2004) and Sylvia Kalina (2000), for example, looked into anticipation as a reformulation strategy for simultaneous interpreting, notably in language pairs that do not share the subject–verb–object sentence pattern. This reformulation strategy also is of a cognitive nature and involved aspects such as segmentation of the information and short-term memory skills.

More recently, Daniel Gile (2009: 173-175) and Franz Pöchhacker (2016: 122-125) have also looked into anticipation in interpreting, stating that it basically consists of acquiring a well-grounded knowledge of the languages involved, the subject matter, and interlocutors' role, background, and aims in the assignment. Although Gile has conducted research mainly on conference interpreting, he affirms that anticipation may also reduce uncertainty: the better prepared in anticipation interpreters are, the less cognitive load they will experience (2009: 175).

[4] The term can be explained as the degree of uncertainty and mental stress that interpreters experience in different interpreting acts due to a lack of segmentation techniques, poor memory capacity, deficient knowledge of the subject matter, or poor environmental conditions.

In community interpreting in particular, this knowledge is obtained by means of formal training, self-study, and ongoing professional development, but also by means of a timely and complete briefing. Helen Tebble (1998: 19-22) and Jim Hlavac (2017), both of whom designed guidelines for working with interpreters in health care settings, suggest the use of briefings or also called “Pre-assignment steps” Hlavac (2017). However, available research-based information does not show studies that have looked into the pre-assignment and post-assignment steps for community interpreting. This research problem led me to ask the following questions:

- In community interpreting, what are the technical stages before the assignment?
- What challenges do community interpreters encounter more frequently before the assignment?
- What strategies do they use to cope?

During my training and accreditation as a community interpreter, I could answer the first question, for which I provide a detailed description in Chapter 1: the context of the thesis. In addition, I explored the notions of centre and periphery and used them to reorient the formulation of the research questions for data collection and the further development of the study. Thus, the research questions for the study can be stated as follows:

- What challenges do community interpreters find before, during and after assignments?
- What strategies do interpreters use to deal with problematic situations?

Research problem 2

Since community interpreting is performed within institutions, the nature of the second problem I have found is based on power relations. It is an underlying aspect that I have identified after systematic readings, observation, and my own practice as an interpreter. Using the Foucauldian prism, I contend that the sophisticated discursive devices already existing within institutional frameworks make it hard for the discourse and practices of community interpreting and interpreters to be considered and potentially obtain recognition.

I aim to objectively describe the findings yielded after the triangulation of interpreters' accounts with those of institutional discourses regarding interpreting or intercultural communication. Therefore, in order to contrast interpreters' views with an institutional standpoint, I decided to introduce a third research question:

- What expectations do service providers have of interpreters?

0.2.2. Theoretical framework

Although I have already mentioned the sources of inspiration, these ideas work in the background of the study. Thus, topics and problems such as practical knowledge, multiculturalism, politics of recognition, and the economy of truth's power belong to the realms of philosophy and political science and will not be developed in parallel with data description. However, the reader will be able to identify their traces or undertones across analysis sections in the chapters and concluding remarks.

Notwithstanding the above, the theoretical framework that I use in this study can be seen as Translation Studies resonances or echoes of the Foucauldian notion of institutional power, Taylor's politics of recognition, and Orwell's practical knowledge. Therefore, my threefold theoretical framework is as follows:

1. A theory of centre-periphery with Mikhail Bakhtin (1984) and Immanuel Wallerstein (2004) will illustrate a well-defined image for community interpreting assignments, with the actions before and after assignments as the periphery, and those ones during assignments as the centre.
2. Toury's "Translation as a norm-governed activity" (1995/2013), and by extension, community interpreting as a norm-governed activity is the second theory. His description of a continuum with objective rules at one extreme and idiosyncratic mannerisms at the other, places the norm in its centre. This image can build into the abovementioned centre-periphery approach.

3. Finally, the notion of strategy that has been developed in Translation Studies, especially Gambier's (2008), is the third theory. Conscious and unconscious actions performed by interpreters will be classified as rule-validating or rule-bending, which is in harmony with translation as a norm-governed activity.

0.2.2.1. Centre and periphery in this study

Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World* (1984) and Wallerstein's *World Systems Analysis* (2004) shed light on the notion of centre-periphery. Bakhtin analyzed the Renaissance social system in order to discover the balance between language and customs that were "allowed" and those that "were not". He identified two categories: *carnivalesque*, described by the author as the social institution; and *grotesque realism*, which Bakhtin defined as a literary mode.

Drawing on popular and folk culture, Bakhtin set out for the inquiry of celebrations and linguistic and artistic expressions in his Medieval and Renaissance studies. One of the most remarkable aspects in the author's critique is the way in which popular manifestations of art and joy were distorted by notions alien to popular culture, notions that were rather framed in aristocratic models of humour, aesthetics, and culture.

Along similar lines, Bakhtin identified a double aspect of the world, observing that popular or comic rituals and verbal compositions showed a "nonofficial, extra-ecclesiastical and extra-political aspect of the world, of man, and of human relations" (1984: 06). Popular expressions formed a sort of parallel form of existence "outside from officialdom" (Ibid.). These popular expressions contrasted with official feasts, which stood up for existing values and norms, of both political and religious nature.

A second aspect of relevance observed by Bakhtin in Medieval studies was the satire found in Grotesque Realism. Examples of this are found in the literature of Rabelais, Boccaccio, Shakespeare, and Cervantes and were interpreted as a revitalization of the body, or the human body as a cultural value in popular expressions of art (Ibid: 24).

Another relevant aspect underscored by the author in the manifestations of the folk culture was a wholeness maintained by the continuum drawn by interdiction and the comic sense. The existence of official feasts (with ecclesiastical and political functions) along with non-official comic shows, pageants, and verbal compositions represented a “pathos of denial and change or renewal” (Ibid: 11), where the latter could not be without the former.

For the purposes of this study and extrapolating the application of Bakhtin’s notions from medieval popular expressions in the arts, I adopt and adapt the conception of “the double aspect of the world”.

The “double aspect” of the centrality and the peripheral forms simultaneously take place in the community interpreting assignment. The centrality may be represented by norms, both legislative and institutional, that dictate interpreters’ and service providers’ linguistic behaviours when it comes to intercultural communication. In addition, the periphery may be equated to the non-official and extra-institutional actions that community interpreters perform in order to cope with conflicting situations particular to the community interpreting assignment.

Similarly, Bakhtin’s categories are used here to represent a spatial metaphor to describe the relationship between community interpreters and service providers or institutions. By means of this spatial metaphor, I attempt to observe constant practices in the periphery, in parallel with the norm (the centre). The units of analysis are the interpreting assignments within institutional frameworks, with the centre being the assignment itself (during), and the periphery being the stages before and after it.

Regarding interpreters’ actions and interactions, on the one hand, I consider *the centre* to be the organized regularity of the establishment and its constant formation and transformation by means of practices that validate or adhere, to a greater or lesser extent, to institutional norms. On the other hand, I consider *the periphery* to be a gradual movement from objective rules towards rule-bending/breaking actions: the movement of interpreters' performance that oscillates between two extremes of one continuum, in which one extreme represents unilateral and objective rules, and the other extreme represents "idiosyncratic mannerisms", as Toury calls them (1995: 61/ 2013:65).

Anthony Pym (2004) offers an insightful account of the metaphor of centre-periphery in cross-cultural communication/translation. In the first place, he explains that centre-periphery should be understood like an "operative fiction", rather than factual geopolitical relations. On the other hand, Pym explains the centre-periphery metaphor and translation/cross-cultural communication in terms of effort: a message "sent and received near a perceived centre will require less investment of effort than sent from a centre to a periphery".

If applied to this study on community interpreting, Pym's explanation of the centre-periphery metaphor sheds light on the dichotomous rule-validating and rule-bending strategies carried out by interpreters that reflect how close or far from norms they are, and the effort that they invest, notably on rule-bending strategies.

Nonetheless, the binary centre-periphery has also found criticism in Translation Studies. This metaphor has been challenged by scholars such as Sebnem Susam-Sarajeva (2002), Maria Tymoczko (2005), Harish Trivedi (2006), and more recently Deborah Folaron (2015). One of the main contentions in Susam-Sarajeva's remarks was that central or peripheral actions were not likely to be assessed in translations and that translators' actions or strategies depended on literary traditions and the reception culture of the target contexts (2003: 27-29). Tymoczko (2005) and Trivedi (2006) also called for non-hegemonic approaches or forms of translations worldwide as innovative and alternative ways–the notion of centre-periphery is inserted into this very request–to enrich the discipline, opening up new manners of understanding and theorizing translation practices.

While I agree with the above arguments, I think that, even with new ways of using and approaching translation, with new strategies that are able to visualize otherness, or even with better conditions for translators and interpreters, the real opposition of centre-periphery persists. The multiple initiatives put forward by Folaron (2015: 18-23) may well illustrate the role of translators, terminologists, linguists, and researchers in helping endangered or minor languages survive. However, the fact that these initiatives are growing all over the world does not necessarily mean that they do not occupy a peripheral place in relation to the centrality of language policies.

Wallerstein's initial notion of centre-periphery was conceived to explain historical power struggles in the world, most notably power oppositions that rose with the emergence of Modernity after the discovery of the West Indies. Migration fluxes are better understood through the lenses of Wallerstein's World Systems (2004): for example, why people go from rural areas to cities, from provinces to capital regions, or from the South to the North. Similarly, we can understand why power centres need, attract, and host people from the peripheries.

The multiplicity of exchanges occurring in the ebbs and flows of migrants bring about a number of problems that can also be analyzed with the help of the binary centre-periphery concept. In fact, regarding intercultural communication, Edwin Gentzler (2008) and Michael Cronin (2006) described how post-colonialism and identity have taken new forms and have become an issue within centres of power. Notably, the periphery is now inside the centre and this phenomenon has brought to the fore interesting debates around multiculturalism, discrimination, minority rights, national languages versus minority languages, and many others.

Within this new context and redefinition of centre and periphery, interpreting studies scholars in the last 20 years have identified, for example, how minority communities relate to institutions within centres of power and their main needs regarding linguistic rights. These scholars have also entered institutions such as hospitals, schools, courtrooms, prisons, shelters, border services, refugee camps, and others in order to identify, describe, and register situations and practices in which interpreting services are required.

Among the consequences of how minorities relate to centres of power came the controversy around whether or not to give agency to interpreters. These two positions came to be known as the mediated approach and the direct approach in community interpreting (Hale, 2007), and were at the centre of the discussion in the field until recently. However, the groundbreaking study developed by Cecilia Wadensjö (1992, 1998) helped to advance the academic discussion. Based on Bakhtin's dialogic organization of language (1984), Wadensjö made an important contribution to the field: that it be named dialogue interpreting instead of community, liaison, or public service interpreting. Contrasting the *dialogical* model to the *monological* model[5], Wadensjö reclaimed the status of speakers (interlocutors) for all the participants in the dialogue, including the interpreter (1998: 7-9). The effort was to decentralize the power-relationship implicit in the divided model.

Along the same lines, another one of Wadensjö's major contributions was the claim that community interpreting has a twofold nature, one linguistic and one social: interpreters are compelled to do both linguistic renderings of messages and sometimes mediate for clients. This mediation still occurs within the framework of the interpreter-mediated event, and needs to have specific forms.

As a consequence, the latest scholarly research on community interpreting is leaving behind the opposition of mediation versus conduit in favor of conducting more systematic and consistent research studies that may help us identify challenges and technical details and that may contribute in the professionalization of the field.

0.2.2.2. Rules, norms and conventions

[5] Emphasis original.

Defining norms from Toury's perspective

The way culture influences human behaviour is by creating habits or patterns of actions based on previously established values and assumptions shared by a group or a community (called principles). Those patterns of actions have different aims: they may want to prescribe, dictate, direct, forbid, describe, permit or tolerate performance[6].

These patterns of performance are distributed along a continuum from most constraining or strict, to less constraining or free. According to Toury, "constraints on any kind of behavior can be described along a scalable continuum anchored between two extremes: general, relatively objective rules on the one hand, and idiosyncratic mannerisms on the other" (1995: 61/2013: 65). Toury goes on to explain that norms occupy the centre in the continuum (Ibid: 66). However, this is not a static central point on a scale, because norms change over time and some conventions may become norms, and norms may become rules or simply be changed or replaced with new norms. These movements along the continuum, with changes and transitions among the different types of norms, may explain the irregular behaviour and different functioning of norms for community interpreting practices.

To recapitulate, norms are at a mobile centre of a values scale, and determine how close or far actions are from objective rules at one extreme, or from idiosyncratic mannerisms at the other. Although norms instruct and determine actions or performance, these are not strategies of actions in themselves, but "they can certainly give rise and lend justification to such strategies" (Toury, 1999: 15).

[6] I compared Toury's definition of norms with the definition provided by the *Encyclopedia of Philosophy and the Social Sciences* and found many similarities. In the entry, there is a classification or typology of norms: mandatory, permissive, and power-conferring. This typology can be equated with Toury's description. However, one difference with the encyclopedic definition is that the latter bestows greater importance to the notion of convention and it explains why some conventions may eventually become norms:

> "Convention is an equilibrium solution to a coordination problem, that is, a combination of the actions of different agents in which each agent has done as well as he can, given the actions of the other agents. Once such equilibrium has been established, it tends to become a norm […] On the other hand, not all norms are conventions. The existence of a convention requires general (but necessarily universal) compliance with the convention among the subjects, but a norm can exist without general conformity" (Hilpinen, 2013: 920-21).

So, in general terms, there is an understanding of what a norm is, the types of norms that exist, and the functions of norms in a group or in a community. However, given the centrality and the binding nature of norms, it would be interesting to know and understand what exactly constitutes a norm: Is it the instruction (top-down)? Is it the regularity of actions (bottom-up)? Is it both? Are we looking for a principle? What comes first, the norm or the actions? Who decides the instructions? Which group or community establishes the shared values and assumptions upon which to create patterns or models of actions?

In this thesis, it is not my intention to develop or advance an historical research on the origins or trends of power constraints between translators/interpreters and those who dictate or design the rules or norms. Rather, I wish to understand the types of norms that exist in the contexts where community interpreters work, and to observe how institutional norms enter into dialectical dynamics with interpreters' actions and interactions.

Strategy. In the 1980s and 1990s, strategy had been conceptualized as a psycholinguistic or cognitive processing action, performed to achieve a specific linguistic goal. As an alternative to that limited view, Andrew Chesterman proposed a threefold scheme to understand translation strategies: "(a) Linguistic strategies or shifts, at the level of the textlinguistic profile. (b) Psychological strategies, at the cognitive decision-making level. (c) Sociolinguistic behavioral strategies, at the level of the translation event" (1999: 95).

Almost a decade later, Yves Gambier (2008: 77-78) improved Chesterman's model on strategy, also encompassing three levels, but with wider dimensions. For example, the second level acknowledges that strategies can be performed consciously or unconsciously. After understanding how norms work and the effect they have on people's actions and interactions, Gambier's model goes beyond speculation and can be taken as a reliable tool to observe translators' and interpreters' strategies before, during, and after their assignments. The following are the three levels proposed by the author:

- The level of intervention (it can be global or local).
- The degree of (un)awareness of the potentially available strategies in a given situation.
- The number of tasks performed before, during and after the translation/interpreting event.

Kalina and Kohn understand strategies as part of a cognitive operation called discourse processing, which is of "a strategic nature in that it is intentional and goal-oriented" (Kalina and Kohn 1996:122). Thus, Kalina, Kohn and Gambier agree that the strategic dimension of interpreting is goal-oriented (at a global or local level). Nonetheless, there is no such agreement in terms of "intentionality". For Kalina and Kohn, an interpreting strategy is necessarily intentional, whereas for Gambier it can be intentional (conscious) or not (unconscious).

In this thesis, I adhere to the idea that strategies are not necessarily conscious in every interpreting act. Strategies become customary due to the effect of norms. As such, they may remain at an unconscious level and are potentially available. On the other hand, interpreters also make use of consciously revised (intentional) strategies that have proved useful for eventual interpreting problems. In this fashion, repeated strategies may eventually become norms. Furthermore, Gambier's notion of strategies goes beyond the translation/interpreting act or assignment and also includes actions that are performed before and after assignments, which I find compatible with the scope of this study.

In summary, the theoretical framework of this thesis covers the following:

(1)The metaphor centre-periphery as a way to illustrate the three moments of the interpreting assignment (before, during, and after) and the interplay between norms (more or less central) and interpreters' strategies (more or less peripheral).

(2)The notion of norms as presented by Toury, especially their typology and nature.

(3)The notion of strategy as proposed by Gambier, because it is related to norms and actions that are performed beyond the interpreting act or assignment.

0.3. Literature review

On centre and periphery in community interpreting

The binary notion of centre-periphery has not been addressed as such in the scholarly or academic production in the field of interpreting. Nonetheless, references to synonymous binaries or elements of the binary are ubiquitous. For example, scholars refer to minority languages or minority communities living in power centres, and to minority communities and service providers for whom community interpreting[7] services are offered.

Along the same lines, Wadensjö (1992, 1998) underscored central problems in the binary concept, claiming that community interpreting needed a different theoretical approach from that used in conference interpreting. By means of discourse analysis, Wadensjö pinpointed issues of power asymmetries in institutional settings between service providers and clients, as well as differences between dialogue and talk, and text and action. She also contextualized the role of interpreters and challenged dated notions of neutrality and fidelity. Although she did not necessarily use the terms or the framework of centre-periphery, all the aforementioned topics and problems are, to a greater or lesser extent, part of it. Her pioneering work informed a number of research studies that were conducted after the year 2000.

In a similar spirit, Cronin's introduction to the *Interpreting Studies Reader* (2002: 387-398) invited scholars in the field to take a more political position and look into binaries that had been overlooked, such as how to understand linguistic mediation "between different mindsets of orality and literacy", or how the notion of minority languages (as less elaborated or sophisticated) has

[7] Also called Public Service Interpreting or liaison interpreting in Europe.

slanted language polices and therefore translation all over the world, especially in industrialized countries.

It is from those perspectives that in the last 20 years, and notably in the last nine years, interpreting studies has witnessed an outburst of applied research, looking into problems that were underscored by the authors mentioned above. Scholars such as Robert Barsky (2000, 2010), Inghilleri (2008, 2009, 2012), and Claudia Angelelli (2004a, 2004b, 2012) observed interpreters' agency and habitus, and challenged the assumption that community interpreters were invisible conduits whose main role consisted in literally reproducing messages from one language to another. They also shed light on clients' habitus and the literacy disparities encountered in legal and medical assignments. One clear case of literacy disparities in legal assignments is presented by Barsky (2000: 49-51). He argues that in asylum hearings, for example, asylum seekers, refugees, migrants or individuals who have been jailed or experienced torture may have been excluded from social institutions, and it is very unlikely that they have kept records of traumatic experiences. However, the judgement process demands rational arguments, precision and coherence from these claimants, who may have forgotten details and facts as psychological barriers or defense mechanisms against trauma.

Nevertheless, the aforementioned arguments and approaches to community interpreting have been contested by authors such as Jan Cambridge (2013) and Sandra Hale (2007), who claim that equating the role of community interpreters with that of mediators would affect future possibilities for professionalization. For these authors, adhering to norms, being impartial, and keeping a distance from clients were regarded as the tenets for quality in an endeavour to achieve best practices.

Until recently, this opposition was the focus of the debate in scholarly papers on community interpreting. However, the findings from the latest research and more abundant theoretical perspectives on migration studies and human rights have contributed to a more balanced approach.

With this new approach, more refined conceptualizations of techniques, role definitions, and competencies are being proposed. For example, Elizabeth Navarro (2016) suggests a set of translation techniques that can be used in interpreting such as: “substitution, reorientation, explicitation, and regulation”, and Quentin Samier (2016) puts together a set of competencies for community interpreters in three different settings: health care, education, and the courtroom. Additionally, it is important to mention that these authors are using terms such as intercultural communication, intercultural mediation, or interpretation-mediation (Ibid: 129-137).

In the same vein, Mette Rudvin (2015) and Rudvin and Elena Tomassini (2008, 2011) have called for new definitions of core concepts in community interpreting such as role, accuracy, and fidelity. Resorting to Toury’s continuum, they proposed an approach that attempts to find a central point between a mechanical perspective and a proactive approach. However, it was Bistra Alexieva who back in 2002 had located the interpreter-mediated event “along a continuum of universality versus culture-specificity”, using a number of scales such as “distance versus proximity; non-involvement versus involvement; cooperativeness versus directness; solidarity versus power”, among others (2002: 230).

As I mentioned before, there is abundant research occurring today on community interpreting. However, drawing on the topics and purposes of this study, I position it within the framework of the findings and developments that identify issues of institutional norms and their interplay with community interpreting norms and strategies.

On norms and community interpreting

In 1990, Harris published an article describing the existing norms or common performances of conference interpreters, notably those trained in the West. He listed five main rules that had influenced the practice not only of conference interpreting but also of interpreting in general up to that time:

> 1) The interpreter should speak in the first person. 2) There must be a succession of several interpreters if the speech lasts more than 20 or 30 minutes. 3) Professional conference interpreters should only work into their A language[8]. 4) Norms are prone to follow the acceptability of the target language production. 5) The norm of the "true interpreter". This norm requires that interpreters re-express the original speaker's ideas and the manner of expressing them as accurately as possible and without significant omissions, and not mix them up with their own ideas and expressions. (1990: 115-119)

Although these norms were originally intended to orient the practice of conference interpreting, they still remain at the core of interpreting practices by and large. Nonetheless, Uldis Ozolins (2000) was one of the first scholars in community interpreting to challenge Harris' norms, for they were applied literally to community settings requiring linguistic interpretation. His main arguments were that these norms approached interpreting as an exclusively linguistic process and overlooked facts of person-to-person interaction within social contexts. She also noted that the nature of communication in conference interpreting differed from that in community interpreting, since in the latter, communication is intercultural and institution-driven.

Angelelli (2008) also approached the topic of norms in community interpreting and underscored how communication interactions become very complex when they take place in institutional contexts. This complexity was later examined by Carmen Toledano-Buendía (2010), when she identified initial and preliminary norms in community interpreting. These norms reflect the value systems that determine the so-called linguistic services and the expected performance in social-institutional contexts. Each institution thus adheres to initial or primary norms (immigration policies, available programs for immigrants' integration, public and institutional awareness of cultural and language barriers, among others). These primary norms vary from country to country and from state to state, including in the United States.

Along the same lines, Erich Prunč (2012), also drawing on the notion of norms, argued that translation/interpreting ethics must reach a balance between freedom and responsibility, and observed the ethics within the professional culture of translation and interpreting. His definition

[8] "However, this norm is not practical under other circumstances, for example escort interpreting or court interpreting" (1999: 118).

of a translation culture combines norms, conventions, values, and behavioural patterns of the actors involved in the translation process. However, his definition was not detailed in sorting out specific information. For example, who designs the norms and the accreditation programs? What is the difference between norms, values, and conventions?

Kalina (2015), however, expanded on the relation between ethics and norms in interpreting. Not only did she identify responsibilities in terms of norm and accreditation design for court and medical interpreting, but she also offered a definition for "ethical solutions". Nonetheless, she also argued that norms in interpreting, especially in community interpreting, are still very general and do not orient practitioners on specific conducts when they encounter conflicting situations.

Kalinas's views greatly informed this thesis, especially regarding the idea that community interpreting norms are still very general, and there is no consensus among stakeholders on what the main principles or values should be.

On strategy in interpreting

In exploring strategies for interpreting, scholars initially used some of the translation strategies in order to devise similar taxonomies for the description, classification, and systematization of interpreters' operational tasks. Gile (2009: 201-211) designed the first taxonomy for simultaneous interpreting "tactics" with 21 categories, organized in three groups: "comprehension tactics, preventive tactics, and reformulation tactics".

This grouping or categorization appears to follow Seleskovitch's (1983) four techniques of analysis[9]. However, Gile noticed that the latter did not consider reformulation strategies, so he included them in his own model.

[9] "Faire appel à ses connaissances antérieures, mobiliser ses propres points de vue, visualiser le sens entendu, observer style et raisons d'être du discours en question". (1983)

Other scholars who have put forward taxonomies for interpreting strategies are Kalina and Kohn (1996) and Pöchhacker (2016). Kalina and Kohn present a simpler group of two categories (comprehension and production) and eight strategies: inference, anticipation, segmentation, compression, neutralization, omission, approximation, and simplification. Pöchhacker conceptualized two groups of strategies: "*on-line* strategies (specific to or typical of a given mode of interpreting) and *off-line* strategies preceding or following translational cognitive processing (preparing glossaries or marking up documents)" (2016: 126).

In the interpretation act, all the aforementioned strategies can be observed. In fact, there is abundant research on cognitive and psycholinguistic processes, detecting, analyzing, and registering one or more of the strategies. However, only Pöchhacker included on-line/off-line strategies in his account. Although these strategies may be more or less equated with the idea of strategies before, during, and after assignments, I still think that the concept of strategy developed by Gambier (2008) fits better with this thesis, because it encompasses conscious and unconscious performances and their correlation with norms.

The conduit-mediation dichotomy and standards of practice

Two major approaches regarding community interpreters' role have been the mediated approach and the direct or conduit approach, Hale (2007). The latter prevents interpreters from performing any task that is not strictly related with the conveyance of messages. The former enables the interpreters to take action as linguistic and cultural mediators in order to regulate and facilitate understanding in a communicative situation. A couple of decades ago, this dichotomy was an important point of contention in the pursuit of theoretical developments, and scholarly research began to focus on real practices in the field in order to get a better understanding of role, agency, norms and power dynamics in community interpreting.

Some scholars were more inclined to the view that in community interpreting settings, socio-cultural aspects were almost inalienable from the interpreted event. For example, Angelelli (2004b) equated community interpreters' role to that of visibility/invisibility and the self-perception interpreters may have of their own function:

"the interpreter is visible with all the social and cultural factors that allow him/her to co-construct a definition of reality with his/her deeply held views on power, status, solidarity, gender, age, race, ethnicity, nationality, socio-economic status, plus the cultural norms and blueprints of those social factors that are used by him/her to construct and interpret reality". (Ibid: 16)

Likewise, with the purpose of looking into the self-perceptions and providers' views about the role of the community interpreters in Vienna, Pöchhacker (1998:50-51) attempted to define the notion of role in community interpreting, referring to the dichotomist notion in Gentile et al. (1995) where:

"the interpreter's task definition may be situated anywhere along the spectrum between those who would limit the interpreter's role to that of a linguistic conduit or language converter and those who regard cultural brokering or advocacy as an integral component of the interpreter's role".

His study yielded data to understand that service providers viewed interpreting within their institutional settings as a "multi-faceted task beyond mere translation". (Ibid: 65) These findings and other evidence in the study helped Pöchhacker to state that the community interpreter's task "is constructed rather broadly so as to include aspects of role designation such as 'clarifier', 'cultural mediator', and 'agent'" (Ibid: 63).

Wadensjö (1998) discussed similar approaches and conceptualized community interpreting as a triadic dialogue, where interpreters adopt the role of communication coordinators. In the same vein, Robert Barsky invited us to revisit the idea of community interpreters just as "translation devices" and to expand the role notion to "inter-cultural interpreters, facilitators […] who can interpret language and intention, the verbal and the non/verbal, and then assist in the difficult circumstance". (2000:59, 78)

On the other hand, with the contention of accuracy, quality, professional standards, and professionalization, other authors such as Harris (1990), Cambridge (2013), and Hale (2007) claimed that adhering to norms, being impartial, and keeping distance from clients was the most professional way to achieve quality and these principles should be the underpinnings of best practices in community interpreting. In addition, Hale promoted the notion of accuracy and suggested that decision-making should be left to the authors of the utterances. In the words of Hale, accuracy was defined as follows:

"An accurate interpretation will attempt to render the meaning of the utterance at the discourse level. Taking into account the pragmatic dimension of language, transferring the intention behind the utterance, and attempting to produce a similar reaction in the listeners in response to such utterance as the original would have". (2007: 42).

This approach cast light on the need to set standards of practice in order to reach a required or agreed level of quality for the delivery of community interpreting services. As a result, language services agencies, professional bodies and institutions designed codes of ethics and standards of practice to orient the work of community interpreters. In an effort to compare and contrast their constituent elements, Marjory Bancroft (2005) carried out an environmental scan of standards of practice from different countries and settings. She found that standards of practice across countries and settings agree on issues about role boundaries and cultural mediation by and large. However, she found contradictions in terms of impartiality and accuracy.

Along the same lines, Sonja Pöllabauer (2012) and Sylvia Kalina (2015) analyzed institutional communication routines within specific settings where community interpreting is delivered. Pöllabauer identified specific routines pertaining to specific institutions for instance, protocols, instructions and procedures (2012: 220-221). Similarly, Kalina observed that these institutionalized routines bring about interactional dynamics that affect communication, and by extension, community interpreting practices. Therefore, setting-specific deontologies should be introduced in training schemes for community interpreters, as they need to learn to understand and interact with context-specific routines and discourses (2015: 63-86).

In this order of ideas, language service agencies, training centres, and institutions that work with community interpreters have gradually realized that accreditation and standards of practice make a big contribution to, service quality and best practices; however, they also acknowledge the complexities of cross-cultural communication and the challenges that multiculturalism and multilingualism entail.

As a result, the initial conduit-mediation dichotomy has evolved into a more complex scenario, where not only institutional routines and discourses, but also language and immigration policies are key players affecting communication.

0.4. Methodological framework

When it comes to working with communities in the field, the method of ethnographic research seems to be the most suitable at first sight. However, a closer look at the principles and procedures of this method will soon let us understand that field observation is a key requirement for ethnography, as well as the integration of an entire cultural group (Hadley, 2017: 61-63). I initially contemplated the possibility of conducting ethnographic research, but access to the entire cultural group of interpreters, service providers, and clients was limited to me as a novice researcher. Due to my work as a community interpreter, access to interpreters and some service providers was attainable. However, access to clients was very limited due to the vulnerable conditions many of them experience as newcomers. Therefore, conducting direct observations during assignments with interpreters, service providers and clients was not an option for me.

As a result, I understood that I needed to conduct indirect observations through the experiences of interlocutors that take part in community interpreting assignments and for whom I did not have access restrictions: service providers and interpreters. I also did not contemplate the use of action research as method for this project, because action research focuses on the individual level and is designed to improve existing situations at a practical level. Action research is commonly undertaken by the researcher to improve his/her own practice, and this endeavor was out of the exploratory nature of the project.

As Hadley affirms, research methods in the qualitative approach may overlap with one another. “From the onset one can see that, with the exception perhaps of the classic forms of ethnography, all [qualitative methods] use interviews and participant observation as a means of gathering data” (2017:61). Given the obstacles aforementioned, I continued to explore different data collection, sampling, and analytic methods, and I discovered Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM) and decided to adopt it. The relevance given to the information and input provided by participants was the most appealing aspect of this method. This feature traces a line with the first inspiration of this study and the centre-periphery image, as it places participants’ experiences and knowledge in an interplay with scholarly, institutional, and normative discourses.

0.4.1. Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM)

Based on Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss (2015), Katy Charmaz (2006), Hadley (2017), and Barney Glaser and Strauss (2017), I have listed some of the most important principles and technical features of this research method:

- GTM is based on empirical data and is used for pragmatic purposes.
- It follows a bottom-up approach, which means putting together pieces of information–called codes–taken from collected data, in order to form concepts or categories.
- It is heuristic by definition, since it allows the researcher to observe new problems and potential solutions, without necessarily fitting them into existing categories or theoretical frameworks.
- Data is not forced to fit into a predetermined theoretical framework.
- It can be done manually (open coding), or through software (Qualitative Data Analysis Software-QDAS) (Corbin and Strauss, 2015: 203).
- GTM makes available a series of analytic devices: for example, comparing sets of data, thinking in metaphors, using the flip-flop technique, questioning data, thinking about the various meanings of a word, looking for variations or the “negative case”, and theoretical sampling (Ibid: 89-99).

- Theoretical sampling is perhaps one of the most important analytic devices of GTM. "Theoretical sampling is concept-driven and enables researchers to discover the concepts that are relevant to one specific problem and one specific population" (Glaser and Strauss, 2017: 47-55). It also allows the analyst to compare concepts developed from different sets of data or different populations; therefore, categories become more comprehensive regarding the problem at stake. This contrasting device can be equated with what is conventionally known as triangulation.
- The main data processing tools suggested by GTM authors are memos and diagrams: "Your memos are the core of your grounded theory" (Charmaz, 2006:94).
- Memos help to identify, classify, and code information. They also serve as contrasting devices and as thematic and chronological indicators when storing information. There are two types of memos: coding memos and summary memos. With the former the analyst can explore, sort, code, and analyze data. With the latter, the analyst puts together all the information sorted and analyzed in a set of coding memos in order to integrate basic elements and properties that will give form to concepts or categories.
- "Diagrams are conceptual visualizations of data and help to raise the researcher's thinking beyond the level of description. They also help to integrate ideas and concepts, and to explain findings in systematic and organized ways […] it also helps to reduce data down to their essence" (Corbin and Strauss, 2015: 122).
- "Diagrams can offer concrete images to our ideas". They are useful in all stages of the analysis and may help to visualize the "relative power, scope and direction of the categories in the analysis" (Charmaz, 2006: 117-118).
- The notion of theory in GTM differs from more conventional positivist notions in that the latter approach theory in terms of axiomatic systems that provide foundations for empirical evidence and yield predictions and explanations of phenomena. In GTM, theory is also of pragmatic worth, but it aims to provide tools that may help understand the nature of social processes. As Hadley

(2017: 35-37) explains, theory in GTM has an explanatory power that does not necessarily provide a conclusion but rather helps understand the problem or the phenomenon at stake. Theory in GTM is embedded with a holistic openness and is "an ever-developing entity, not a perfected product".

- One divergence between Glaser and Strauss, as observed by Hadley (2017: 38-42), is that Glaser was less inclined to conduct the revision of related research or theories before "entering in the field and during the early stages of analysis", for the author was convinced that this is how theory generation was possible. Contrary to this, Strauss encouraged his students to review theories in advance, as he considered that "this heightens theoretical sensitivity and strengthens the potential of generating new ideas and insight".
- Notwithstanding the above, Glaser and Strauss agreed on the equal weight that participants input and existing theories can have in terms of theoretical generation; "[…] [I]ndeed, the trick is to line up what one takes as theoretically possible with what one is finding in the field" (Glaser and Strauss 1967/1999: 253, as cited in Hadley, 2017: 45).

0.4.2. Grounded Theory Methodology in this thesis

I had three sets of data to analyze and compare (nine semi-structured interviews with community interpreters, five semi-structured interviews with service providers, and six institutional codes of ethics). I found that GTM provided me with the approach and tools to better explore, classify, code, integrate, visualize, and most importantly, make sense of the data. It is important to note, however, that I had considered the use of a more conventional descriptive analysis method for ethnographic data with the assistance of software, but I found the software very time consuming in terms of learning, and the annual license was expensive for my means. Additionally, during the software trial period, I noticed that the software was effective for organizing data and classifying patterns, however, as the program does not interpret information, I feared that relevant details could be left out of the account.

I started to use GTM after the project design and ethics approval had been revised and granted. Moreover, interview guides, main purpose, and the scope of the study had been already approved. Although, Charmaz (2006) and Glaser and Strauss (2017) have suggested that when using GTM, the analyst should ideally refrain from bringing any preconceived concepts or approach data with a theoretical framework in mind, I had already used my knowledge and sources of reference in order to design the project and the interview guides.

Nonetheless, I followed all the guidelines and suggestions provided by Corbin and Strauss (2015) for the analysis. I decided to carry out open coding because I wanted to observe how the actions of community interpreters are linked to codes of ethics and institutional expectations (what I call action-interaction). In order to do this, I needed to have a conversation of sorts with the data, especially with the answers that interpreters provided to interviews, in which I could trace events, feelings, opinions, contradictions, hesitations, and their interplay with service providers' expectations and opinions, and the norms. All this would have been hard to obtain using only software, since QDAS is useful when researchers are looking for a more descriptive type of analysis.

0.4.3. Data collection and analysis techniques

0.4.3.1. Semi-structured interviews

Initially, semi-structured interviews were designed to interview interpreters who only worked in the health care sector, as the study was initially focused on examining assignments taking place within medical or health care settings. However, after the third interview, I determined that community interpreters work in a number of settings, especially those who work for agencies. Therefore, I made some changes to the initial interview guide and adjusted questions to cover other settings where community interpreting is requested. (See Annex 1 for interview guides with community interpreters).

Parallel to these interviews, I also designed and conducted semi-structured interviews with service providers who work with interpreters on a regular basis in different settings. (See Annex 2 for the interview guide with service providers).

0.4.3.2. Eligibility criteria

I interviewed nine community interpreters who voluntarily decided to participate in the study. They work in four Canadian cities: Gatineau, Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto. The eligibility criteria shared by these participants included the following aspects:

- To be a community interpreter working currently (through an agency or independently).
- To have more than one year of experience working in Canada.
- To be a certified or accredited interpreter.

Five service providers were also interviewed: two from the health care sector, two from legal settings, and one from the education sector. The eligibility criteria for the second group of participants included:

- To work in a community setting where interpreting services are required on a regular basis.
- To provide services to newcomers (immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers) who are not or who are limited English/French-speaking persons and who require linguistic interpreting assistance.
- To have experience working with certified or accredited interpreters.

0.4.3.3. Data analysis techniques: coding memos and summary memos

For the data analysis process, I classified the information provided by participants in five categories:

- Background of community interpreters who participated in the study.
- Challenges or conflicting situations and coping strategies before assignments.
- Challenges or conflicting situations and coping strategies during assignments.
- Challenges or conflicting situations and coping strategies after assignments.
- Service providers' views and expectations.

Then, within each of the listed categories, I identified patterns and recurrent topics and assigned them a name or tag, which in GTM is called a code. For example, in the category of challenges or conflicting situations and coping strategies before assignments, one of the identified patterns or recurring topics was that several interpreters omitted introducing themselves and explaining dynamics of the interpretation process to the participants. As this topic was common to a number of participants, I tagged it with the name of *Omission of the introduction*.

After identifying the topic, I created a coding memo for this specific topic. A coding memo is a separate document that depicts the participant's insights on the identified topic. There is one coding memo per participant on each identified topic. For instance, for the case previously mentioned as an example, there were eight coding memos under the title *On introduction*.

The analysis of the information provided by the coding memo helped me identify motivations behind participants' behaviour, as well as the properties of each topic. Coding memos are also useful to identify in-vivo codes. In-vivo codes are key terms or expressions expressed by participants in their testimonies; these terms may eventually be used in order to form categories or to build arguments in the final reports of the study. In fact, one salient finding taken from an in-vivo code was "rule-bending", this was a term uttered by participant 1, and evolved into one of the main classifying categories in the study.

In addition, coding memos allowed me to contrast sets of data from one participant to another and from one setting to another. For instance, to continue with the example of introduction, by contrasting all of the coding memos I was able to identify that most interpreters were omitting the introduction, and that the main reasons for this had to do with the time and place of meetings, clients' prior knowledge of interpreter-mediated events, and the lack of institutional clarity about its use. (See Annex 3 for a sample of coding memos).

Once all the coding memos about one topic had been numbered and analyzed, I designed summary memos. Summary memos condense the most relevant information found on all of the coding memos under one topic. There is one summary memo for each important topic, and these are useful tools that helped merge or combine all the properties of a topic and create a category. Furthermore, summary memos assisted me in the final integration of the chapters. (See Annex 4 for a sample of a summary memo).

Coding and summary memos are the most useful data analysis techniques that I found in GTM, as suggested by Corbin and Strauss (2015: 120-122).

0.4.3.4. In-vivo codes, categories and diagrams

As I mentioned before, in-vivo codes are terms or phrases taken literally from participants' statements. In-vivo codes can function as indicators of central notions in participants' narratives. They can also function as initial properties of the topics that may evolve into important categories that will enrich the final account. For example, in-vivo codes such as "open the line of communication", "bring the parties together", "I don't need an interpreter", "rule-bending" strategy, "concealing your emotions", and getting the client "out of trouble" are some of the in-vivo codes identified through data exploration that evolved into important properties, or even categories in the dissertation. Following the indications of GTM, in-vivo codes have been identified or highlighted by using quotation marks in this dissertation.

A final data analysis technique used in this thesis is diagrams. Diagrams are visualizations of data that help to integrate ideas and concepts, and explain findings in systematic and organized ways, Corbin and Strauss (2015: 123).

Diagrams condense and display information in a visual form. They epitomize all the processed data for one complete category or even a section of the account. (See Annex 5 for an example of a diagram with in-vivo codes).

0.4.3.5. Ethical considerations: participants' identities

In order to safeguard the identity of interpreters, I used a master list that linked the codes “Participant 1, 2, 3, etc.” with their names. I was the only person to have access to this list, and it was shredded as soon as the interviews were transcribed.

Furthermore, before their interview, participants signed a consent form and were advised not to mention their names, country of origin, place of residency, or agency or institution they work for during the interview. In addition, I designed the interview guides in such a way as to make sure that participants were not identified. Finally, in the transcriptions and data analysis, when I needed to quote participants’ statements, I used the identifiers "Participant 1, 2, 3, 4..." for community interpreters, and “SP 1, 2, 3…” for service providers.

In the interest of reciprocity, after the thesis submission, I will make sure to send an email to those who volunteered with the findings and conclusions of the study, so that they can see the dimension and contributions of their work and knowledge. (See Annex 6. The Ethics Approval by the Board of Ethics. University of Ottawa).

Dissertation layout

This dissertation comprises five chapters. Chapter 1 puts forward the context of the study. In an attempt to be consistent with the epistemological and theoretical frameworks, I addressed the context from both macro and micro perspectives. In the macro perspective, I compared and contrasted the codes of ethics of four organizations in the language industry in Ontario, and those suggested in the orientations or guidelines for the provision of interpreting services by the Ministry of Health and Social Services in Quebec. With this assessment, I identified the most and least shared ethical principles among the professional codes, which were later used in the triangulation and analysis sections to contrast with participants’ actions and interactions with clients and service providers.

In the micro perspective of the context, I used some of the data generated by participant interpreters' statements in order to describe their background, training, skills, assumptions, and expectations.

Chapter 2 summarizes participant interpreters' accounts on conflicting situations that take place before assignments. Additionally, this chapter includes typologies of conflicting situations or challenges and the corresponding coping strategies that interpreters use. Finally, service providers' contributions are triangulated with the resulting concepts and categories. Interesting findings emerge in this chapter: the technical aspects of a briefing, the relevance of the introduction and its characteristics depending on the setting, and the categories of rule-bending and rule-validating strategies.

Chapter 3 describes and classifies conflicting situations and challenges that participant interpreters find during assignments. This typology yielded the following categories: institutional constraints and client attitudes that restrict interpreters' agency, culture-bound linguistic challenges and conflicting situations that require cultural awareness, and situations that can potentially compromise the impartiality of the interpreter.

Chapter 4 registers and organizes interpreters' strategies for coping with the conflicting situations described in chapter 3. In this case, strategies were also classified as rule-bending or rule-validating. Three interesting categories are the outcome of this analysis: using assertiveness and inter-relational skills, using cultural awareness to cope with culture-bound challenges, and the powers and limits of visibility and invisibility.

Finally, Chapter 5 summarizes and classifies conflicting situations that happen after assignments–and as an effect of the assignment–and strategies that interpreters come up with to cope. These outcomes are complemented with service providers' views in an analysis and discussion section.

CHAPTER 1: CONTEXTUALIZING THE STUDY

"The overwhelming evidence of the fragmentation of multicultural societies and the Babylonian confusion of tongues in an overly complex global society seem to impel us towards holistic conceptions of language and contextualist conceptions of worldviews that make us skeptical about universalist claims, whether cognitive or normative." Jürgen Habermas (1994:121)[10]

In the methodological framework adopted (GTM), setting the context equates to describing the "conditions in which action-interaction occurs and to which persons are responding to when they act" (Corbin and Strauss, 2015:153). For this purpose, I have brought together a number of factors that describe the conditions in which community interpreters from the urban areas of Ottawa, Gatineau, Toronto, and Montreal work. This context is divided into three parts:

- The first part refers to the historical use of the notion of translation and interpreting and how it may influence our assumptions today. Notably, I will refer to the binaries *interpretatio–hermeneia*; *traduttore–traditore*; and *faithfulness–unfaithfulness*.
- The second part presents macro-factors that guide, instruct, and shape the delivery of community interpreting services in the cities mentioned above. I will refer to the Official Languages Act and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (sections 14 to 20). Also, I will refer to the National Standards Guide for Community Interpreting Services (NSGCIS) and the ministerial orientations for interpreting practice in health and social services in Quebec[11],

[10] In his essay Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic Constitutional State, in response to Taylor's *Politics of Recognition,* Habermas calls for less polarized views in terms of identity and recognition (1994: 107-148).

[11] *Les orientations ministerièlles concernant la pratique de l'interprétariat dans les services de santé et les services sociaux au Québec* (OMISSSS). When I started this study (2016-2017), community interpreting services in Quebec were not regulated by a government body. However, there were two banks for interpreters that consolidated the information on available interpreters for health and social services: Banque interrégional d'interprètes de Montréal and la Banque d'interprètes de la Capitale-Nationale. Additionally, a myriad of community centres and agencies delivered community interpreting for different cities and regions in the province. All these organizations were working rather autonomously in terms of funding, interpreters' working conditions, codes of ethics, standards of practice, and outreaching. In view of this situation, between 2018 and 2019, the Ministry of Health and Social Services of Quebec suggested the creation of a centralized body (Banque d'interprètes du Québec) and put forward a set of guidelines that direct and assist community interpreting services in the province. These guidelines contain definitions and recommendations, including "desirable deontological principles" for the provision of community interpreting.

comparing their ethical principles and standards of practice with the ethical principles of four institutions that provide or assess community interpreting services in the aforementioned cities.

- Finally, the third part of the context will describe conditions from a micro-perspective. For this purpose, this section will use part of the data analysis from the community interpreters' interviews[12]. Thus, this third section of the context includes interpreters' backgrounds, skills and qualifications and interpreters' notions of challenges or conflicting situations.

1.0. Designations for community interpreting and their implications for interpreters and end-users

I will start by referring to four designations for qualified interpreters outside conference interpreting: community interpreting, public service interpreting, dialogue interpreting, and liaison interpreting. I selected these among other appellatives due to their active use in theory and in practice. Also, because other designations such as *ad hoc interpreter*, *cultural interpreter*, or *cultural mediator* relate either to bilinguals who also play the role of interpreters without previous training or as volunteers, or to a notion of interpreting that is no longer in use.

In the last decade, *Dialogue Interpreting* has been adopted as the umbrella term for the broad range of non-conference interpreting practices, most notably in Europe. Although Ian Mason introduced the term in (1999; 2009), he did not take into account sign and over-the-phone interpreting. Subsequently, with the findings of further research based on sociological and discourse analysis, the definition of *Dialogue Interpreting* has gained a more specific characterization:

- Interpreters are acknowledged as social agents who coordinate the communication event.
- More emphasis has been placed on features such as gestures and prosodic aspects of language.
- Interpreting is understood as an activity not as a text, with an interactive bi-directionality (Wadensjö, 1998).

[12] See Annex 1

- Interpersonal, intercultural, and socio-institutional aspects are also considered in the description (Merlini, 2015: 102- 07).

The term *Liaison Interpreting* was initially used in an attempt to designate interpreter-mediated communication in multilingual settings (Erasmus et al., 1999). Although this designation was very insightful and made a point about the contact between interpreters and clients, the aforementioned description of *Dialogue Interpreting* may be more overarching because of the social, linguistic, and cultural accounts that sustain its theoretical underpinnings.

Although it is not accepted worldwide, *Community Interpreting* is the most commonly used designation[13] for "the interpretation that takes place between people who live in the same community, society or country but who do not share a common language" (Hale, 2015: 65). It falls under the umbrella term of *Dialogue Interpreting* and takes place in different settings that offer basic services for communities: health, education, legal, and social services. Although Pöchhacker (2016: 15) affirms that there is an intra-social dimension to *Dialogue Interpreting*–and therefore *Community Interpreting*–the latter also takes place in international settings such as refugee camps and rescue ships.

Ozolins (2014: 24-27) explains the reason authorities in the UK decided to use the designation of *Public Service Interpreting* instead of that of *Community Interpreting*. On the one hand, the latter was not preferred because it might create confusion among users within institutions of the European Community. On the other hand, the term 'community' was linked to untrained personnel and poor-quality service. Furthermore, it was thought that the use of the term 'community' could affect impartiality in the facilitators of communication, as they may feel identified with a particular ethnic community.

[13] Public Service Interpreting is the designation used in the UK, and its Spanish translation in Spain: Interpretación en los Servicios Públicos.

Notwithstanding the above, *Community Interpreting* is the most commonly and widely accepted appellative. In the words of Wadensjö, it is currently the most common type of interpreting in the world (2009: 43-48) and serves thousands of social groups who do not use the mainstream languages and require interpretation in order to access basic services.

1.1. Historical notes on community interpreting

Thanks to the accessibility of written documents, historians and other scholars who work on history of translation or language policies have had the possibility to trace back and reconstruct translation practices in the past. However, although it is very likely that interpretation practices existed long before translation, the absence of substantial evidence is a challenge when it comes to the reconstruction of this activity in the past.

I decided to look into Ancient Roman[14] uses of interpreters. Primarily, I will talk here about interpreters; settings where interpreting was delivered; interpreters' roles; and the emergence of binary assumptions about translators and interpreters.

According to Siobhán McElduff (2013: 25) and Daniel Peretz (2006: 453) interpreters in Ancient Rome came from a variety of backgrounds. Some were the children of Greek speakers who learnt Latin with private tutors. Others were soldiers who started in the lower ranks of the army and moved upward, becoming escort interpreters of magistrates and military officers, or even subordinate officials. A third group consisted of slaves, freedmen, and war prisoners, who spoke languages other than Latin and Greek. This last group was especially useful for war missions and commerce.

Structures of power such as the Senate, military expeditions, and diplomacy were the instances where interpretation services were officially used. Sources do not mention how communication took place between *ad hoc* or natural interpreters and people outside power structures. However,

[14] Pöchhacker explains that "more solid documentary evidence, however patchy, is available for interpreters in the Roman Empire" (2016: 155).

interpreters who worked with highly ranked magistrates and military officers became part of the public service and were remunerated by the public treasury (Rochette, 1996: 79).

There were also different uses or 'modes' of interpreting in Ancient Rome[15]: simultaneous interpreting (with one or several interpreters); one interpreter for each party (*singulis interpretibus*); and sight translation (*oratione interpretata*) Rochette (1996: 86). The roles of interpreters were diverse and depended on the purpose of the encounter. For example, Rochette indicates that for commercial transactions and the exchange of goods, the role of an interpreter was that of an intermediary who, besides the linguistic knowledge, should also have an understanding of the issues at stake, and ensure the successful running of the operation (1996: 80)[16].

Another function of interpreters consisted of escorting magistrates and diplomats in Rome and in the different provinces. During these events, interpreters were often used as blocking devices, to create some distance between the interlocutors, to avoid speaking the foreign language, or just as linguistic aids (McElduff, 2013: 25). Furthermore, interpreters accompanied military expeditions, and in the Senate, some magistrates required interpreters for not commonly spoken dialects of Greek, or for the explanation (exegesis)[17] of incomprehensible languages or passages.

Regarding the idea that conceived translators but mainly interpreters as traitors, it is possible to think that one of the reasons for this was that slaves and foreign prisoners of war[18] were often used as interpreters (McElduff: 2013:32) and (Rochette: 1996:83). We may think that this usage was obviously hazardous for official matters, since it entailed a great chance that the purpose of the

[15] A comprehensive description of modes of interpreting today is provided by Alexieva: "A typology of interpreter-mediated events: Simultaneous interpreting, consecutive interpreting, whispered interpreting (or chuchotage), sight translation, and relay interpreting". (2002: 218-233)

[16] "… qui doit aussi veiller lorsque les parties ne parlent pas la même langue, au bon déroulement des opérations grâce à la compréhension mutuelle des propos échangés".

[17] "Cicéron veut peut-être dire que certains propos tenus au Sénat sont obscurs et qu'ils demandent une *interprétation,* mais pas nécessairement une *traduction* d'une langue vers l'autre" (Rochette, 1996: 81).

[18] "Il n'est pas rare que des prisonniers de guerre étrangers, qui avaient acquis une connaissance du latin à la faveur de leur captivité à Rome, soient utilisés comme interprètes. Cette pratique est évidemment dangereuse, puisqu'elle comporte le risque d'une trahison par déformation des propos traduits" (Rochette, 1996: 83).

message would be modified or altered. It could be assumed, therefore, that this fact may have been the origin of the pun *traduttore – traditore*, referring to the work of interpreters and of translators by extension.

Another problematic binary notion was faithfulness/unfaithfulness. In Ancient Rome, the notion of fidelity in translation/interpretation was associated with interpreters/translators in terms of linguistic equivalence and in terms of the semantic elements of 'trust' and 'reliability'. According to McElduff (2013: 31), presumably there was a system for the translation of senatorial decrees into Greek. One element that suggests this hypothesis is the "uniformity of the Greek translations of the *senatus consulta*": there was consistency in phraseology and vocabulary in documents found across separate areas and cities of the Roman Empire. It was likely that translators followed a handbook or word lists that kept terminologies fixed. Another aspect that supports this hypothesis is that "the Greek of the official translations was deliberately unidiomatic" (Idem: 32). These two devices (consistency in vocabulary and phraseology, and unidiomatic foreign language) could have been used as measures to guarantee linguistic faithfulness in translations.

The function attributed by the Romans to the word *fides - faithfulness* may also cast light on the weight that this term still has today. The translation of the Greek word *pistis*[19] for *fides*[20] may have led to primary interlocutors' views of interpreters as traitors or loyal, depending on the way they translated the aforementioned words: "While both words can be translated as trust or faith, the Latin term had a very specific meaning in the Imperial context. Surrendering *in fidem* meant that one had unconditionally surrendered all one's goods and territory" (Hölkeskamp, 2000, in McElduff, 2013: 17). When an interpreter explained this nuance to Greek owners, Romans considered him to be a traitor. However, when the Greeks missed this decisive meaning, the

[19] (πιστις, òν) *Pistis*- adj. credible; commanding belief, or conviction; meriting trust, or confidence; faithful, upright, or honest; yielding ready belief; of easy faith; confiding; persuasive or convincing. In Donnegan, J. (1840: 1005) *A New Greek and English Lexicon.* Digitalized in 2007 by the Internet Archive: https://archive.org/details/newgreekenglishl00donnuoft/page/n6

[20] *Fides*- V. To command, to persuade, to trust; N. Faith, reliance, confidence.

outcome of losing their property would lead them to never trust that interpreter again. Today, the notion of fidelity or accuracy is used to assess the quality of translation and interpreting. Although there is no consensus or general agreement on a definition for "accuracy", Interpreting Studies scholars agree in that "an acceptable target speech may in fact require deviations from linguistic equivalence" (Gile, 2009, and Hale, 2002, in Pöchhacker, 2015: 4).

An additional factor that may have fashioned core notions of interpreting and translation was the coexistence and the parallel use of Latin and Greek words for interpretation: *interpretatio* and *hermeneia.* As mentioned before, in Ancient Rome, interpreters were also required at Senate to accompany magistrates for either linguistic interpretation, or for the explanation of obscure concepts or passages[21]. Outside the Senate, sources only make reference to *interpres–interpreti* and no reference is made of *hermeneia.* Although our current understanding of interpreting and translation may be closer to the former, the latter still represents a challenge when it comes to delving into the semantic and theoretical realms of Translation Studies[22].

In terms of expectations from interpreters, sources show that interpreters' linguistic ability and their trustworthiness were the basic things officials expected from interpreters (McElduff, 2013: 27). Although these expectations may seem obvious, the aforementioned fact of slaves and prisoners of war being used as interpreters could have produced the assumption of interpreters as untrustworthy persons–assumptions that may have not only shaped the image of interpreters and translators during the Roman Empire, but its evolution over time.

These historical notes illustrate the emergence of some ideas or common beliefs about translators and interpreters that may still affect our understanding of their role today. Although both the historical periods and the persons involved cannot be equated, I would like to note that there are some common points with regard to expectations, settings, and assumptions. For example, fidelity

[21] *Hermeneia: interpretation, explanation –expression; elocution.* In *A New Greek and English lexicon,* Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co. (1840).

[22] Discussing the same dichotomy, Pöchhacker states that "rather than a semantic quibbling, this constitutes a fundamental challenge to our understanding of what it means to translate and/or interpret. (2016: 10).

or accuracy and professional skills are central standards required from interpreters today; these can be equated with the trustworthiness and language skills that were also expected of interpreters in the Roman Empire.

Similarly, today's binary of faithful rendition versus cultural interpretation may be equated to *interpretatio* versus *hermeneia* in the Roman Empire. Finally, with regard to settings, interpreters today are required in countless places, including courts, police stations, hospitals, medical services, educational settings, government and business services, public administration, border services, and many others. One important difference between settings where interpreting services are used today in comparison to Ancient Rome is that hospitals, schools, and public administration settings are among the modern institutions to have developed specialized discourses and internal laws. The context provided by some of these laws and institutions will be explained in the following section.

1.1. Conditions from a macro-perspective

1.2.1. Community interpreting and language policy in Canada

In Canada, three legal instruments provide a framework for the delivery of linguistic services to those whose language abilities represent an obstacle for access to services. One of them is the Official Languages Act, which makes English and French the official languages of the federal government and its institutions.

The Official Languages Act regulates the use of both languages in the following activities and services provided by federal institutions:

- Parliamentary proceedings
- Legislative and other instruments
- The administration of justice
- Communications with or the provision of services to the public
- Language of work
- Equal opportunities for English-and-French speaking Canadians

Additionally, this Act regulates the advancement of English and French across the country (for example, the presence of English or French schools where these linguistic communities are considered a minority). "The Official Languages Act requires all federal institutions to provide services in English or in French on request"[23], and interpretation and translation are paramount in all these services.

As far as other non-official languages are concerned, there is no policy[24]. However, services falling outside federal jurisdiction (e.g. health care, victim/witness assistance, or legal assistance) may require interpreting services to assist the members of the public who do not speak the prominent official language of the area or city.

There are two legal instruments proclaimed by the federal government that determine the provision of language services in non-official languages and ensure the respect and protection of cultural heritage. First, persons involved in court cases are entitled to interpreting services in non-official languages under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Section 14[25].

Second, with the adoption of the Multiculturalism Act in 1988, one of the principal aims was the reduction of discrimination in a country that was witnessing a growing number of immigrants arriving annually. The Multiculturalism Act also sought to protect the cultural heritage of Canadians and to implement programs within institutions and organizations oriented to promoting the values and traditions of minorities and newcomers, and to assisting in the adaptation process of the latter.

In conclusion, the Official Languages Act, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Section 14 on Legal Rights), and the Multiculturalism Act are official instruments that may be understood as the

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[23] Laurendeau, P. (2016) Official Languages Act (1969). In: *The Canadian Encyclopedia* *https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/official-languages-act-1969*

[24] With the exception of sign language and some aboriginal languages in the Northern Territories.

[25] "The assistance of an interpreter in any proceedings in which he is involved or in which he is a party or a witness, before a court, commission, board or other tribunal, if he does not understand or speak the language in which such proceedings are conducted." Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Legal Rights, Section 14.

safeguard of language rights and cultural legacy of minority language and non-official language groups across the country.

At a provincial level, in Ontario there are Acts and regulations that lay down the use of languages different from English and French for diverse institutions across the region. For example, the Occupational Health and Safety Act, R.S.O 1990; the Local Health System Integration Act, 2006, S.O. 2006, c. 4; the Legal Aid Services Act, 1998, S.O. C.26; the Human Rights Code, R.S.O. 1990, c. H. 19; and the Child and Family Services Act, R.S.O. 1990, c. C. 11.[26]

1.2.2. Norms and standards of practice for community interpreting

A code of ethics is a set of conventions and norms[27] that governs the roles, duties, and responsibilities in a particular field of practice. It is also used as a framework to achieve and recognize professional performance and to assess practices when ethical considerations are at play. In 2007, different stakeholders combined their efforts to produce a document that established a set of norms and guidelines for the delivery of community interpreting services in Canada, known as the National Standard Guide for Community Interpreting Services (NSGCIS).

Notwithstanding the common effort, this document must be taken only as set of recommendations and does not necessarily govern the ethical principles of all the bodies and institutions that work with or use the services of community interpreters. However, some agencies that offer linguistic services and training have adopted the code of ethics suggested by the NSGCIS.

According to the NSGCIS (2007: 22), accredited community interpreters in Canada must adhere to eight ethical principles: accuracy and fidelity, confidentiality, impartiality, respect for persons, maintenance of role boundaries, accountability, professionalism, and continued competence.

[26] Canadian Legal Information Institute: CanLII.org

[27] It is important to remember that I am drawing on Toury's notion of norm as stated in the introduction of this dissertation. Norms are at a mobile centre of a values scale and determine how close or far actions are from objective rules at one extreme, or from idiosyncratic mannerisms at the other. Although norms instruct and determine actions or performance, these are not strategies of actions in themselves, but "they can certainly give rise and lend justification to such strategies" (Toury, 1999: 15).

There are 47 standards of practice.[28] These standards are industrial recommendations on specific duties and dos and don’ts that community interpreters are expected to adopt in order to abide by the ethical principles established in the codes. Some of these standards are debatable, because they do not necessarily apply to all contexts and situations in which community interpreting services are delivered.

For this section, I compared the codes of ethics of four organizations in Ontario and the code of ethics recommended in the document OMISSSS for Quebec, with the ethical principles recommended by the NSGCIS[29]. With this comparison, I aimed to observe different aspects regarding the normativity that governs the actions and interactions of community interpreters in the two provinces. Drawing on Toury’s “continuum of norms” (1995/2013), the elements that I wanted to identify were the following:

- Which are the core (or more or less central) principles for all the codes?
- How different or alike are their definitions of the core norms?
- Which standards of practice could potentially be more controversial?

I attempt to answer the abovementioned questions using three charts. In the first chart, I map out the main principles upon which the five codes of ethics base standards of practice and interpreters’ duties. The second chart displays the definitions of the most shared principles in the codes of

[28] “Standards of practice define the framework from which an oral language interpreter’s performance is conducted and measured. Standards of practice guide how a language interpreter will perform his/her role, duties and responsibilities” NSGCIS (2007: 21).

[29] The chosen codes of ethics are the following:
-Code of ethics of the Association of Translators and Interpreters of Ontario (ATIO). It is worth noting that ATIO is not a language services agency, but a professional association that certifies translators, interpreters and terminologists in the province.
-Code of ethics of the Orientations ministérielles concernant la pratique de l’interprétariat dans les services de santé et les services sociaux au Québec (OM ISSSS).
-Code of ethics of Agency 1 (Interpreting services agency based in Ottawa).
-Code of ethics of Agency 2 (Interpreting services agency based in Ottawa).
-Code of ethics of Agency 3 (Interpreting services agency based in Toronto).
Note: The names of the agencies are reserved to protect the identities of participants.

Core ethical principles in community interpreting codes of ethics								
The National Standards Guide's code of ethics compared with the codes of ethics of five institutions								
NSGCIS	**Accuracy and fidelity**	**Confiden-tiality**	**Impartiali - ty or neutrality**	**Respect for persons**	**Maintaining role boundaries**	**Account-ability**	**Professiona-lism**	**Continued competence**
ATIO	Faithful-ness	v	v	Non-discrimina - tion	Establis-hing and maintai-ning role bounda-ries	Responsi-bility	Integrity	x
OM ISSSS	Fidélité	v	v	v	v	x	v	x
Agency 1	v	v	Objecti-Vity	Respect and dignity	Conflict of interests disclosure	x	v	x
Agency 2	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v
Agency 3	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v

ethics, and the third chart presents the definitions of the least shared principles in the codes of ethics.

Table 1. Core principles in community interpreting codes of ethics
V= the code of ethics includes the principle
X= the code of ethic does not include the principle

Table 1 indicates that *Accuracy and Fidelity and Confidentiality* are universal ethical principles in the five codes of ethics assessed. As far as the rest of principles are concerned, they are quasi-universal as they are addressed in reference to different values or sometimes with alternative notions or ideals. For example, *Respect for persons* is equated with *Non-discrimination* in ATIO and with *Respect and Dignity* in Agency 1. Similarly, *Accountability* is associated with *Responsibility* in ATIO, but it is not included in the codes of OMISSSS and Agency 1; and it is noteworthy that the ethical principle of *Impartiality or Neutrality* is not stated in ATIO's code of ethics. Finally, it is clear in this chart that Agencies 2 and 3 adhere to the eight ethical principles presented by the National Standards Guide (NSGCIS). The least shared ethical principles among the codes are accountability and continued competence.

Definitions of the most shared principles in the codes of ethics				
	NSGCIS	ATIO	OMISSSS	AGENCY 1[30]
Accuracy and Fidelity	Preserving the meaning of the totality of the original message, without omissions, additions, distortions or changes.	Members shall faithfully and accurately reproduce in the target language the closest natural equivalent of the source language message without embellishment, omission or explanation.	L'interprète s'assure de transmettre l'information en entier, aussi fidèlement que possible et au mieux de sa capacité, en évitant d'ajouter, d'omettre ou de modifier des éléments qui pourraient porter atteinte au sens du message.	Renditions are faithful, without additions, omissions, or alterations to the message. The interpreter will interpret everything that is said by both parties.
Confidentiality	Not disclosing and treating as confidential all information learned, either uttered or written in the performance of the professional duties, while adhering to relevant requirements regarding disclosure.	Members will respect the privacy of their clients and/or employers and hold in confidence all information obtained in the course of professional service.	L'interprète doit traiter toute information échangée et à laquelle il accès par écrit ou verbalement de manière strictement confidentielle.	The interpreter will maintain strict confidentiality in all matters pertaining to an interpretation.
Respect for Persons	Demonstration of an acknowledgement of the inherent dignity of all parties in the interpreted encounter.	Members shall practice their profession with honesty and integrity, respecting the rights and interests of their clients and/or employers. Members also shall respect the difference between professional and social interactions.	L'interprète s'assure de faire preuve de respect envers toutes les parties à l'échange.	The interpreter has due regards for the dignity and the rights of interlocutors.
Impartiality or Neutrality	Interpreters strive to maintain impartiality by showing no preference or bias to	X	L'interprète s'assure de demeurer impartial en ne montrant ni préférence ni parti pris	The interpreter will remain impartial and

[30] Agencies 2 and 3 do not make part of Tables 2 and 3 because they adhere to the ethical principles proposed by NSGCIS as mentioned above.

	any party involved in the interpreted encounter.		à l'égard de l'une ou de l'autre des parties à l'échange.	objective at all times.

Table 2. Definitions of the most shared principles in the codes of ethics

Table 2 depicts the ways in which the main ethical principles are defined in the assessed codes of ethics. The principles compared here are accuracy and fidelity, confidentiality, impartiality or neutrality, and respect for persons. After comparing and contrasting the codes and their definitions of the aforementioned principles, it is worth mentioning the following common aspects among institutions:

Accuracy and fidelity

- Completeness. The idea of delivering the message fully (form and meaning) is paramount for these institutions.
- Faithfulness. The terms "faithfully", "faithful" and "fidélité" are found in ATIO, Agency 1 and OMISSSS respectively. Although there is no specific description for the notion, it is clear that there must not be any omissions, additions, alterations, embellishments, or explanations to the original message.
- Natural equivalence. ATIO is the only institution that includes equivalence in its account for fidelity. It is interesting to see how some institutions still hold the notion of natural equivalence and demand it from interpreters. It is controversial, because going directly from a source text to the target text may result in incomprehensible passages. Nonetheless, OMISSSS suggests the priority of conveying the sense over word-for-word renditions. Maybe the notion of pragmatic or dynamic equivalence would be more appropriate.

Confidentiality

- Non-disclosure of all information. Keeping secret all information "learnt in the performance of the professional duties". This definition provided by the NSGCIS can be understood as integrating the three moments of the interpreter-mediated event: before, during, and after. Therefore, confidential information learnt while preparing for duty or in a debriefing should also kept secret.

- Respect for the privacy of participants. Holding the identity of both clients and service providers secret is also paramount in the ethical conduct of community interpreters. ATIO and OMISSSS share this view; however, Agency 1 is not very clear about this point.

Respect for persons

- Values of honesty and integrity. ATIO describes respect by situating honesty and integrity as the underlying values of the professional duties of interpreters and translators.
- Dignity and direct communication are other core values included in this principle. Although the term dignity is not included in the description of ATIO and OMISSSS, it could be understood as showing equal sensibility and esteem for both clients and service providers. Direct communication is understood as the face-to-face interaction that interpreters maintain with both parties, while respecting and not interfering with the personal decisions of individuals.
- Rights and interests. Members of ATIO and Agency 1 must also be vigilant of participants' rights and concerns.

Impartiality

- The principle of impartiality is described as not showing any bias or preference when interpreting. Interpreters must avoid being perceived as performing their job with predilections or bias towards any party involved in the interpreted encounter.
- According to OMISSSS, being impartial also entails avoiding taking assignments with personal acquaintances, and any type of prejudice or discrimination.

In general terms, the observed codes of ethics agree with the core or universal ethical principles for the delivery of linguistic services. They also share underlying values of respect, dignity and quality. Nonetheless, topics such as maintaining the confidentiality of information and observing participants' interests may be problematic in practical and specific situations. Moreover, it is worth noting that Agency 1 and OMISSSS do not provide any account when it comes to the principle of accountability.

Impartiality is often equated with neutrality. However, the contexts of use of these two notions differ: the adjective *neutral* is more commonly used in conflict-related contexts, from institutional to international scenarios. Therefore, being neutral is associated with conflict mediation roles of humanitarian individuals, organizations, or parties, such as neutral (non-belligerent/non-combatant) mediators in war zones. There are also conflict-resolution mediators at institutional levels, where human resources professionals may contribute to the resolution of problems. Also in this scenario, the mediator is requested to adopt neutrality among the parties. In contrast, the adjective *impartial* means fair, disinterested, unbiased, or objective. Therefore, the principle of impartiality indicates that professional actions and decisions ought to be based on objective criteria rather than personal preferences or prejudice in order to benefit one person or party over another. Although in the NSGCIS there is no clear distinction between the two terms, I will use *impartiality* in this dissertation.

Definitions of the least shared principles in the codes of ethics				
	NSGCIS	ATIO	OMISSSS	AGENCY 1
Accountability	Interpreters are responsible for the quality of interpretation provided and accountable to all parties and the organizations engaging the interpreter's service.	Members shall not accept work that they know to be beyond their competence and/or qualifications and accept full responsibility for the quality of their own work.	X	X
Continued competence	Interpreters commit themselves to lifelong learning in recognition that languages, individuals, and services evolve and	X	X	X

	change over time and a competent interpreter strives to maintain the delivery of quality interpretation.			

Table 3. Definitions of the least shared principles in the codes of ethics

Table 3 compares and contrasts the descriptions relating to the ethical principles of accountability and continued competence, which based on Table 1, are the least shared principles among the codes of ethics studied for this chapter.

Accountability

- Professional quality. Agency 1 and OMISSSS do not include accountability in the list of principles for their codes of ethics. However, ATIO does. Quality in community interpreting may be understood as the level of merit and technical expertise with which interpreters perform professional duties.
- Adherence to standards. In part, professional quality is granted by the degree of observance of and adherence to the professional standards suggested by the agency or institution for which interpreters work. Interpreters must also be aware of the liabilities in case of any failure to perform their duties in accordance with standards.

The NSGCIS's use of the term *accountability* appears to be somehow ambiguous and does not state in which settings community interpreters could be more or less exposed to legal liability or legal action as a consequence of breaching or failing to observe the codes of ethics.

- Role boundaries, or *Respect du role de l'interprète*, is one of the ethical principles in the code of ethics suggested by OMISSSS. However, this is not described as an independent ethical principle in the other codes, which rather include role boundaries in their concepts of accountability. Role boundaries refer to the limits that interpreters must observe when delivering services. Some of the measures that NSGCIS and OMISSSS suggest to respect the interpreter's role are the following: do not advocate on behalf of clients; do not get involved in the discussion and do not give advice or express personal opinions. Also, avoid unnecessary encounters with primary interlocutors before or after the assignment; utilize the least obtrusive mode of interpretation and protect their own privacy, well-being and safety.

Continued competence

Continued competence is part of the eight ethical principles suggested by NSGCIS, and in order to abide by this principle, interpreters must be prepared to demonstrate certifications, accreditations, training and experience.

Also, interpreters must maintain and expand their skills and knowledge through self-teaching, formal and informal continuing education. Additionally, interpreters must take available courses and examinations and/or certifications in order to be up to date with innovations and developments in the provision of community interpreting.

This general overview of the principles of codes of ethics for community interpreting in Canada shows that there are agreements and disagreements regarding institutional and professional values in the provision of interpreting services for audiences that, besides their language barriers, may also have education and socio-economic challenges that affect their access to services and integration into their new society.

Notably, there are five ethical principles in interplay with participant interpreters' actions and interactions from chapter 2 through to chapter 5. Those ethical principles are neutrality or impartiality; maintenance of role boundaries; accuracy and fidelity; accountability; and respect for persons.

1.2.3. Defining community interpreting from an institutional perspective

The definition of community interpreting used for this context comes from the National Standard Guide for Community Interpreting Services in Canada:

> Bidirectional interpreting that takes place in the course of communication among speakers of different languages. The context is the provision of public services such as healthcare or

> community services and in settings such as government agencies, community centres, legal settings, educational institutions, and social services. (2007: 10)

This definition provides information about the settings where community interpreting takes place, its purpose and its directionality. However, it does not provide information about the status of primary interlocutors (service providers and clients) and their means for obtaining interpreting services.

A study that was prepared for Industry Canada by the consulting company Fosburys Experts-Conseil in 2007[31] describes the purpose of interpreting services for service providers and citizens who do not speak the same language.

> In the area of public services other than commercial activities, interpreting services are intended to facilitate effective communication between service providers and citizens who are unable to express themselves in a service provider's language in order to ensure the quality of the services provided [...] In general, requests for interpreting services are filed by a service provider within organizations. Citizens[32] who want to be understood, will usually be accompanied by a friend or a relative who will act as an interpreter (Ibid: 22).

This description also provides a small piece of information about who files a request for interpreting services, and some clients' habit of using relatives or friends to interpret for them. However, this study was conducted in 2007, and some changes have taken place in the subsequent decade. Notably, the responsibility of providing interpreting services is no longer on the client, because the presence of a friend or a relative may hinder confidentiality, impartiality, and communication effectiveness. In regard to the request for a community interpreter, it is usually the service provider who makes the suggestion and files the request, frequently with the client's consent.

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[31] Community Interpreting in Canada (2007:22). http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2007/ic/Iu44-54-2007E.pdf

[32] The notion *citizen* used in this quote may result problematic, since community interpreting services are provided to people who are not necessarily Canadian citizens. In this thesis, I opted for the term *client.*

In fact, the testimonies of four out of the five service providers interviewed for this thesis confirm that they are the ones who actually file the request for interpreting services, making sure that the clients agree before the request is made.

Nonetheless, service provider 4, a practicing lawyer in Quebec, states that the province does not offer language assistance to his Legal Aid clients outside the courthouse. In his case, he resorts to his basic knowledge of Spanish, or his clients need to be accompanied by friends or relatives who can speak French. However, in other cases, his only resource is the court interpreter, just a few minutes before the hearing.

> Interviewer: *Okay, and before you go to the hearing, how do you communicate with clients?*
> SP4: *Well, if they're Spanish speakers, I've done it myself with some difficulty, if not we usually get a chance to meet the client at the courthouse with the court's interpreter, this is allowed and it's very useful*.
> Interviewer: *So, do you request that service in advance? I mean at the courthouse*.
> SP4: *To be able to meet with the interpreter and the client? No. Because I know that the interpreter will be there on the day of the trial for example and I will have a chance to use his or her services*.
> Interviewer: *Aha, and do you allow the interpreter to talk to the client or you meet with the interpreter before the hearing*?
> SP4: *No, I'm always with the client*.

This case illustrates the limitations of Legal Aid in Quebec in terms of the available and timely help of an interpreter for legal guidance before a hearing. Although SP4 did not comment on the outcome of the hearings he attended, it is likely that there were expressions, terms and details that the client could have missed or misunderstood from a testimony or a verdict.

Not all provinces have the same policies regarding interpreting services for the community. In Legal Aid Ontario, clients who require interpreting services and cannot afford them may have a greater chance of obtaining assistance. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether Legal Aid will benefit from the latest ministerial orientations for the provision of interpreting services OMISSSS.

1.2. Conditions from a micro-perspective

1.3.1. The community interpreter in Canada

Background and skills.

The community interpreters who participated in this study are bilingual individuals who came to the country as immigrants, or whose parents were immigrants. Some community interpreters received formal interpretation training in their home countries, for example, participants 1 and 8 in this study completed master's courses as conference interpreters in Japan and Mexico. However, given that when they came to Canada, the main market for conference interpreting was for the language combination English-French, they decided to work as health care and legal interpreters.

> Participant 1: *And when I graduated from high school, I wanted to be something that…helpful…uh…helping people from different cultures to communicate with each other, and one of the things that I thought about was becoming an interpreter. So, I took a course both at the university in master's level and also at a private company to be a conference interpreter. So that I guess gave me the experience both in and outside the school to practice. So when I graduated from my master's degree, I moved to Canada…and I… it was quite clear to me that I really wanted to do this, to work as an interpreter in Canada both Japanese and English, so I went to interpreting organizations and agencies to drop my resume and yeah they called, so that's how I started.*

Participant interpreters acquired accreditation as community interpreters in Canada, and passed tests developed by the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration. The (ILSAT) Interpreter Language and Skill Assessment Tool and the Cultural Interpreter Language and Interpreting Skills Assessment Tool (CILISAT) are the common exams taken by applicants. The ILSAT and the CILISAT evaluate linguistic and interpreting skills in English and in a second language. These tests measure interpreters' abilities to sight translate and interpret spoken dialogues in the consecutive mode. Additionally, these participants took core interpreting training courses, also developed by the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration. The core training includes the following content:

- Theory of interpreting and memory development
- The community interpreter's ethical principles and standards of practice
- The roles, boundaries and essential practices of community interpreting
- Guidelines for interrupting during an assignment and communication skills
- Note taking and sigh translation
- Guidelines for whispered simultaneous interpreting
- Guidelines for over-the-phone interpreting
- Key points in the interpreter's introduction and managing the interpretation
- Terms in the field of Translation and Interpretation
- Glossary of legal terms
- Glossary of medical terms[33]

Participants 3, 4, 5, and 6 also completed two more modules in their courses:

- Medical terminology used in sexual assault care centres
- Violence against women

Finally, there is also a Court Interpreting Accreditation Exam, called the "Bilingual Court Interpreting Test" also known as the "MAG Court Interpreting Test", directed by the Ministry of the Attorney General. In 2001, Quebec's Ministry of Justice adopted a process for the qualification of court interpreters. This qualification process was based on the translation and adaptation of the "Freelance Court Interpreter Handbook[34]" that had been published in 1995 by the Ministry of the Attorney General in Ontario. The adaptation for the province of Quebec comprises an interview, a knowledge test, and an interpreting skills test. "La qualification comprend une entrevue, un test de connaissance et un test d'aptitude à l'interprétation" Viens et al. (2002: 292). From the nine

[33] CISOC Translation and interpreting training agency that offers courses for accreditation and is authorized to administer the CILISAT tests. https://www.cisoc.net/en/cilisat

[34] The translation and adaptation was published in 2001 under the name "Guide à l'intention des interprètes judiciaires", in French and English, for the judiciary context in the province of Quebec (Viens et al., 2002: 291-92).

participant interpreters in this study, only Participant 8 has been accredited with this qualification process.

Not all the community interpreters participating in this study have a background or formal training in translation, interpreting, linguistics and the like; however, they have university degrees in different areas. Other than the aforementioned two interpreters with translation/interpreting formal education, the participants have been formally educated in political science, social work, education, journalism, law, and medicine, and out of the nine participants, two pursued their undergraduate programs in Canada.

Although participants 3, 5, 6 and 9 deliver interpreting services as part of their everyday jobs in the social services and education sectors, they are accredited community interpreters who completed language interpreting program certificates and approved the aforementioned language interpreting tests (ILSAT and CILISAT). Participants 2, 4, and 7 chose the profession of interpreting because of financial insecurity in their other work but decided to stay on in the industry. It is important to mention that Participant 2 is certified by ATIO and that participants 4 and 7 are accredited interpreters too.

1.3.2. Motivations of interpreters and the notion of community in this study

Motivations

Some of the participants' answers reveal that one of the main reasons for which they embarked on a new career as community interpreters is financial insecurity. Nevertheless, for some community interpreters this reason was accompanied by a second one: the wish to help. As an interpreter, it is comforting to observe both clients' and service providers' relief when they can finally communicate with each other, express their needs, and provide assistance.

> Participant 1: [Comparing conference interpreting and community interpreting]: *I think that at conference interpretation, interpreters are mostly like machines. They're not supposed to be seen, they're only voices. So…uh…you don't really interact. I mean, at the community level, you really are needed by both parties and you're not just a voice. In community interpreting is more like you…you really feel like you're helping, because*

you're there for…you're really necessary to facilitate communication, while in academic field you're just a machine. That's the main difference I find.

Drawing on this quote, facilitating communication and helping are the main motivations for working as a language interpreter in the community. It is also remarkable how Participant 1 underscores the presence of the community interpreter as a strength in the interpreter-mediated situation. This last statement confirms Wadensjö's views of dialogue interpreting not as text, but as an activity with a bi-directional interaction that allows service providers to explain their procedures, regulations, and/or diagnoses, and allows clients to communicate their concerns and access services.

Nonetheless, government bodies and private institutions may perceive simple concepts such as facilitating communication and helping as qualities of services that do not need to be funded, for they can be obtained through bilingual volunteers. This brings us back to why the UK chose the designation of Public Service Interpreting over that of Community Interpreting. In the UK it was thought that the latter was commonly associated with low quality, improvisation, and insufficient training in service provision.

Notwithstanding the above, it is important to mention that the comparison made by Participant 1 between conference and community interpreting is casual and lacks elaboration and technical analysis. Pöchhacker provides a very clear and succinct depiction of the differences between the two types of interpreting. On the one hand, conference interpreting is multilateral, assists professionals with comparable status, and is unidirectional. On the other hand, community interpreting is bilateral, assists professionals and individuals with power differentials, is face-to-face, and is bidirectional (2016: 16-17).

Community

One property of the notion of *community* has to do with its reference to a place or places, i.e., *locus*, within a geographical area and more specifically, places where services are delivered to social groups. This is the meaning given by Participant 1 when she talks about community:

> *And as I worked, I gained that experience, and I guess I knew what it's like to work as a community interpreter, because the places I went were those in the community, like hospitals, the city hall, legal offices, and sometimes jail. Although those are uh…the interpretation is really in the community level, it's very convenient, and useful, and fun to do that job*.

A second property of the notion of *community* is related to individuals or social groups, whether or not they live in the same geographical area, who may share similar traits and have the same rights and responsibilities. However, they may be struggling in terms of political representation. The epigraph written at the beginning of this chapter is taken from Habermas' article *Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic Constitutional State* (2004). The article discusses whether democratic constitutional states, where the fundamental rights are those of individuals, can deal adequately with the constraints and struggles for recognition of collective identities. This is one of the main issues at stake in contemporary democratic societies (Ibid: 107-111). From my understanding, constitutional states like Canada are well equipped with Acts that protect individual rights. For instance, Section 15 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms proclaims equality, protection, and benefit of law regardless of race, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, sex, age, or mental or physical disability. However, according to Habermas, the actual struggles emerge when it comes to the affirmation, articulation, and materialization of such constitutional rights in political and societal everyday life.

While Habermas' previous description of 'collective identities' may be equated with the notion of community, it would be very challenging to make a thorough definition of the latter here, and I think it is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, I am using the participants' insights as a point of departure for the conceptualization of the notion of community that will inform this thesis.

Participant 3: *I was actually introduced to interpretation through a friend […] she's the one who introduced me to it and I thought it was a great opportunity to kind of getting involved in community.*

Participant 3 gives the word community a very common use. The word has become commonplace in everyday language, and when we use it, we frequently refer to two things: people and places– the latter being the meaning that Participant 1 gave to it. Community is used to address a group of people who live in the same place or area, or a group of people who share traditions, habits, interests, and particular characteristics. For example, the Hispanic community shares the characteristic of speaking the same language, and perhaps similar foods and garments. However, this type of statement turns out to be fallible once we start looking into those aspects that might form a 'collective identity' for the group in question. Do they have the same habits? Do they share interests and goals? Do they have the same problems? The answer to these questions may well be negative.

The same analytic tool can be used with other different groups or communities: the European community, the rural community, the LGTBQ community, the Muslim community, etc. As soon as we engage in analysis, it is not hard to notice things that may give collective identities to these groups: trade, language, territories, activities, religion, and sexual diversity. Although, when it comes to individual habits, rights, and problems, answers may differ.

Roberto Esposito studied the notion of community in contemporary thinking. He underscored the dichotomy between community and society and remarked that "the real one is society, from which community only denotes a self-representative modality […] used in each opportunity with a legitimizing or critical function with regard to the current state of affairs" [my translation][35] (2012: 11-32).

[35] Spanish original: "[…] la única en ser real es la sociedad, de la cual la comunidad constituye solamente una modalidad autointerpretativa […] usada en cada oportunidad con función crítica o legitimadora respecto del estado presente de la cuestión". Esposito (2012: 24).

Based on the previous ideas, collective or group identities should not only be framed in terms of the positive commonalities of the members of a community. What also needs to be examined is whether these individuals have been denied opportunities and services, experienced disadvantages, been threatened or excluded, or simply eliminated because of their identification with one specific social collective. Esposito (2010) also reveals the unpolitical status of what he calls *Communitas*. That is, the exclusion of underrepresented communities in politics and their "essentially being-in-common" and how these circumstances equate to disgrace, finitude, and death. "The primacy installed by this ethics is not in the form of a positive ethics–a theory of virtue–but in the form of a negative ethics–an experience of aporia." (Langford, 2015).

To illustrate negative ethics from the point of view of language rights, I resort to the account of languages rights given by Will Kymlicka and Alan Patten in the book *Language Rights and Political Theory* (2003). In the introduction, Kymlicka (Ibid: 26-29) describes different approaches to language rights. One of the approaches is the "tolerance-oriented right", which enables speakers to use the languages they like in the home, in the workplace, and in public institutions, with no government interference with their language choices (Ibid: 26). However, this approach is almost unsustainable, especially in public services, where not all minority or non-official languages are spoken.

On the other hand, a non-tolerance-oriented approach to language rights suggests the possibility of making special accommodations for "people who lack sufficient proficiency in the predominant language" (Ibid: 28). This is called the "norm-and-accommodation approach". These accommodations can encompass the provision of interpreters, hiring bilingual staff, or the provision of official language training programs. Thus, the non-tolerance-oriented approach to language rights acknowledges the difference and does not impose the use of one predominant language for private or public communication. However, when communication between public institutions and users is required in order to facilitate access to basic services, users need to comply with the established norms and accommodations. This negative-ethics orientation of language rights complies with the principles of multiculturalism in terms of collective identities and the politics of difference.

It is with Habermas' collective identities and Esposito's negative ethics of the differential that I equate the notion of community in this thesis. Community is therefore a social group that may or may not have multiple identifications with place of origin, language, sexual orientation, race, traditions, disabilities, age, or activities, but whose most common identification transcends the previous ones. According to the politics of difference and negative ethics, this identification has to do with its under-representation in the political arena and its precarious living conditions.

The previous description may also correspond, partly or thoroughly, to those social groups served by community interpreters in Canada: refugees, asylum seekers, aboriginals, undocumented individuals, deaf or hard of hearing persons, protected persons, and limited or non-speaking English/French persons. The official document *L'intégration des immigrants au Canada: une approche pansociétale pour aider les nouveaux arrivants à réussir*[36] depicts current immigration conditions, issues, and demands. Some of the figures in this report show that a considerable number of newcomer permanent residents do not speak the official languages: 54% of refugees, 43% of the family reunification category, and 27 % of persons under the responsibility of economic immigrants.

Upon their arrival in Canada, this population begins a process of settlement that can last up to three years. For this purpose, they receive services of housing, health, education, legal advice, preparation for the job market, etc. from different local or provincial bodies. Language interpreting is also available as a support service funded primarily by the provincial governments, in order to facilitate communication between the parties and prompt access to services.

[36] Prince-St-Amand, C. (2016). *L'intégration des immigrants au Canada: Une approche pansociétale pour aider les nouveaux arrivants à réussir* : https://docplayer.fr/52071051-L-integration-des-immigrants-au-canada-une-approche-pansocietale-pour-aider-les-nouveaux-arrivants-a-reussir.html

1.3.3. Interpreters' challenges or conflicting situations on the ground

In their interactions with clients and service providers, community interpreters come across issues or challenges that prompt them to respond either by developing coping strategies or by identifying potential measures to be applied. Data analysis reveals that some of the most common challenges that interpreters find on the ground before, during or after assignments, revolve around: power dynamics, parenting traditions, vicarious trauma, notions of fidelity and trust (in technical terms), and safety issues. Below, I will present some of the aforementioned challenges and participants' comments on them.

A common issue revealed by the study is newcomers' lack of knowledge regarding child protection regulations in Canada. Participants 1, 3, 5, and 6 mention dealing with this issue several times. In the following excerpt, Participant 5's narrative exposes a very interesting case in which she had to bend the norm, in order to get primary interlocutors together so that they could understand each other's viewpoints and traditions regarding parenting. During her account of this specific case, P5 states:

> *So, if we compare, this family education with what the law has established here as the right thing to do, there is a 'train crash'. But they don't take some time from the beginning of the process to understand all the things that this family was passing through, and to try to make them understand how to educate. Because you can go and ask somebody to change. But how I am going to change? Give me some tools; help me in the process of changing. I mean… it's not as if by magic…uh…I get off the plane, suddenly I am a new person. No, I come here with my experience, I come with my background.*

This statement illustrates the demand among newcomer parents for receiving advice regarding child protection regulations before their arrival in Canada, or during the information, orientation, and referral workshops that many of them attend upon arrival. With this assistance, parents arriving in Canada for the first time may avoid having legal issues with CAS/DPJ[37] shortly following their arrival.

[37] CAS: Children Aid Society and DPJ: Directeur de la protection de la jeunesse.

Another finding that may fall under the umbrella term of culturally specific traditions has to do with the interpreters' notions of fidelity when it comes to the accuracy of terms or passages that may be difficult to convey from one language to another. Part IV of this study will include a detailed typology of such cases, and interpreters' coping strategies for dealing with them. However, the following sample illustrates how participants 2 and 4 differ in their notion of accuracy:

> Interviewer: *What do you do in that situation? Do you interpret the song?*
>
> Participant 2: *No. I don't say anything. The patient is singing, the social worker can see that, and it's up to them to formulate the next question. It's not up to you to become a social worker. I consider myself in an interpreting situation as a parrot: you hear, you say, you say, you hear, Okay?*"

> Interviewer: *But, in… in that situation, for example if the client says or uses the expression Kill, but you know that they don't mean that they will kill someone, do you translate it as kill or you translate it as… how do you translate that expression, for example*?
>
> Participant 4: *Maybe, I will translate it with Kill, but I'd say "Give me one second, because this is something that we usually say for no meaning, this is a cultural thing, and I will add "If you want to ask him again for it". You know, like kind of I am getting out of it but I'm not putting him in trouble. I try not to put him in trouble because something like this happened to me once actually*.

These examples put this study into perspective and illustrate how countless situations that take place within community interpreting settings challenge conventional notions about norms, accuracy, power relations and many others. Regarding participants 2 and 4, it is fair to mention that their notions on fidelity were not static. Participant 2, after providing a series of examples in his narrative, stated that he actually interrupts service providers during assignments in order to provide explanations on how to deal with elderly patients who do not speak English, or to provide some 'cultural' context. On the other hand, Participant 4 was actually the interpreter with one of the most consistent narratives with regard to her notions of impartiality, accuracy, and transparency, which she attempts to maintain before, during and after assignments.

This chapter has presented an overview of the conditions on the ground for community interpreters and primary interlocutors who require linguistic mediation. The knowledge of the conditions may allow us to understand what affect actors when the interact, and by actors here I mean institutions, assumptions, service providers, clients, policies, norms, interpreters, etc. In the following chapter, we will learn how community interpreters and service providers act and interact in order to respond to challenges that take place before assignments.

CHAPTER 2: CONFLICTING SITUATIONS OR CHALLENGES AND COPING STRATEGIES OF COMMUNITY INTERPRETERS BEFORE ASSIGNMENTS

"So, when the agencies give me an assignment, it only talks about where, when, who…you know, it doesn't give you any other information".
Participant 1

Following GTM guidelines, this chapter analyzes data provided by community interpreters and service providers. The answers provided in interviews regarding challenging situations and coping strategies before assignments[38] were analyzed by means of detailed coding for and around concepts. The main goal of this detailed analysis was to find the properties or characteristics that give shape to the concepts.

Based on participants' answers, this chapter presents three main categories relating to the issues that arise and coping strategies prior to the assignments:

1) A typology of conflicting situations before assignments.
2) A typology of coping strategies.
3) Briefing.

Each category was formed with concepts that evolved from codes or from in-vivo codes. I created codes during my analysis of the data, and also adopted in-vivo codes–words taken directly from participants' statements. The characteristics and qualities of concepts were taken from participants' contributions. Furthermore, there are concepts that evolved into categories. For example, *briefing* was initially a concept. During data analysis, I organized participants' statements about experiences or suggestions relating to *briefing*. One of the participants said that she sometimes has a 5-10=minute meeting with service providers in order to discuss the purpose of the assignment. Thus, this statement was coded as "5-to-10 minutes + purpose".

[38] The interview guide for community interpreters participating in this study is divided into four parts: Background; section 1: Challenges or unexpected encounters or situations before assignments; section 2: Challenges or unexpected encounters or situations during assignments; and section 3: Challenges or unexpected encounters or situations after assignments. See Annex 1

Then, I added other participants' statements regarding *briefing*, for example: "days before + get acquainted with institutional documents". Each of these codes was a property of the concept *briefing*. Thus, the category was formed after adding participants' accounts on settings and briefings; types of briefing; technical aspects of the briefing; and a contrast between briefings and assignment bookings.

I shall remind the reader that with GTM, participants' accounts (previously analyzed by means of memos and integrative diagrams) are integrated during the development of the concepts and main categories of the chapters. At the end of this chapter, there is an analysis and discussion section where the findings are contrasted or complemented with existing theories about the topics in question, and where I triangulate the results with information delivered by service providers.

*

The way interpreters prepare for an assignment is guided by the codes of ethics and standards of practice of the agencies or institutions for which they work. Moreover, this preparation depends on the institutional setting where the assignment is scheduled, i.e., a Legal Aid office, a community centre, a school, a courthouse, a health care centre, a police station etc. Thus, the interpreters' planning and organization of their assignments depend on the input they get when setting assignments through agencies, or directly with institutions.

However, interpreters state that even though they obtain some information regarding the client's name, place of assignment, time of assignment, and the technical nature of the case, there are unexpected challenges and situations they encounter before assignments. In more than a few cases, these situations may conflict with ethical principles or standards of practice. For example, some interpreters come across clients who belong to their community, and this may be considered to go against the principles of impartiality and confidentiality. Other interpreters are not well informed about the nature of the case, which may hinder accuracy. And others omit the use of an introduction, which may lead to a lack of clarity and transparency.

In response to the abovementioned situations, data analysis yielded three main categories of coping strategies. Two of these strategies have been named after in-vivo codes: “Building trust and empathy”[39] and “Self-protection strategies”[40]. The third category does not necessarily characterize a coping strategy; however, it represents participants’ behaviours when it comes to using an introduction right before the assignment. This category has been named “Assumptions and uses of the introduction” and explains how the use of the introduction varies according to settings, prior knowledge of primary speakers, and service providers’ choices.

2.1. Typology of Challenges or Conflicting Situations Encountered Before Assignments

The information provided hereafter summarizes interpreters’ answers to the question *Can you talk to me about unusual or unexpected situations you have experienced before any one assignment?* In particular, challenges described by participants refer to situations where they already knew the client either from multiple assignments, or from the community.

Participants’ answers to the aforementioned question yielded similarities when it came to challenges and strategies relating to the nature of the assignment and the institutional setting where it was taking place. Participants 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 9 described challenges they usually encountered before assignments taking place at hospitals and centres for social services, for example a Victim Crisis Unit (VCU) or a counseling office. Participants 1, 3, 4, and 8 also described challenges they regularly encountered in legal services settings, for example at a lawyer’s office, the Children’s Aid Society (CAS), a courthouse, etc.

[39] Or Rule-bending strategies.
[40] Or Rule-validating strategies.

2.1.1. Prior knowledge of, or contact with, the client

Conflicting situation 1. In health care and social service settings.

One of the most common challenges before their assignments was that participants already knew their client, either from prior assignments or from their community.

> Participant 4: *I will let you know something I did. But it was like a surprise for me, it was a last-minute call and I was a little late for that appointment because I didn't know where exactly was the place. And it was like a last-minute call. She saw me (the client), she wasn't a friend, she wasn't a relative, she wasn't anything like that, I just had seen her once or twice at church and she knew my name, and when she saw me, she looked happy (mimic of happy and thumbs up) and I was (mimic of distance with her face and her hand).*

Thus, P4 narrates how she encountered one person from her church's community. But why should this be considered an issue or a challenge? Community interpreting standards of practice suggest that in order to maintain impartiality, interpreters should avoid having any type of contact with clients before or after assignments or should not interpret for people they know. However, evidence shows that as a community interpreter, coming across an acquaintance is often fortuitous and more usual than expected.

> Participant 1: *Another thing that I found too is that if a certain assignment has to do with child services…there was one occasion when I recognized the mother from my community. Actually, her son goes to the same school, same class with my daughter, so I don't know if she recognized me, personally…But the fact that her…this assignment…my assignment was about child services, you know…she knew that she was in trouble. So, she didn't really want to talk to me.*

Under these circumstances, interpreters find themselves in contradictory situations or at least what they perceive as such. On the one hand, they want to comply with the principle of impartiality because in general, this principle is synonymous to best practices and professionalism. On the other hand, this same principle, especially when avoiding contact before assignments, seems to contrast with the human values of sensitivity and empathy, making interpreters appear impolite and rude.

Conflicting situation 2. Unavoidable contact in legal settings

Data analysis shows that in legal settings, interpreters encounter similar challenges to those in health care and social services settings. However, there is a major change in their attitudes and responses (interpreters' strategies will be discussed in part 2.2 of this chapter). Participants reported that one of the main challenges before assignments in legal settings is when they know the client from multiple assignments, or from their community. Furthermore, the magnitude of the challenge increases when clients approach interpreters to ask questions or simply to make conversation.

Again, these situations represent a challenge for interpreters because they find themselves faced with two undesirable options: either not abiding by the ethical principle of impartiality, or lacking empathy or respect towards the client.

> Participant 3: *I know one woman, when I approached her…it was very emotional for me myself…uh…because of the case, so she was like "I just want my son! I just want my son" because, you know, they had this back and forth about support, all these things, all these details. So, when she finally saw me, she told me: "Please, tell them I just want my son, I just want my son!" and she broke down*.

Seemingly, it is challenging for interpreters to receive mixed or opposite messages regarding their attitude towards clients in legal settings. For example, Participant 8 reports how as a court interpreter, she tries to abide by the standard of not having any contact with clients before the hearing. However, at the beginning of an audience, the commissioner tends to ask whether both client and interpreter have met and talked beforehand:

> *I avoid talking about the case, but I introduce more general topics…uh…names, place of origin, weather…and it also helps me to prepare a little my own performance, right? From my experience, I also know many lawyers, so I also greet them in a more informal way. Anyways, when the commissioner arrives, they always ask if we've talked before the hearing…uh…if the answer is no, they will ask you to have a conversation to be sure that the client understands the interpreter and vice versa. So, they recommend this small talk to confirm that there is a linguistic comprehension*.

Reported situations relating to this section were held in places where legal actions and/or processes occur: the Children's Aid Society (CAS), Legal Aid offices, in a courtroom, or at the

Canadian Border Service. In some cases, interpreters simply avoid any type of contact with clients, no matter the circumstances. In other cases, when interpreters do not have the chance to avoid contact, they are upfront and tell the client that they are not allowed to talk to them. Interpreters' strategies to cope with these challenges will be discussed in part 2.2 of this chapter.

2.1.2. Assumptions and uses of the introduction[41]

Conflicting situation 3. Omission of the Introduction[42]

This section does not necessarily refer to a challenge that interpreters reported as being a conflicting or unexpected situation before assignments. However, during her interview, Participant 3 brought up the topic. Therefore, I added two new questions to the interview guide and used them with the rest of participants. The following information summarizes answers to the questions below, regarding the use of the introduction:

- *Do you always use the introduction?*
- *In your training as an interpreter, what were the aspects that you learnt to mention during the introduction?*
- *Who suggests using an introduction, you or the service provider?*
- *Do you use an introduction even if you have worked with both service provider and client in previous assignments?*

1) Interpreters omit the introduction due to logistics

In her comment about the use of the introduction, Participant 3 notes that in legal settings, service providers are aware of its usefulness. However, when the interpreter meets the primary

[41] The introduction is a formal presentation during which interpreters mention their name, the agency they work for, and remind participants of the interpreter's role to translate messages fully and as accurately as possible. It also mentions the interpreter's responsibility to remain impartial, and to respect the confidentiality of the information discussed. Interpreters also declare that notes will be destroyed at the end of the session and that there might be interruptions if need be. Finally, interpreters advise interlocutors to speak directly to each other as they would normally do if they spoke the same language.

[42] NSGCIS: Principles of Respect for Persons and Maintenance of Role Boundaries (2007:26-27).

interlocutors outside the courtroom, and the conversation does not take place in a closed environment like an office or a room, it is hard to use the introduction. Additionally, the service provider seems to be the person who takes the initiative for the introduction, and not the interpreter.

> P3*: If it's at court, they say "yeah…we have to go there…", then I would be like…uh…"Can I have a moment just to introduce myself?" I ask. However, I find that when they have like an appointment, uh…I have to rush with the introduction because…yeah…everyone's standing around trying to get into the courtroom*.

2) Interpreters omit the introduction due to the circumstances

Furthermore, Participant 5 argues that the use of the introduction depends on factors such as time, awareness of the service provider, interlocutors' mood, and other issues that are out of interpreters' control. In her statements about the use of the introduction, Participant 5 explains that when working with the same client on multiple assignments, it is important to use it mainly in the first assignment. She believes that an introduction is not necessary in all the assignments, either because there is little time, or because primary interlocutors already know the role of the interpreter.

> Participant 5: *We didn't have the introduction or the explanation. Because things happen very quickly: we are taken to the office and the lawyer starts the points right away. In fact, she was talking to me and waited for me to talk to the client. But things happen very quickly, and in fact she didn't allow time for introductions or explanations*.
>
> *I think that all situations are different, and that not all the time we can follow the protocol of introduction, let's say of explanation. It depends on the people involved, the circumstances of the case, their mood. The second time we met with the lawyer was much easier to deal with the waiting time in the waiting room, because the client already understood my role and the social worker too*.

3) Interpreters omit the introduction due to lack of institutional clarity about its use

Participant 8 states that during her 13 years of experience as a court interpreter, norms and styles have changed regarding the use of an introduction:

> *Listen, we didn't use to do it, uh, and at a certain point what they tried to do was to stick some sheets of paper on the desk where the claimant was sitting, and we were asked to*

> *translate the instructions written on that paper for him. And that was all. After that, there is now a handbook with the codes of ethics and conduct, including the instructions that you need to learn before starting the interpretation assignment […] So, as the commissioner takes some time to enter the courtroom, I take advantage and tell the claimant: "I will be your interpreter; try to speak clearly; if there is a question that you don't understand, ask for repetition; if you don't understand me, inform the commissioner so that I can repeat…" This kind of information, because not all the commissioners clarify that before the hearing. Although that is part of the lawyer's role, they sometimes don't do it.*

From this statement, it seems that the use of an introduction is not standard among court interpreters and that interpreters may expect the commissioner or the lawyer to instruct them to do it. Furthermore, when P8 takes the initiative to do the introduction, she does it only with one of the primary interlocutors, and she only includes three or four of the nine items that it should have.

Introduction is important in a community interpreting assignment, as it sets and explains the conventions and principles that govern participants' actions within the conversation that is about to take place. The lack of a clear and complete introduction may lead to communication problems. Furthermore, if used well, introductions can help interpreters exercise agency, coordination, and leadership within the conversation. These points will be elaborated in part 2 of this chapter.

2.1.3. Briefing

Conflicting situation 4. Insufficient information to prepare the assignment[43]

According to Leanza et al. (2014: 89-113), it is advisable to have a briefing session before an interpreter-mediated conversation. Although these authors suggest a briefing for assignments taking place in the health care sector, participant interpreters in this study referred to it even if their assignments were in legal or social services settings.

This section contains information taken from answers provided to the following questions:

[43] NSGCIS: Principle of Accountability.

- *Do you ever meet with the service provider before an assignment for a briefing?*
- *If so, what technical aspects do you consider in the conversation? If not, do you think it would be helpful to have this briefing?*

It was interesting to observe that initially, almost all participants expressed a negative answer regarding either the fact of having had a briefing session, or merely its likelihood. However, as interviews evolved, participants started to notice that in fact, before a number of assignments they had received different types of information input that were useful during the interpreting process. For example, Participant 4 expressed how grateful she was after being briefed: "*I think it was very nice of her (the service provider) to give me the briefing, to give me these details before, because it laid a bridge between us*".

On the other hand, in their answers, some participants reported that the information provided in order to prepare for an assignment is regularly insufficient, and sometimes it is even vague or wrong. These are assignment details provided by agencies or intermediaries when setting up the appointment. Both participants 5 and 6 talked about the information received during the booking of the appointment: client's name, place of assignment, time of assignment, and nature of assignment. Additionally, Participant 6 affirmed that she sometimes gets briefed during the assignment with some details regarding the case, and especially "*on the things service providers are more interested in understanding*".

Participant 1 also referred to the booking stage of the assignment, and she agreed with Participant 5 that the most common information received has to do with the client's name and the place, time and nature of the assignment. However, in her opinion, this is not enough to prepare an assignment: "*so, when the agencies give me an assignment, it only talks about where, when, who…you know, it doesn't give you any other information*."

Participant 8 also agrees that having a briefing session with a lawyer before her assignments may help her improve her practice:

> *Sometimes, we would like to have a brief introduction because some cases are delicate, even linguistically speaking. For example, when we work with vulnerable women who are war victims, who have been raped…in these sensitive cases, you'd like to know something beforehand. Uh…in these cases you get to know things during the hearing, and you need to be very well prepared so that you don't make mistakes*.

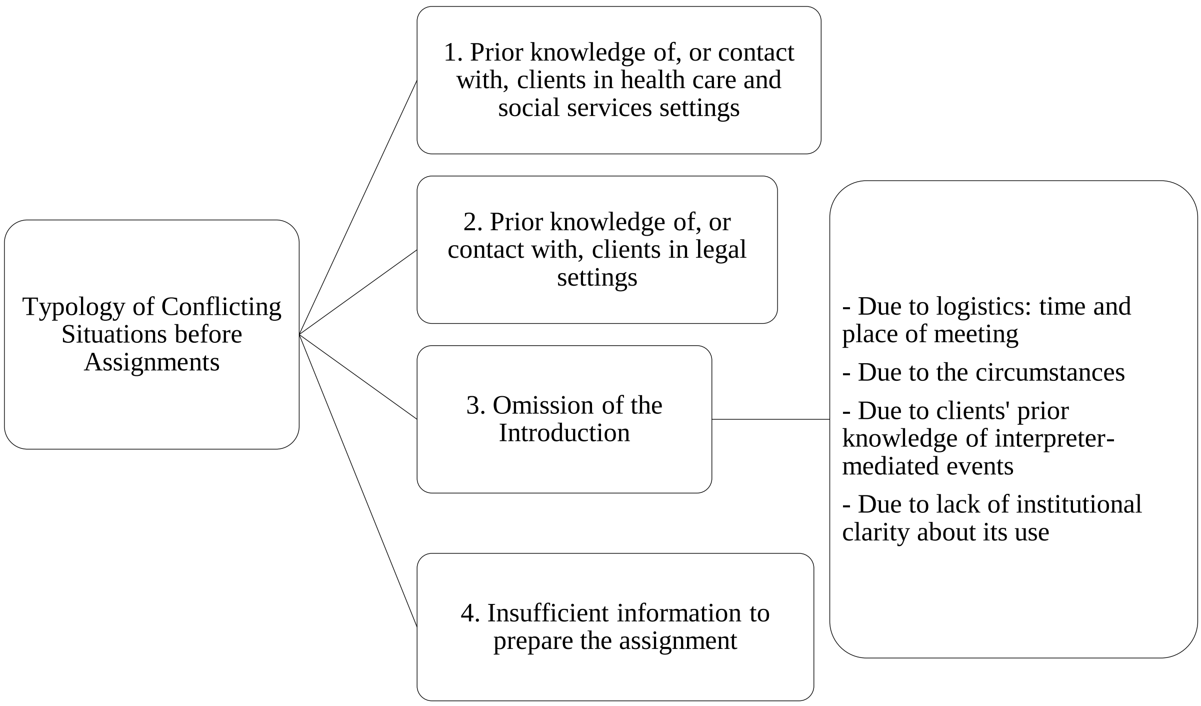
Drawing on the cases presented by participants, one of the challenges interpreters encounter is a lack of input when it comes to preparing for an assignment. Since community interpreting is performed in settings where information is often sensitive and confidential, it is understandable that agencies must at times not provide certain details. However, there must be a mechanism to let interpreters know how they can nonetheless prepare before the assignment, so that they can perform professionally.

In section 2, I will describe the different strategies interpreters use in order to prepare before an assignment, and the different types of briefings that they have encountered before assignments in all settings.

To summarize this first part of the chapter, data analysis shows that before assignments, community interpreters have found themselves confronted by four types of conflicting situations in which they can either abide by ethical principles or bend the norms:

- When there is prior knowledge of, or contact with, clients in health care and social services settings;
- when there is prior knowledge of, or contact with, clients in legal settings;
- when interpreters omit the introduction;
- when the information provided is insufficient to prepare for the assignment.

Fig. 1 Typology of conflicting situations for community interpreters before assignments



The following section will present the first set of concepts and categories of this study, which were formed by drawing on the strategies reported by interpreters for coping with the aforementioned challenges. Concepts and categories range from building trust and empathy, to constructing a complete design for a briefing session to be used by service providers, agencies, and interpreters.

2.2. Typology of strategies before assignments

A data analysis of the first part of the interviews (on challenging situations before assignments), reveals that even though community interpreters encounter the same type of conflicting situations, their performance may differ depending on the institutional context of the assignment. For instance, interpreters prefer to avoid contact with clients when the assignment is held in legal settings. However, if they come across clients they know in a Disability Support

Program office, it is very likely that they will engage in small talk. This and other issues will be analyzed and discussed in this second section of the chapter.

This section will also present the strategies reported by interpreters for managing the conflicting situations reported in section 2.1. Every sub-section corresponds to each of the challenges classified in the previous part of this chapter.

In-vivo codes such as “building trust and empathy”, “avoiding contact”, and “finding the nature of the case” were taken from participants’ insights and developed to form a unit of content. Many of these in-vivo codes became categories or were decisive for the theoretical development of this chapter.

2.2.1. Building trust and empathy, or rule-bending strategies

One of the most common challenges participants reported before assignments was that they already knew their clients either from prior assignments or from their communities. As mentioned before, in Canada, community interpreting standards for practice recommend that interpreters avoid unnecessary contact with parties before assignments[44].

Interpreters react differently when they know their clients from prior assignments, and more specifically, if these have taken place in health care and social services settings. Participants 1, 3, 5, 8, and 9 seem to have bent the rule of avoiding unnecessary contact with clients before assignments. Participant 1 claims that she does it as an attempt to “loosen the confusion” or worries of the client. She also admits greeting and engaging in “small talk” before the appointment, so that the client becomes less tense or anxious.

Similarly, participants 3, 5, and 8 argue that trust is important when you need to communicate, especially in situations dealing with sensitive aspects of life, such as children’s custody, a health

[44] NSGCIS: Standard of practice 24, under the Principle of Maintenance of Role Boundaries (p. 27). Also, OMISSSS: “Éviter d’agir comme interprète pour une personne que l’on connait personnellement”, under the principle of Impartiality (p. 7).

problem, or financial issues. Interpreters also argue that for those clients, the interpreter may represent the only source of reliability in the moment[45].

> Participant 8 explains: *It's very hard not to have a conversation of courtesy; and at the same time, we are supposed to have an introductory conversation with the clients because people are commonly very tense and stressed out, especially in asylum hearings…and from my experience, I think it is good to have this small talk, obviously not to talk about the case; just something like breaking the ice, so that people feel more at ease*.

If interpreters reacted in a distant, inattentive way, clients might not feel confident to say everything they need to say when speaking with service providers, therefore communication would not be effective as it would not fulfill speakers' expectations. The following is an account of rule-bending strategies used by interpreters when they know their clients from prior assignments and want to build trust and empathy:

- Participant 1 mentions that she often avoids having contact with clients before assignments. However, when she knows the client from having worked together multiple times, sometimes she cannot help "having a small talk".
- Participant 3 states that although she usually works in legal settings, when she encounters clients in distress, her first response involves "getting them (the client and the legal officer) together" and "opening the line of communication" so that they can interact and express their concerns.
- Participant 5 "warmly greats clients and tries not to ask them about their personal situation".
- Participant 8 also participates in "small talk or an ice breaker" for a few moments before a hearing.

As a stranger to the language and even more to the legal system, the client relies on the person who speaks his or her own language: the interpreter. For example, clients are often in distress

[45] This type of conversation differs from the Introduction since the latter makes part of the professional protocol in order to reach effective communication. Usually, the introduction should be made in presence of both client and service provider, but sometimes introduction can be made with a single party when they are waiting for the other party to join the meeting.

and uncertain about the specialist’s decision regarding decisive aspects of their lives. It is important to mention that Participant 8 affirms that she avoids talking about the legal issue at stake.

Building trust and empathy seems to be a strategy for dealing with these situations and keeping the confidence required for communication, so that clients can interact effectively with service providers and express their concerns. Nonetheless, in observing these strategies through the perspective of Toury’s continuum of norms (1995: 61/2013: 65), I would place them on the extreme of “idiosyncratic mannerisms”, for they reflect individual choices or habits, rather than professional decisions made in full compliance with standards of practice. In the analysis and discussion section at the end of the chapter, I elaborate on the notion of *trust* in community interpreting, the contrasting views surrounding it, and how participants’ contributions to this study fit into the ongoing debate on the topic.

The following diagram presents the typology of what I have called rule-bending strategies that respond to the first challenge of this study: prior knowledge of, or contact with, clients from previous assignments.

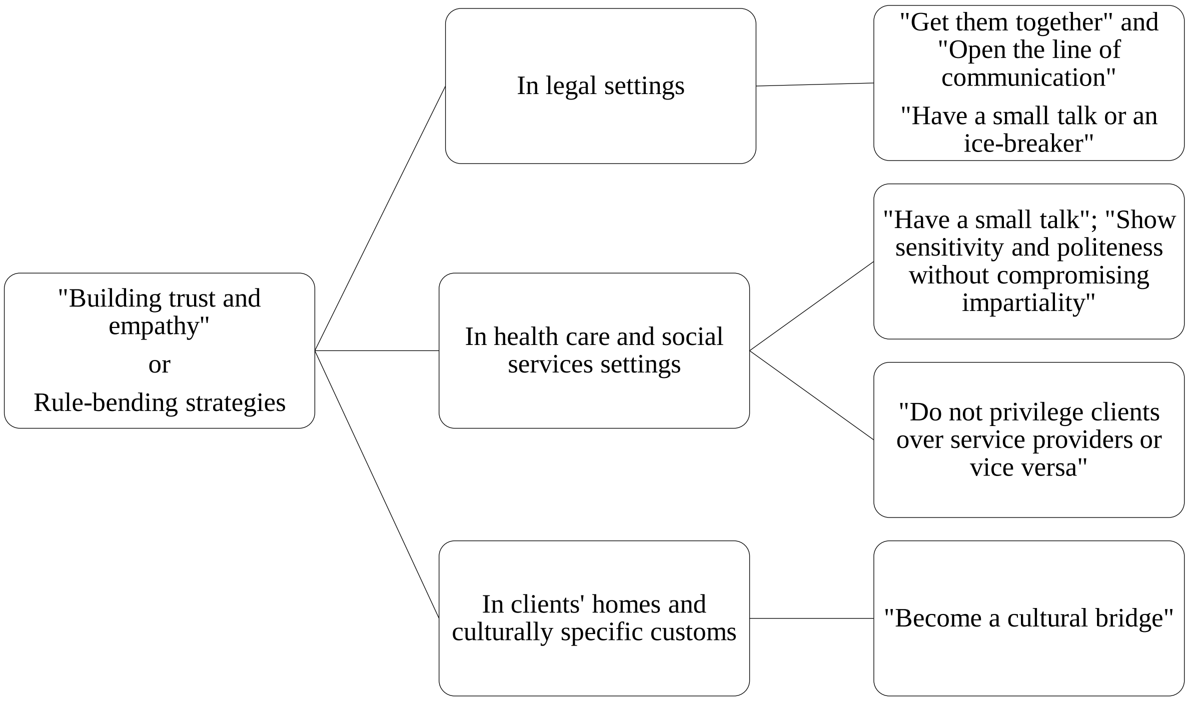


Fig. 2 Graphic summary of the category "Building trust and empathy" or Rule-bending strategies[46]

2.2.2. Self-protection strategies or rule-validating strategies

For interpreters who participated in the study, and even for service providers and clients[47], one of the main challenges before assignments appears to be when the interpreter and client belong to the same community. In these cases, it is common for both the interpreter and client to avoid contact or ask to postpone the appointment until a new interpreter is assigned. For example, Service Provider 2 affirms:

> *I find that I had…maybe…in eleven years maybe some people…uh…and usually…Middle Eastern or…African communities that say: "No, no, no. I don't want an interpreter or I want this interpreter because she won't come and say hello to me or she won't communicate with me, she will be more private, she will maintain the privacy".*

Similarly, interpreters seem to avoid contact when they know clients from their community. However, they are required to do their work unless they express a conflict of interest. This is the case of Participant 4., who in order to avoid conflicts of interest, decided to make changes

[46] Rule-bending strategies were found before, during, and after assignments and are not exclusive to this chapter.
[47] As reported by Service Provider 2 in her interview.

in her habits and worship in another church, because she came across a client who attended her same church:

> Interviewer*: And did you see her after that?*
> P4: *No, because I changed my church. I used to go to the Arabic church, and now I go to my church here. So, I don't see her often. I told you, I saw her once or twice…But when she saw me (at the assignment) she felt like attached to me, maybe she wanted somebody to support her or something.*

This section focuses on coping strategies that interpreters use to respond to conflicting situations of prior knowledge of, or contact with, clients in legal settings, including unavoidable contact with clients when these approach interpreters. When interpreters were acquainted with clients in legal settings, most of them reported avoidance of contact, or used what I have called self-protection strategies. Participants offered different reasons to explain this behavior. Participant 1, for example, explained that when she recognized a client from her community, and the assignment was in a Children's Aid Society (CAS) office, she assumed that the client was experiencing difficulties. Therefore, the interpreter keeping a distance and avoiding contact may be understood as a sign of professionalism and impartiality NSGCIS (2007: 25, 27). The interpreter was aware of the context, the institutional regulations, and the common beliefs that surround this type of situation. Therefore, avoiding contact in this case may indicate a reserved and attentive way of giving space to the client, so that they can have privacy to deal with their own situation.

Another reason interpreters avoid contact with clients before assignments in legal settings is the potential legal consequences. This argument gives the name to the category "Self-protecting strategies". Thus, Participants 3 and 4 explain that they have developed some strategies that have worked for them. Participant 3 wants to avoid contact without looking rude, so she approaches the receptionist and the client and briefly greets them. Right after that, she sits down and starts filling out some forms so that clients notice that she is busy:

> *So…uh…if it's in a courtroom or at a lawyer's office or at any other…like childcare cases, usually I go the…the location and I meet with the service provider or the receptionists, or the other person (the client), and I introduce myself and say "I am the interpreter", and then I sit down and I start filling the form, and that's kind of my way also for avoiding talking before the assignment starts…yeah…it's kind of my way of telling them "I'm busy, don't talk to me". I fill out everything, every single part of the form…and then I try to stay away from the client…you know…unless the person needs my help to fill out a form or …uh…yeah.*

This example presents a way for interpreters to avoid contact before assignments without compromising professionalism and respect, two ethical principles of community interpreting. It is a twofold action: Participant 3 introduces herself to all the parties before the assignment, and at the same time adopts a distant attitude in order to preserve her impartiality.

Participant 4 also wants to abide by all the norms when she is doing her work as an interpreter. Therefore, it does not matter if she is in a community centre or in a Legal Aid office, she will always keep her distance and avoid contact.

> P4: *When I see, like before the assignment, that somebody is approaching me, uh…I try to look at the phone or I try…I point at the phone and say "Excuse me, I have to make this call before the service provider comes", or just to look busy, so I don't want to look like very rude or very cold at them…no…just to look busy. I look at them (the clients) I smile, they feel safe and I feel just like…uh…what can I say? I lay a bridge between us, I look at them, smile if I know them, and start looking busy.*

Participant 4 has developed different strategies to avoid contact. When clients try to approach her, she smiles, greets them briefly, and tries to look busy by using her phone. Participant 4 uses strategies that go from verbal to nonverbal actions. Verbal actions are clear and direct statements that include ending a conversation before it can properly begin, and explaining why:

> P4: *She started to talk to me, and I said "You know what…If you talk to me, I am not allowed to interpret for you. If you know me or I know you, I'm not allowed to…If you talk to me, I will be out of here. Please, if you want me to stay, I will ask you to keep quiet. I will go outside the office for a moment". So, I went out of the room and when they (the lawyers) came back, I went back in.*

Nonverbal actions that Participant 4 uses include: placing a purse or another item in a chair between the interpreter and the client, suggesting distance; leaving the room until the service provider arrives; and making changes in her lifestyle to avoid meeting clients in non-professional settings.

Community interpreting is a twofold activity that involves linguistic rendition of messages and social interaction with participants. As codes of ethics and standards of practice do not offer the tools for interpreters to perform appropriately when it comes to the social interaction aspect[48], interpreters will continue to create and use their own strategies to cope with unexpected or conflicting situations. Furthermore, since social interaction is a culture-bound aspect and happens inside and outside institutions, codes of ethics and standards of practice should make adaptations according to new social trends and constraints.

The following figure summarizes the category of "Self-protection strategies" or rule-validating strategies as reported by the interpreters who participated in the study. They all took place in legal settings and aimed to prevent legal consequences.

[48] One example is standard of practice number 24 in NSGCIS, which expresses that interpreters should avoid "unnecessary contact with the parties". However, prior to the assignment, the interpreter "may initiate contact to ensure understanding of the language, to confirm details of an appointment, and to convey any information about the encounter needed by the non-English speaker". In this text, two points are clear: 1) there is unnecessary and necessary contact. 2) This contact *should be initiated by the interpreter* to convey *information needed by non-English speaker*. However, the standard is ambiguous in describing when contact is necessary and what type of information can be exchanged in this contact.

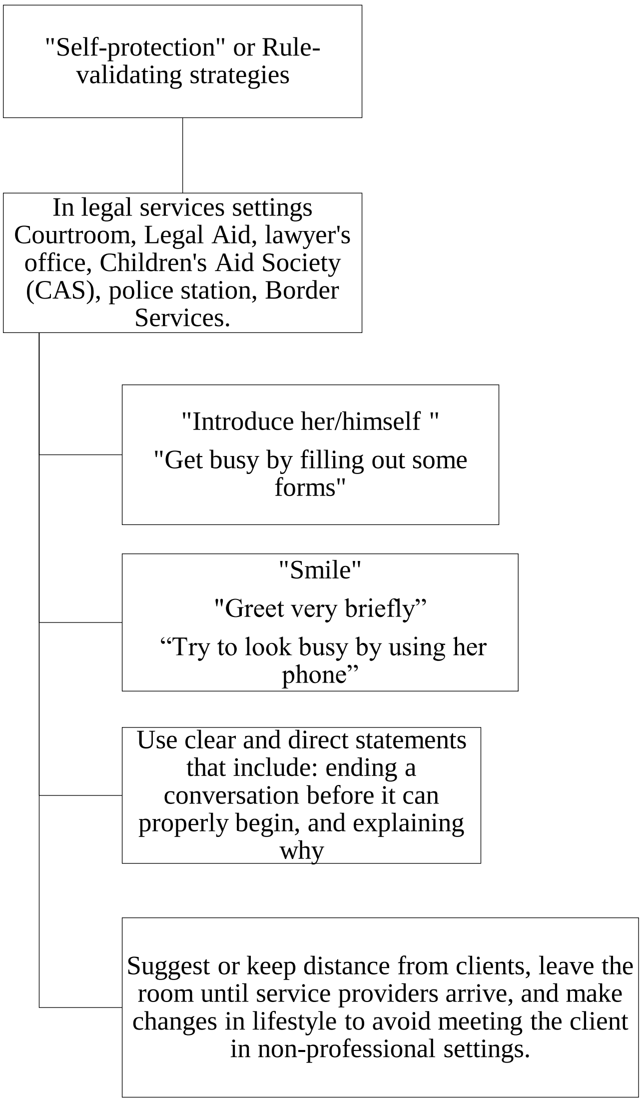


Fig. 3 Graphic summary of the category "Self-protection" or Rule-validating strategies

2.3. Assumptions and uses of the introduction

The introduction is a constituent part of the community interpreting assignment. Its correct use in all assignments may contribute to the smooth and coordinated flow of messages, and to effective communication. However, it has come to my attention that very little empirical research has been carried out on this specific part of community interpreting assignments and its effect on the rest of the interpreter-mediated event. Apart from its recommendation in guidelines, the use of the introduction is not in the spotlight of scholarly publications. I will further elaborate on this topic in the analysis and discussion section at the end of this chapter.

A complete introduction should include the following items:

- Interpreter's first name
- The agency or organization the interpreter represents
- The role of the interpreter
- The directionality of communication
- A clause on confidentiality
- A clause about impartiality
- A clause about transparency
- The use and discarding of notetaking
- The likelihood of interruptions for clarity

Introductions are to be used at the very beginning of the assignment. It is likely that some of the items included in the introduction will need to be repeated during the assignment, since primary interlocutors may speed up, speak to the interpreter, use unclear language, etc. In theory, the use of an introduction seems to present little difficulty. However, interpreters' narratives regarding actions, interactions, and assumptions showed that at times things are not straightforward, and that the use of an introduction depends not only on them as coordinators of communication but also on the contextual factors exerting control over the participants.

Wadensjö's assumptions on interpreters' twofold functions (*translating* and *coordinating*)[49] cast light on the sensitivity of their task in terms of the cognitive and social competences that it demands (1998: 105-107). In this section, I will use Wadensjö's notion of 'explicit coordination' in order to analyze interpreters' coordinating tasks during the introduction. By

[49] Emphasis original. "In dialogue interpreting, the translating and coordinating aspects are simultaneously present and one does not exclude the other" (Wadensjö, 1998: 105).

“explicit coordination”’, she refers to those actions that are aimed at organizing the conversation, for example: requests for clarification, distribution of turn-taking, requests for time, etc.

In short, although the linguistic translation process has not started, the introduction prepares the setting for effective communication. If used well, the introduction may be the moment for the interpreter to exercise agency in terms of coordination, mediation, and assertiveness. This is the moment when the interpreter lets the primary interlocutors know that besides providing a linguistic rendition of messages, he or she will function as a referee in the dialogue.

The introduction may therefore contribute to an atmosphere of autonomy, uniformity, and respect within the conversation and between its parties; it may also control the speed and help in the distribution of turns to talk; it may deter a participant from breaching impartiality; and it may help reduce the number of interruptions.

This section of chapter 2 does not necessarily refer to a situation that participants reported as being conflicting or challenging before assignments. However, Participant 3 brought it up in her narrative, and I introduced the topic in the questionnaire for the subsequent participants. The information below summarizes participants’ answers to the following questions, regarding the use of the introduction:

- *Do you always use the introduction?*
- *In your training as an interpreter, what were the aspects that you learn to include during the introduction?*

Data analysis for this section yielded information on whether or not interpreters use introductions, the information they provide during the introduction, and their explanations of these facts. However, these answers did not actually provide information on the effect that the use of the introduction (or lack of it) may have had on assignments.

2.3.1. Use of the introduction in legal settings

Participant 3 notes that in legal settings, service providers are aware of the usefulness of the introduction. However, when the interpreter meets the parties outside the courtroom and the conversation does not take place in a closed space such as an office or a room, it is hard to make an introduction. Another noteworthy aspect is the fact that it is not the interpreter who takes the initiative for the introduction, but the service provider, when the assignment takes place in a legal setting.

> Participant 3: *Yeah…it's been very good with the service providers I've met, the ones I've worked with, they have worked with interpreters before, so they give me a moment, they say "oh, you have to introduce yourself?" and then I say "Yes, I have to". But other than that, they just like go into it, or if it's at court, they say "yeah…we have to go there…", then I would be like…uh…"Can I have a moment just to introduce myself?" I ask. However, I find that when they have like an appointment, I have to rush with the introduction because…yeah…everyone's standing around trying to get into the courtroom.*

As a court interpreter in Montreal, Participant 8 explains that she did not tend to use an introduction in the past. However, new guidelines were established that made introductions mandatory, particularly when sight-translating a set of instructions for the clients before the hearing takes place.

> P8: *Listen, we didn't use to do it…and at a certain point what they tried to do was to stick some sheets of paper on the desk where the claimant was sitting, and we were asked to translate the instructions written on that paper for him. And that was all. After that, there is now a handbook with the code of ethics and conduct, including the instructions that you need to learn before starting the interpretation assignment.*[50]

2.3.2. Use of the introduction in health care settings

[50] Participant 8 referred to a handbook that includes the code of ethics and guidelines for interpreters, but she did not provide me with a copy. However, Viens et al., (2002: 291) put forward the five deontological criteria established by the Supreme Court of Canada as the basis for the norms of language interpreting: "La continuité, la fidélité, l'impartialité, la compétance et la concomitance".

Participant 7 affirms that when he started his practice as a community interpreter, he used the introduction for all the assignments regardless of the situation. Over time, he has decided to wait and see if service providers request an introduction; otherwise, he only uses it when he works with a new client.

> Participant 7: *Frankly speaking…I…at the beginning of my work as an interpreter I used to use it for all the assignments regardless of whatever situation, especially with a new health care provider rather than the client. But now…I…I see that when the providers do not request for the introduction, they are okay with going on without any introduction. Usually, now I use the introduction mainly when I meet new clients rather than health care providers, so they know the norms and my role.*

2.3.3. Use of the introduction in social services settings

Participant 5 argues that the use of the introduction depends on factors such as time, awareness of the service provider, interlocutors' moods, or other factors that are out of the interpreter's control. In her statements about the use of the introduction, Participant 5 explains that when you work with the same clients in multiple assignments, it is important to use an introduction mainly in the first assignment; she believes that an introduction is not necessary in all the assignments, either because there is little time or because the parties already know the role of the interpreter.

In contrast, Participant 9's opinion is that "we should always make the introduction and never assume that the primary interlocutors already know our role as interpreters".

The following figure summarizes participant interpreters' answers regarding the use of the introduction. The heterogeneity of practices in this regard makes us think of a set of idiosyncratic mannerisms rather than a structured and systematic norm. One reason that may explain this phenomenon is that codes of ethics do not include the use of the introduction as part of the standards of practice. Some agencies and training centres do include the use of the introduction as a constituent part of community interpreters' role, but it is not a systematic or regulated criterion.

Uses of the introduction		
In legal settings	In health care settings	In social services settings
- The use of the introduction depends on service providers, who often request it. - The use of the introduction is constrained by logistics such as time and place of assignment. - The use of the introduction is constrained by lack of specific criteria or guidelines.	- The use of the introduction is often neglected. - The use of the introduction is limited to new clients. - The use of the introduction often depends on the service provider.	- The use of the introduction depends on factors outside interpreters' control, i.e., time concerns, awareness of the service provider, and the mood of primary interlocutors.

Table 4. Graphic summary of the category Uses of the introduction

This section has presented an inventory of interpreters’ use or omission of introductions before assignments. Based on the summary diagram, it is noteworthy that in almost all cases, interpreters do not seize the initiative to use the introduction as a tool for the coordination of the communicative activity that is about to take place. Apparently, there is also unawareness by service providers of the usefulness of this tool for effective communication in a multicultural assignment. However, in legal settings and health care settings, it seems that the introduction is often used upon the service provider’s request.

Although there were no follow-up questions regarding the effects of these actions, based on the notion of *explicit coordination* (Wadensjö, 1998: 105), I hypothesize that the lack of a well-conducted introduction may lead to challenges or issues in coordination and communication during assignments. These findings may be the starting point of further in-depth studies regarding the use of the introduction in community interpreting assignments, its frequency, and its effect on communication.

Finally, although interpreters did not comment on this notion, I speculate that one reason interpreters do not assume a more active role in the coordination of communication from the beginning of the assignment has to do with power imbalances or at least the assumption of the power dynamics of participants within institutions. I will expand on this point in the analysis and discussion section at the end of the chapter.

2.4. Briefing[51]

The quotes and analyses within this section were taken from participants' responses to the questions:

- *Do you ever meet with the service provider before the assignment for a briefing?*
- *If so, what technical aspects do you consider in the conversation?*
- *If not, do you think it would be helpful to have this meeting? Why or why not?*

According to Helen Tebble (2012: 28-31), service providers, and specifically those in the health care sector, advise having a briefing session. Her inquiries regarding the use of briefings were initially held within health care settings. However, her research draws attention to the creation of guidelines for service providers from different settings regarding working with community interpreters before assignments. Tebble equates the use of briefings with the standards of practice that insist that the interpreter prepare for the assignment: it is the interpreter's responsibility to request a briefing or to take the initiative to be briefed. According to Tebble, his information may be requested by telephone or by email and should include the following items:

- Establish the nature of the patient's physical condition.

[51] The NSGCIS establishes the use of briefing in the standard of practice 10, under the ethical principle of Confidentiality: "The interpreter may, where collaborative work with other professionals is required, be briefed, or participate in, relevant discussions with other interpreters, members of the team involved with the other party, authorized representatives of the interpreting agency and/or the service-providing institution" (2007: 24).

- Physician’s –or Service Provider’s– aims for the consultation.
- What procedures the Service Provider intends to use.
- If there is to be sight translation of documents or an interpretation of tests results.
- If bad news is to be delivered.
- Whether there will be another person during the assignment.
- Any anticipated difficulties or complications.
- Interpreting mode required.
- If the Service Provider requires assistance in the pronunciation of names or in understanding any cultural practices or other information.
- Whether the location is subject to interference from internal noise (Ibid.: 29).

In reviewing participants’ responses to the aforementioned questions, I noticed that they refer to the main contexts where community interpretation takes place: legal, medical, and social services. Also, it is interesting to observe that initially, almost all participants responded negatively regarding the fact of having had a briefing session and also showed little interest in being briefed.

However, as the conversation evolved, participants started to notice that, in fact, before many assignments they had received different types of information input that were useful during the interpreting process. In the following section, I will present the types of briefing sessions reported, their technical aspects, and participants’ expectations regarding briefings.

First of all, apart from one participant, all participants reported that briefing sessions were suggested by service providers. This may be due to the fact that interpreters abide by ethical principles and standards of practice, and although these state that interpreters “may be briefed” (NSGCIS: 24), it is not clear whether interpreters should request information from service providers or take the initiative to be briefed. Only Participant 1 reported that she actually takes the initiative to ask service providers about the aims, main topics, and technical terminology that she might need to know or understand in advance:

> Participant 1: *So, when the agencies give me an assignment, it only talks about where, when, who…you know, it doesn’t give you any other information. So, when I call the service provider to confirm the assignment, I try to ask…uh…a lot of times…uh…by the way, could you tell me what this appointment is going to be, so that I can better prepare*

myself. And I'm not trying to take any extra personal information, I just want to know the nature of that assignment, I'm not going to need the name of the client or things like that.

2.4.1. Types of briefing in community interpreting

Based on data analysis, there are three types of briefing:

1. 5 to 10 minutes before the assignment, in order to provide some details about the case;
2. 5 to 10 minutes before the assignment, to pre-read documents and forms that will require sight translation;
3. days before the assignment, service providers provide institutional documents and brochures useful for the interpreter during the assignment. This last type of briefing is commonly reported when simultaneous interpretation is required, for example, when interpreting with the (PAR) Partner Assault Response program in Ontario.

Regarding the technical aspects of briefing sessions, participants reported that during meetings before the assignments, they review the following:

In legal settings:

- "The nature of the case".
- The aim of the service provided.
- Technical terminology.
- Documents that need to be sight translated.

In social services settings:

- "The nature of the case".
- Number of participants during the assignment.
- The aim of the appointment.
- Forms that need to be sight translated or filled in.

In health care settings:

- Type of medical specialization.

- Forms or prescriptions that need to be sight translated or filled in.
- Aim of the appointment.
- Whether the patient is a new client for the interpreter.
- Number of participants (mental health or group-based treatments).

Data shows that community interpreters not only appreciate being briefed but also would like briefing sessions to become a more common practice, regardless of the setting. For example, Participant 4 expressed her gratitude after being briefed: "*I think it was very nice of her to give me the briefing, to give me the details before, because it laid a bridge between us (service provider and interpreter)*".

On the other hand, regarding briefings, Participant 3 stated: "*I think it would be a good thing to have at least 5 to 10 minutes before the assignment to prepare, especially when there are documents to sight translate, and…the setting doesn't really matter*".

2.4.2. Booking the appointment versus briefing

Participants 5 and 6 work as community interpreters in Gatineau, Québec. They became community interpreters as part of their job as newcomer settlement workers at AFIO (Association des Femmes Immigrantes de l'Outaouais); thus, interpretation is only one of their functions. Therefore, when service providers from legal, health care, and social services institutions require interpretation services, they call them directly, without intermediaries. In their answers to the questions regarding briefings, both Participants 5 and 6 talked about the information received at the time of booking the appointment, also known as assignment details. Participant 5 states that she receives the information below, and she also affirms that it is the only information she needs to know in order to carry out her job as an interpreter:

- Client's name
- Place of assignment
- Time of assignment

- Type of assignment

Participant 6 affirms that she also gets briefed during the appointment booking with some details about the case, and especially "*on the things service providers are more interested in understanding*".

Another participant in this study, Participant 1, also referred to the appointment booking, and she agrees with Participant 5 that the most common information received is the client's name, place and time of assignment, and type of assignment. However, in her opinion, this is not enough to prepare an assignment:

> P1: *So, when the agencies give me an assignment, it only talks about where, when, who…you know, it doesn't give you any other information. So, when I call the service provider to confirm the assignment, I try to ask…a lot of times…uh…by the way could you tell me what this appointment is going to be, so that I can better prepare myself.*

The findings in this section match many of the items listed by Tebble (2012) in her guidelines for briefings before community interpreting assignments. However, there is also new information regarding the settings where the briefing must take place, the length of the briefing, and concerns about payment.

Figure 4 summarizes the information provided by participant interpreters regarding four criteria to be considered when using briefings in community interpreting: the settings where briefings should take place; the different types of briefings in relation to the purpose of the interpreter-mediated situation; technical aspects that briefings should include; and the differences between briefings and assignment details provided when booking an appointment.

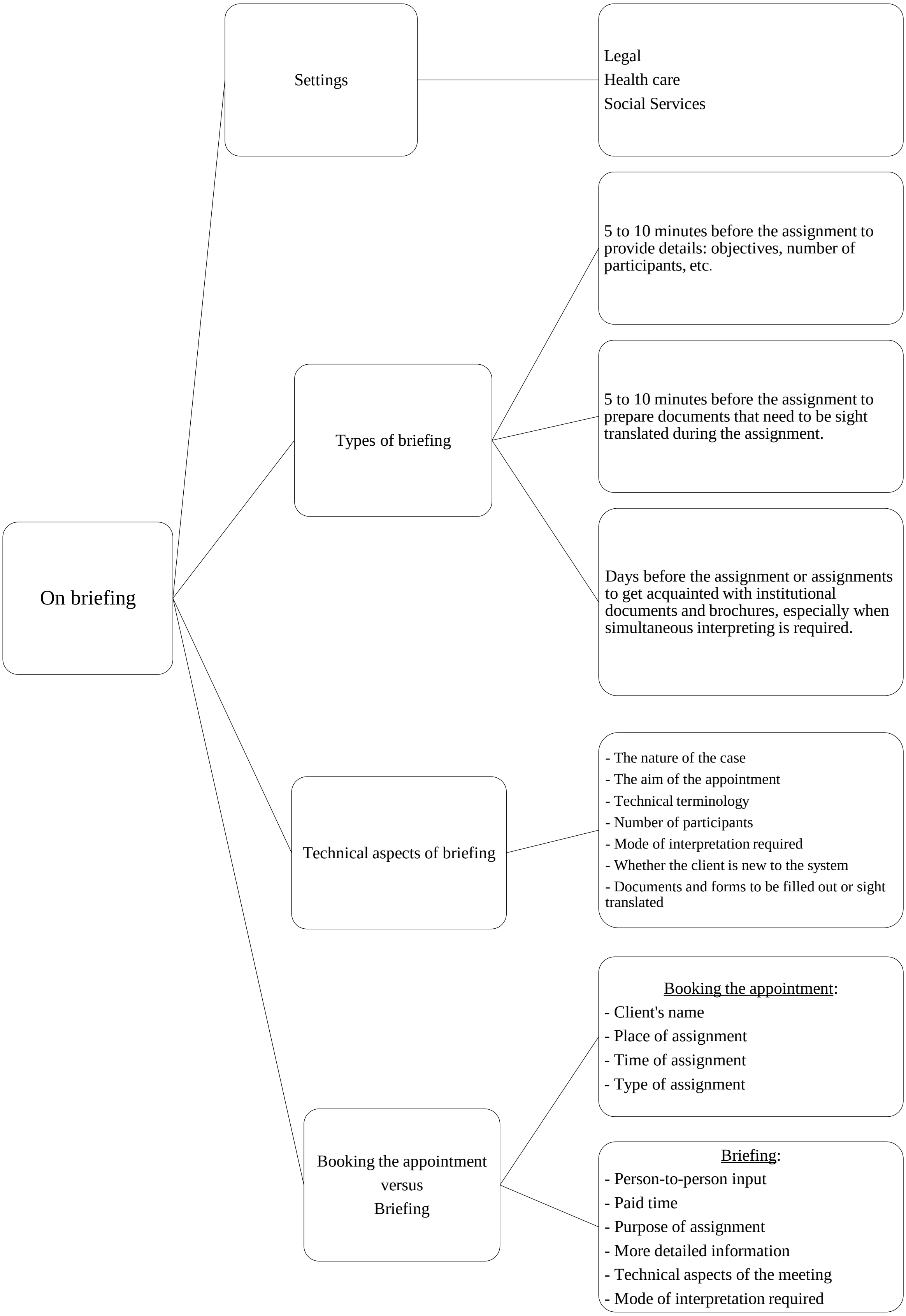


Fig. 4. Graphic summary of the category Briefing

2.4.3. Service providers' insights

The following section describes the main points observed in service providers' insights about different aspects to consider before assignments. Their main contributions concern how they determine the need for an interpreter, and what needs to be included in a briefing session.

2.4.3.1. Determining the need for an interpreter and confidentiality issues

When service providers were asked about how they determine the need for an interpreter, all agreed that there are three ways:

1) During the intake process. For instance, in health care settings, before referrals, the team leader will process the request for an interpreter before setting an appointment.
2) During over-the-phone assessments. Service providers may identify language barriers when assessing a client for the first time over the phone. Hence, they determine how disruptive these could be to the fulfillment of their duties.
3) During an assessment session. In the exchange of information with the client, the service provider may notice language barriers that could hinder communication. If this is the case, an interpreter will be requested.

Moreover, SP2 was also concerned about confidentiality or impartiality issues. She is aware that some immigrant communities in Ontario are very small and that members of different communities may come from regions or countries of the world that are in conflict with one another. This is critical for SP2, as she deals with clients in distress, war victims, and patients with PTSD. Therefore, as well as identifying language barriers in one of the three situations mentioned above, she discusses other aspects involved in opting for an interpreter:

> Interviewer: *How do you determine the need for an interpreter?*
> SP2: *…If I met the client two or three times and they don't seem to be able to communicate, I will just say "I really think that we…I need more clear information and we need to have an interpreter". And I will ask them if they have a specific interpreter or a name and I will try to get that interpreter for them. Because sometimes it's more related to the…some communities are very related to the…like in Canada we don't know too much about them, but within the same community, especially in African countries and sometimes some Middle Eastern countries and even European countries there is a lot*

> *of…like a lot of hatred and a lot of…you know…uh…historical unsettlement between small communities. Like the Somali or other communities, so you really need to be aware of the background of the interpreter and the background of the client. And we are not all the time, but I am asking the client who is the interpreter they are comfortable with*.

SP2's statement is interesting because she goes beyond linguistic barriers when she determines the need for an interpreter. She takes into consideration not only her need to understand and deliver the service but also her client's acceptance. SP2 is mindful about not bringing together two people whose backgrounds may be problematic for effective communication or for disclosing the identity of her client. Thus, because of the communities SP2 serves (of Eastern Europe or Middle Eastern origin), she wants to know if there has been some type of historical or political turmoil between the places of origin of the interpreter and the client.

Therefore, to summarize, there are three aspects to be considered when determining the need for an interpreter:

1) There are language barriers that affect communication.
2) Service providers or agencies need to find out if there is one interpreter of preference for both service provider and client. If they have an interpreter of preference, reinforce privacy and confidentiality principles before the assignment.
3) Service providers also need to find out if there has been any historical turmoil between the regions of origin of the client and the interpreter. If so, ask the client whether he or she would feel comfortable working with them.

Notwithstanding the above, it is worth mentioning that addressing the privacy and the preferences of clients when it comes to interpreting services is a luxury that some institutions offer clients with language barriers in Ontario. According to SP4, that is not the case for Quebec, where Legal Aid does not always include language services, or at least, he is not aware of that. In his case, choosing to have some kind of language assistance may come at the expense of clients' privacy or the confidentiality of the case.

SP4: *Well, I think the question is … or… or we'd paid for this, if it was paid by the….*
Interviewer*: The clients*?
SP4: *Well, that would be difficult. They usually don't have many resources. If it was paid by … by Legal Aid or by the Ministry of Justice, uh… it could be useful.*
Interviewer*: But I understand that Legal Aid provides some financial help for some legal services for immigrants and refugees.*
SP4: *Oh… I'm not aware of that…*

2.4.3.2. Briefings

The following is a summary of service providers' statements on what they consider to be important when they work with interpreters or when they meet them before assignments:

- Explain SP's tasks and functions during the assignment.
- Explain the purpose of the session.
- Point out expectations regarding interpreting: directionality in communication, impartiality, and confidentiality.
- Direct interpreters to encourage clients to talk directly to the provider, not to the interpreter.
- Encourage interpreters to be assertive when clients are addressing them and not the service providers.
- Advise interpreters to ask for a debriefing session if need be.
- Instruct interpreters on how to act in case there is a safety issue with the client.

In group therapy scenarios, SP2 also describes the topics and the situations that will take place during the session, and advises interpreters not to let the stories pull them in.

Regarding time allocations, only SP1 mentioned that she regularly takes five minutes for the briefing. However, she also mentioned that interpreters should be acquainted with the forms they use during consultations, which are lengthy and full of technical items. Therefore, there should be a way of letting the appointed interpreter know what forms are required for the assignment at least one day in advance.

2.5. Analysis and discussion

The findings of Chapter 2 show that practices such as the use of a briefing and an introduction before assignments remain partially addressed by deontological codes for community interpreting. Under the principle of confidentiality, NSGCIS states that interpreters may be briefed when collaborative work with other professionals is required, but community interpreting is collaborative in nature and requires coordination all the time. Also, this standard of practice is unclear about who is responsible for the briefing: Is it the agency? Is it the service provider? Both? Is briefing considered part of the assignment? Is this time paid? Those practical aspects of a very important stage before assignments need to be addressed by agencies, organizations and training institutions.

I also examined the international standards ISO 13611 for community interpreting to find out how briefings and introductions are portrayed. The document does refer to the use of an introduction as a responsibility of the interpreter, but only if this is allowed in the assignment setting. Furthermore, guidelines regarding the use of a briefing are unclear, since it is the interpreter's responsibility to ask for information in advance "regarding the nature of her/his assignment in order to be able to research and adequately prepare for it" (ISO 13611, 2014: 16). The caveat to this is that interpreters must make the request to the agencies and most of the time information is limited, as reported by participants in this study.

Notwithstanding the above, the international standards ISO 13611 are general guidelines with recommendations for the provision of community interpreting services, and local agencies and organizations need to make the necessary adjustments to act in accordance.

2.5.1. Briefings and introductions as *rituals*

In his work *L'ordre du discours*, Foucault (1971: 11-43) distinguishes four categories of procedures that may control, select, organize, and distribute discourses in order to enhance, regulate or neutralize powers or resulting dangers, as well as to prevent undesired outcomes. The third category is formed by those procedures that enable the control of the discourses, such as the establishment or enforcement of rules and norms as mechanisms of behaviour and restriction of action[52].

One observable way of how these mechanisms of behaviour or restriction function is organized under the name of the ritual. The ritual "defines the qualification that those who speak must have." In the interplay of a dialogue, the ritual also defines which position speakers should take and which type of statements or declarations they should formulate[53] (Foucault, 1971:39).

Furthermore, the ritual defines the gestures, the circumstances and a number of signs, documents or devices that may accompany the statements or declarations. For the author, judicial and therapeutic discourses comprise the implementation of rituals, because they establish the efficacy of words.

In community interpreting, the establishment of *rituals* such as briefing sessions, introductions in all assignments, and debriefings (See Ch. 5) can be equated to those procedures that may contribute by providing structure and method for the intercultural dialogue, and perhaps these *rituals* may help establish more standardized ways to have effective communication.

2.5.2. Trust

One relevant finding in chapter 2 is the notion of *trust.* In community interpreting this notion has three properties. Client-institution trust, provider-interpreter trust, and client-interpreter trust.

Client-institution trust

[52] « Il s'agit de déterminer les conditions de leur mise en jeu, d'imposer aux individus qui les tiennent un certain nombre des règles et ainsi de ne pas permettre à tout le monde d'avoir accès à eux » (Foucault, 1971 :38).

[53] My translation of : « Le rituel définit la qualification que doivent posséder les individus qui parlent (et qui dans le jeu d'un dialogue, de l'interrogation, de la récitation, doivent occuper telle position et formuler tel type d'énoncés) (Foucault, 1971 :39).

The notion of *trust* has been addressed by Giddens, who divides it into three different categories: *abstract trust, personal trust,* and *active trust* (1994: 184-197). In contemporary societies, the notion of *abstract trust* is explained as the confidence that individuals have in institutional and professional knowledge and expertise, in order to access services. There is also *personal trust,* which consists of the reliance or dependence of individuals on their relatives or acquaintances, in order to access services from institutions. As such, *personal trust* may be equated with the reliance that some clients have on *ad hoc* interpreters, as far as community interpreting is concerned. However, when clients have no access to relatives or acquaintances to act as language mediators between them and institutions, clients may resort to what Giddens has referred to as *active trust* (Ibid). Two features of *active trust*[54] are 1) that "it presumes a process of mutual narrative and emotional disclosure", and 2) in larger institutional contexts, the possibility of projecting a sort of "familiarity in the unfamiliar context". Along the same lines, Wadensjö argues that some situations challenge interpreters' capacity for hospitality when it comes to communication; that is to say, the ability to make speakers feel at ease enough to express their concerns and needs, or just "to communicate sincerely" (1998: 288).

Interpreters' strategies to build trust and empathy project the familiar or recognizable aspects on the unfamiliar institutions for the newcomers and enable them to communicate their narratives and concerns. Familiar aspects may well be "having a small talk", a warm greeting, "getting primary interlocutors together", taking time to introduce and explain the role of the interpreter, etc. These actions should not be seen as a breach of duty, as long as confidentiality, professionalism and impartiality are observed.

[54] "Active trust is trust that has to be energetically treated and sustained. It is at the origin of new forms of social solidarity today, in contexts ranging from intimate personal ties right through to global systems of interaction" (Giddens, 1994:186).

Provider-interpreter trust

In community interpreting, Hsieh et al. (2010) identified that health service providers' trust in interpreters is multidimensional. The first dimension is *competence,* which for providers means interpreters' impartiality and the "faithful relay of information and providers' assumptions about interpreters' training, credentials, and official role" (Ibid: 174-175). *Shared goals* is the second dimension identified by Hsieh et al. Providers highlighted the partnership between them and interpreters as a key factor behind their trust. It is interesting to note how the second dimension contradicts the first one in terms of impartiality. I also relate the second dimension (s*hared goals*) to the expectation expressed by service providers in this study. In general, service providers expect interpreters to be impartial and to deliver the messages completely and accurately. They also want interpreters to explain any culture-bound expressions or habits that may be of interest, and to maintain confidential all the information learnt during the assignment.

The *respect for professional boundaries* and *having established patterns of collaboration* were the other two dimensions of *trust* identified by Hsieh et al. (2010: 178). One advantage of the last dimension is that interpreters get a better understanding of protocols and language use. It also gives interpreters more agency to coordinate communication and to educate providers and patients on how to work with interpreters. However, the authors concluded that a drawback of establishing patterns of collaboration is that clients may develop emotional ties to the interpreter.

Client-interpreter trust

Another aspect of *trust* in community interpreting is client-interpreter trust. Angelelli (2008) looked into how community interpreters in the United States, Mexico and Canada perceived their role in different settings. Her study showed that participants considered that they played an important role in building trust and mutual respect (Ibid: 26).

Regarding client's expectations from interpreters, Edwards et al. (2005) report language proficiency as well as empathy as two major findings. This study was centered on clients' experiences with interpreters in community and public service institutions in London and Manchester. Clients expected interpreters to have a good command of the language pair as well as knowledge of the different dialects, for these were critical to the outcome of the interpreter-mediated encounter.

However, most respondents affirmed that "an interpreter's character and attitude was the primary issue. Generally, they wanted an interpreter who would empathize with them, understanding and relating to their situation". Notably, respondents preferred *ad hoc* to accredited interpreters. In the former, they found less uncertainty, emotional commitment, and loyalty (Ibid: 89-92).

The previous studies reveal how clients and providers often have conflicting expectations regarding community interpreters. This is a pattern found by Skaaden (2019), who analyzed both clients' and providers' attitudes towards intercultural communication in public service institutions, noting that "these conflicting expectations leave the interpreter in a difficult position when it comes to loyalty and trust" (Ibid: 712).

This conflict of expectations is also a pattern found in this study. We noticed how participants 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6 report experiencing confusing situations, in which abiding by the principle of maintenance of role boundaries may have been understood as a lack of empathy by clients.

2.5.3. Community interpreting as an element in a strategic power device

Foucault (1978: 59-67) explains how a number of elements and interactions form what he calls "strategic power devices" and function in all spheres and institutions of society. These interactions may have more or less the same weight and can be of a discursive and non-discursive nature — for example, the discourse of the rule of law and the juridical system and how these have structured discourses and behaviours in institutions and, by extension, how individuals are included or excluded form the institutions.

Applying this description of "strategic power devices" into community interpreting practices in legal settings such as Legal Aid, the Children's Aid Society (CAS), and the Victim/Witness Assistant Program (V/WAP), I have identified three spheres or layers of power discourses. A first layer is conceived from a macro perspective and is formed by federal and provincial legal instruments (see pages 56-57). At the federal level, there are two instruments for the provision of services to those who do not speak official languages: the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Section 14, and the Multiculturalism Act. At the provincial level, the instruments are the Legal Aid Services Act, 1998 S.O. C. 26; the Human Rights Code, R.S.O. 1990, c.H. 19; and the Child and Family Services Act, R.S.O. 1990, c.C. 11[55].

At a second layer, we observe how these instruments affect discursive and non-discursive behaviours of institutions and individuals in different forms — for example, the creation of banks of interpreters or the intermediation with agencies for hiring interpreting services and the creation of codes of conduct or ethical principles for the prescription of particular institutional requirements in terms of linguistic services. These resources at the institutional level are also called strategies of discipline by Foucault (1978: 62) and directly affect the behaviours of individuals. Discursive events and power devices are more observable at the institutional level; however, it does not mean that power devices at the federal and provincial levels are not playing an important role. Rather, they have a more abstract nature, but they set the stage for the practical and more observable power devices in institutions.

It is important to mention here that it is at the first and second levels where the norms and the normalization of institutional discourses and practices fall into place, shaping both discursive

[55] Canadian Legal Information Institute CanLII.org

and non-discursive behaviours, such as written codes of ethics, standards of practice, restrictions, schedules, dress codes, communication channels, role modeling, and training.

The third level of the strategic power device is at an individual or micro level, where community interpreters also enter the more or less balanced interplay of power dynamics. Here, both rule-bending and rule-validating strategies are instruments whereby community interpreters seek to enter the normative discourse for two strategies. On the one hand, abide by the norm in order to fulfill professional or career goals. On the other hand, they seek to draw public services near newcomers whose systems of beliefs and practices seem to be in opposition to those from the locals.

At this point, the interplay of power dynamics can be compared with the line, or the pathos of change and renewal described by Bakhtin (1984:11), where denial and renewal form a continuum. A holistic continuum in which religious and political hierarchical values, norms and prohibitions are in a constant power interplay with bare denial, carnival, and satire. In community interpreting, the two aspects may be equated with the normative system and rule-bending and rule-validating strategies that over time, may allow for an improvement or advancement of such normative systems, generating new hierarchical norms and values that will eventually come into power interplays with new forms of individual strategies. This is the meaningful philosophical content of Bakhtin's argument: the wholeness of the pathos of change and renewal.

2.5.4. The centre-periphery analogy

When applying the centre-periphery image to the findings of chapter 2, I would place the challenges before assignments in a peripheral position. Why are they peripheral? Firstly, the challenges are not classified, technically speaking, as constituent parts of the assignment. However, the number of testimonies revealing their presence may be an indicator that they deserve further analysis and may eventually become a central part in community interpreting analysis.

Secondly, and as far as strategies are concerned, I would place them both in the centre and the periphery. The more they abide by ethical principles and standards of practice (rule-validating), the closer they are to the centre. The less these strategies are in accordance with ethical principles (rule-bending), the closer they are to the periphery. Moreover, the latter are more peripheral because the initiatives are coming from the interpreters themselves, not from the norm.

Finally, to close this section on the interplay of strategies before assignments with the analogy centre-periphery, I will refer to Robinson's (2011) observation regarding the centre-periphery dichotomy in postcolonial studies. Citing Ngugi wa Thiong (1993), Robinson states that one strategy to deconstruct this framework of analysis is to break down the hierarchy between centre and periphery, or "moving the centre" (Robinson, 2011: 21).

If we consider Toury's (1995: 60-62/2013: 64-66) notion of norms as the centre in a scalable continuum, in community interpreting these norms could be expanded and regulate a technical use of briefings and introductions. Thus, these two procedures would gain a central status inside the deontology of community interpreting. These technical procedures take place on a regular basis in community interpreting assignments, yet they have not been regulated because academically and institutionally speaking, they are not considered central to community interpreting assignments.

CHAPTER 3: CONFLICTING SITUATIONS IN COMMUNITY INTERPRETING DURING ASSIGNMENTS

"*Yes. Sometimes, I suggest or I ask the provider to suggest where I should sit…and…uh…most of the times it's a good place between the provider and the client. But in a few cases I met with…uh…very stiff and stubborn providers who request me to sit in a special place that's not the ideal place for an interpreter. But I have to…I try to do my best*".
Participant 7

The previous chapter described challenging situations and coping strategies before assignments and gave details on what could be used in the process of preparing for assignments. This preparation can integrate different types of briefings depending on the institutional context and the purpose of the assignment. Furthermore, we gained knowledge of the importance of a good introduction right before primary interlocutors start their conversation.

Some of the challenging or conflicting situations that appear in Chapter 3 may be seen as direct or indirect consequences of the lack of an appropriate briefing or an introduction. Nonetheless, data analysis revealed that the community interpreters who participated in this study encountered unexpected situations that go beyond the presence or absence of an appropriate briefing or complete introduction. These included swearwords and insults, unkind treatment, culture-bound expressions, and wrong perceptions of the interpreter's role.

This chapter will present a typology of conflicting situations that interpreters reported as challenging, or that represented obstacles to their role of facilitating effective communication. The chapter will be divided into four sections, as follows:

3.1. Situations that show how institutional constraints and clients' attitudes restrict interpreters' agency.

3.2. A set of culture-related challenges, including culture-bound terms and expressions, and challenges that require cultural awareness.

3.3. Situations that can potentially compromise the impartiality of the interpreter.

3.4. A diagram with the typology of challenges during assignments.

3.1. Typology of Challenges or Conflicting Situations Encountered During Assignments

The following sections describe and classify the conflicting situations that community interpreters encountered during their assignments. Information provided in this section presents participants' answers to the following question:

D*uring assignments, have you ever encountered unusual or unexpected situations relating to:*

Seating arrangements

Unexpected foreign language – dialect

Difficulties in building up rapport with the patient/client

Multiple interlocutors

Aggressive behaviour or hostility

Neuro-linguistic/neuropsychological challenges (rhythm, silences, pace, amnesia, stuttering)

Socio-cultural/ideological challenges: lack of literacy, beliefs, taboo language, whining, and culturally specific traditions of hospitality

With clients who are adults, children or teenagers who refuse to talk, want to tell you secrets, want to make friends, attempt to create bias, or try to bring the interpreter on his/her side

Abrupt ending of the encounter

3.1.1. Institutional and individual constraints that restrict interpreters' agency

The first category of challenges addresses situations that could be avoided with the correct use of an introduction. However, similar situations may well occur when a proper introduction is made. Consequently, regardless of the reason these situations take place during assignments, they do occur, and accredited or certified interpreters should be equipped to respond accordingly.

1) Opposing perceptions of interpreters' role

The following excerpts present three cases in which service providers assumed that the role of the interpreter was to convince the client to do something, to interpret clients' nonverbal language, or to provide unilateral or one-way interpreting.

A client got upset because her lawyer sent a paralegal worker instead of attending in person. As a sign of protest, the client decided to stay quiet. While it is possible to think that the challenge was the client's refusal to talk, in fact the real challenge arose when the service provider requested that the interpreter convince the client to talk, by making use of warnings or implying that her silence might bring consequences for her during a trial.

> Interviewer: *And the…the other party (the service provider) did she insist in asking questions? Or she just remained quiet too?*
> Participant 3: *She kept quiet after a certain point, but she was trying to tell me to explain to her (the client) that you know…being quiet would not help in her case and things like that*.

Similar situations were also found by Hsieh et al. (2010: 176) when reporting health care providers' expectations from interpreters. One of these was the providers' expectation of alliance. According to some health care providers, interpreters need to establish a partnership with the health care team and explain or try to convince patients of the importance of treatments or procedures for their health (Ibid, 2010).

In another situation reported by P5, the service provider expected the interpreter to interpret the meaning of gestures and nonverbal communication of the client and his family:

> Participant 5: *You know there is an interest in the details: "…like, what did he say? What is the meaning of this look?" It seems to me that she goes to the point of asking me if things are okay because she observed a certain look, because she observed a gesture that she deemed important to understand, even though there are no words*.

One case that may be viewed as abusive is the custom of one-way interpreting that sometimes takes place at some CAS venues. Participant 5 reported a situation in which she was asked to conduct one-way interpreting from Spanish to French, which meant that only the service provider was being informed of the conversations taking place between the client and his family:

> Participant 5: *So, in this case it looked like a unilateral interpretation service; I mean everything that was said in Spanish had to be translated to French because it was not a dialogue, it wasn't a conversation. It was only an observation.*

The previous situations are problematic because they contradict the principles of impartiality and role boundaries. "Interpreters strive to remain neutral and show no preference or bias to any party involved in the interpreted encounter" (NSGCIS: 25). In addition, it is not the role of the interpreter to convince clients of the benefits or drawbacks of a specific individual behaviour or institutional procedure. This is interesting because when service providers are asked what they expect from interpreters, they often agree that impartiality is a synonym of professionalism for community interpreters, as stated by service providers 1, 2 and 5 in this study, and found by Skaaden(2019), Kalina (2015), and Hsieh et al. (2010).

Regarding the other parties, the data shows that clients or patients also have wrong perceptions of interpreters' roles and behave accordingly. For instance, they ask for advice, or ask the interpreter to omit information that has been said.

This quote from Participant 3 illustrates how clients come to rely on interpreters as advisors in situations that can be difficult for them as newcomers. A client had been summoned by the investigator due to allegations of child abuse. The client did not speak English and got nervous. He asked the interpreter for advice on what to do and what to say: "*I had told him that it was a child's welfare case. And he was like: 'What am I gonna do? What should I do? Can you give me some advice? What should I do? What do I do now?'*"

In a similar case in a legal setting, at a joint custody case, the client was a woman who did not want her child to see a stranger. She let the interpreter know this feeling, but at the same time asked her (the interpreter) not to interpret what she was saying, because she did not want to look jealous:

> Participant 3: *So…there was a custody case that I was interpreting for this client…but she didn't wanna say that, because she didn't want to seem jealous or those things, like culturally…you know…you don't talk about the mistress or the new person, or things like that.*

Client's perceptions and expectations are less frequently studied or reported on than those of service providers. This phenomenon is likely due to the fact that public service institutions find ethical concerns when it comes to approaching non-official-language speakers to conduct research. Institutions want to protect their privacy and their rights. Nonetheless, these measures of protection may also hinder their possibility to express their expectations and needs regarding linguistic assistance. Skaaden (2019) and Edwards et al. (2005) have conducted research on clients' experiences with community interpreters and their expectations regarding community interpreters. Their findings reveal that when it comes to health care, for example, some patients responded better to treatments and procedures when interpreters assumed roles of supporters or mediators. However, Skaaden (2019) shows that *ad hoc* interpreters are more prone to overstep their role boundaries than accredited community interpreters.

2) Issues dealing with positioning or seating arrangements

A strategic position for the observation of primary interlocutors' gestures and messages is a necessary technical aspect in the community interpreting assignment in order to reach effective communication. However, the distribution and organization of spaces where assignments are held may change from institution to institution and from person to person; furthermore, this aspect can be out of interpreters' control[56].

Notwithstanding the above, community interpreters should have the training and confidence to suggest an organization or arrangement of the space from the outset of the assignment, which may contribute to turn-taking and coordination of the conversation. The following quotes from

[56] "Interpreters are responsible for the quality of the interpretation provided" and this includes bringing to the attention of an appropriate person "any circumstance or condition that impedes full compliance." NSGCIS (2007:28).

some participants show how the organization of the conversation was affected by either the seating arrangement provided by the institution or the fact that the service provider was not aware of the relevance of this aspect for effective communication.

Sometimes, assignments are held in the clients' homes. In this example, Participant 4 describes how the arrangement was hindering her comprehension of messages:

> *Once in a house, I was sitting here (pointing at one place), the service provider was sitting here (to the right side the interpreter) and the house people, the clients, were sitting there (to the left side of the interpreter). But just between us (the interpreter and the clients) there was a portable AC and it was turned on, and I couldn't hear*.

In a different setting and assignment, Participant 4 also found herself in a situation where the seating arrangement represented an obstacle for effective communication: "*Yeah…like the most difficult situation, I remember, when an Arabic client talked to me all the time and he didn't want to talk to the service provider*".

Finally, Participant 7 observed that in some cases it was the service provider who decided participants' positioning in the space, however, the service provider was unaware of the strategic place that the interpreter must have in order to have a coordinated conversation:

> *Yes. Sometimes, I suggest or I ask the provider to suggest where I should sit…and…uh…most of the times it's a good place between the provider and the client. But in a few cases I met with…uh…very stiff and stubborn providers who request me to sit in a special place that's not the ideal place for an interpreter. But I have to…uh…I try to do my best*.

In this regard, Tebble (2012) explains that the physical conditions of the interpreter-mediated encounter need to facilitate effective communication, and it is the provider's responsibility to ensure an appropriate seating or positioning for all participants (Ibid: 36). However, the situations brought up by Participants 4 and 7 showed that the lack of an appropriate organization of the seating represented challenges for them. In addition, Wadensjö (2001) affirms that seating arrangements may affect the quality and the outcomes of interpreter-mediated encounters. She advises a "shared communicative radius" that assists in the coordination of the dialogue (Ibid: 83).

3) Hostility

As mentioned before, community interpreting is a complex activity. It is the linguistic rendering of messages between two different languages in institutional contexts with a heavy burden of socio-economic issues and challenges, especially for clients who often are refugees, low-income immigrants, or asylum seekers. This burden can sometimes overwhelm clients, especially when they deal with institutional requirements that challenge their habits. This is the case in an example brought up by Participant 5. A father, who had already undergone a difficult and lengthy case with the DPJ, was witnessing a new visit from authorities and what seemed to be the second removal of one of his sons. However, everything was due to a mistake made by one of the service providers, the situation was cleared up, and the boy could remain at his home. During all the confusion, the father became very upset.

> Participant 5: *The situation was chaotic because the kids were crying, they did not want to leave home again, and the father was truly upset. Yes, the father was really, really upset. He was actually in a moment of anger and he couldn't help it.*

Participants 2 and 7 also narrate situations in which they had to deal with the aggressive behaviour of clients, but this time the hostile attitude was directed at them, the interpreters. These cases seem to be a matter of personality traits. However, it is interesting that both took place during health care assignments, settings that can generate significant stress for clients. Participant 2 stated: "*When we finished, uh…as we were going out–me and the doctor–he tells me 'Go and get my coat'. So, I said 'I'm sorry, I cannot do that'…Immediately he reported that I was a bad interpreter".* Participant 7 said the following:

> *That time, I was late for 10 minutes for the assignment. He did not know me and he was so incredibly angry that he was shouting at the service providers, at the clerk, and the service provider was also 10 minutes late, she was with another patient.*

4) "I don't need an interpreter"

There are clients who have a certain command of either English or French. However, in some cases service providers decide to request interpreting services because they consider that the client's level of comprehension or conversation is insufficient for effective communication, and that this may result in a failure to fulfill the aims of the appointment. Participants 1 and 9 have encountered situations that illustrate this challenge:

> Participant 1: *I found that some clients want to communicate directly with the service provider, and uh…they do speak and they do understand English, so they don't want me to necessarily intervene, so…yeah…*
> *Sometimes because of the limited English the client has, the service provider gets frustrated because the communication is not smooth, so…but because I do feel their frustration, I would intervene then. And some other times, the service provider tells the client to speak in Japanese and they do, so…'I need you to speak in your own language, so the interpreter can interpret so that communication gets smoother'*.
> Participant 9 observed: "*The person (client) was already there at the meeting room, I politely said: 'If you don't mind me staying, and if you need support, I am here to support you'*".

Meyer (2012) found that health service providers prefer working with an interpreter when they have "partially language-proficient patients" in the consultation room, with what is called a "language constellation". By language constellation Meyer means those situations with three or more different interaction formats, i.e., "Direct interaction between doctor and patient in German; partial or reduced renditions from Portuguese to German; complex turns in Portuguese that are rendered to German; and question-answer sequences with a question in German and an answer in Portuguese (with or without renditions)" (Ibid: 105-108).

5) Dealing with multiple interlocutors in the place of the assignment

Another challenging situation that an interpreter may encounter is when, besides the primary interlocutors (client and service provider), there are other people present in the assignment setting. This may occur at a family home during a social worker visit, when an investigator or police officer visits the home of a domestic violence victim, at a parent-teacher meeting with children, or at a health care facility, among many others.

To illustrate, a case was presented by Participant 2 which involved an assignment in a medical context with an elderly patient in palliative care. The interpreter had not been briefed about the case and once inside the hospital room, he came across multiple interlocutors (medical staff, physiotherapists, a social worker, and six relatives of the patient). Apparently, they were all speaking English and the only English-limited speaker was the patient.

> Participant 2: *I was in a situation where I wasn't briefed, and I walked into the hospital and it's uh…it's basically somebody who is terminal. So, then you have the whole room full of medical people from palliative care, the nurses, the physiotherapists, and six members of the family, and I am there and there is a sick person…and that was out of control.*

According to the excerpt, the situation "was out of control" because everybody was practically speaking at the same time about the patient's situation, and the interpreter was missing some of the dialogues.

> Participant 2: *I remember that in that case, first of all they were talking English among each other, with the doctors over the patient, so I was trying to sort of translate what they were saying to the sick person. You know, but I missed some of the dialogues, and I would explain that to the social worker.*

The immediate and socially situated challenges presented in this section may be linked to interpreting problems, a concept presented in the introduction[57]. These situations go beyond the linguistic aspect of the dialogue and affect to a greater or lesser extent the quality of the renderings and the role of the accredited community interpreter. Toledano-Buendía (2010: 16) equates these interpreting problems to Toury's *Preliminary norms* (1995/2013) insofar as they are socially/institutionally situated and affect the whole process and outcomes of the interpreter-mediated encounter.

More specifically, these challenges conflict with the ethical principles of accuracy and role boundaries. Firstly, issues regarding directionality, seating arrangements, language

[57] I equated the notion of interpreting problem to Toury's notion of Problem 3 and the introduction of "decision-making clues, including problem-solving techniques and final solutions" (2013: 44-45).

constellations (Meyer, 2012), and multiparty encounters may hinder accuracy in terms of the quality of the renderings and the preservation of the entirety of the message. Additionally, issues with hostile clients are sensitive aspects addressed by Standard of practice 27, which says: "The interpreter protects her or his own privacy, well-being and safety". (NSGCIS: 27). In chapter 4 we will discuss the strategies that participants use to cope with these challenges.

3.2. Culture-bound challenges and conflicting situations that require cultural awareness

In his work on the translation of culture, David Katan (2004) presents the notions of culture-bound and cultural awareness and explains the difference between them and how this difference needs to be addressed in translation and interpreting practices. Drawing on the notion of culture represented by the Iceberg Theory (Brake et al., 1995), Katan (2004: 42-48) affirms that the more abstract aspects of culture are those under the surface. On the other hand, there are factual or technical aspects of culture that are on the surface or above the surface; these cultural aspects can be observed. The latter are visible, are often considered to represent cultures or communities, and play the role of identifiers: for example, "music, art, food, drink, architecture, institutions, visible behaviors, language, rituals, customs, and dress" (Ibid: 43)[58].

Nonetheless, under the surface there is a set of cultural aspects that are not visible but play important roles in the consolidation of world views and identities: "communication, environment, time, space, power, individualism, thinking, structure, and competitiveness" (Ibid: 44).

Data analysis identified challenging situations during assignments that can be associated with both those visual cultural aspects and the abstract ones. In the next sections, I will present both types of challenging situations. The first group has been called culture-bound linguistic

[58] The Iceberg Theory is part of what Geertz (1973) called "stratigraphic conceptions of culture". It portrays different spheres of human life as layers or levels. There is a biological layer, a psychological layer, and a sociological layer in culture. Each layer contains core elements that as a whole constitute the cultural particularities of a group. This is also seen as cultural relativism (Ibid: 37-40).

challenges because these have to do with terms or expressions that reflect cultural aspects such as politics, time, housing, and profanity; these cultural aspects are not easily identified and are classified as being under the surface, using the iceberg model. The second group deals with cultural identifiers such as beliefs, social or family constraints, and habits. These are not necessarily linguistic issues, but they also involve interpreters' cultural awareness because they may hinder effective communication.

3.2.1. Culture-bound linguistic challenges

In this group, all cases are limited to linguistic expressions or terms that represented challenges for the interpreters who participated in this study. These situations took place in different settings: in the courtroom, at a school, at a woman's shelter, and at health care facilities.

1) Politics and meaning

Socio-political issues and experiences are reflected in the language of every group or individual. With the following two examples, Participant 8 explained the importance of being well informed about historical or current socio-political issues of the client's country of origin:

> *Some Mexicans, for example, for a death threat, will use the expression "Ya te llegó la chingada" or "Te va a llevar la chingada". How do you translate it literally into French? If you translate it literally, it will not be understood as a death threat.*
> *I am Mexican so, I may have better knowledge about some Mexican issues, but sometimes I don't know the issues from other countries in the region. For example, Venezuela; I didn't know the meaning of the word "escuálido", I was making a literal translation into French, I used to translate it as "maigrichon".*

These examples reflect the type of expressions that belong to the local usage of one language, Spanish. Both the expression and the term have different uses in different Spanish-speaking countries. However, given the socio-political conditions of each country, Mexico and Venezuela, they have acquired different connotations for the speakers. Both cases took place in refugee claim hearings, and in both scenarios the refugee claimants would be in danger of death or imprisonment in their home countries, a possibility that could be influenced by an inappropriate rendition.

> Participant 8: *So, they (the judges) may say: "well in your affidavit, you report a death threat, but that's not what you're saying", or they may think that the testimony is not reliable. I am focusing my examples on refugee claiming cases, because I think it's the best example to understand the fact that if you mistranslate or misinterpret either feelings or colloquial expressions, the outcome can put claimants in dangerous situations*.

2) Different understandings of time

The way we understand and measure time depends not only on social consensus, but also on access to information and education. One case narrated by Participant 9 refers to an expression of time that resulted in an interpreting challenge and a communication barrier:

> *This mom was asked when her son was born and her answer was "the year of the Pig". I interpreted exactly what she said but the teacher checked with her why she answered that instead of giving us his date of birth. Mom explained that she grew up in the rural area, with no calendars, no birth certificates, so the only thing she remembered was the year that he (the boy) was born was the year of the Pig according to the Vietnamese lunar year*.

3) Cross-cultural concepts of housing

The spaces we live in and our lifestyles are also reflected in our language: privacy, openness, distance, or proximity are just some general characteristics. It is important to understand the context of the following example. This is a domestic violence case in which the service provider was trying to move a mother and her child from a woman's shelter into a new place. Although Participant 4 did not mention the term in Arabic, at the end she concluded that what the client actually meant was 'privacy', although she was still referring to a place. Perhaps the referent notion in the source language was related to the privacy that the client may have needed for herself and her child, without necessarily implying specific housing standards.

> *One woman said once "I want a private house for me and my son" and I translated that as private house. But private house here (in Canada) means a big single house. Like a house where you live very comfortably…I didn't know what private house meant, and after that I felt like the service provider was not happy with this…like…ah…private house*.

4) Profanity, swearing, and culture

The translation of insults and swearwords represents a challenge for both translators and interpreters. The reason for this may be that insults and swearwords are socially and historically constructed expressions and terms that have specific meanings for local speakers at a certain place and time.

> Interviewer: *And you just say whatever he (the client) says …*?
> Participant 1: *Aha! Sometimes it's hard for me when…not only the psychol…the mental health care, but other times too, they swear and I have to do that, and I find that really difficult.*
> *I try to tell that…to say exactly what the clients said. But…sometimes swearing it's not exactly the same in English, so I have to think what he is trying to say, and not what he is…saying literally. Because if I try to say that…translate that word for word, that doesn't make sense.*

3.2.2. Other conflicting situations that require cultural awareness

Being culturally aware means having the knowledge, perception, and understanding of differences between oneself and people from other countries or backgrounds. This ability is not limited to interpreters or translators, but as Hatim and Mason put it, "the translator is uniquely placed to identify and resolve the disparity between sign and value across cultures"; this is what they call a "bi-cultural vision" (1990: 21).

The following examples were taken from answers provided by participants when asked about culturally specific challenging situations. The situations described took place in different settings: a lawyer's office, the DPJ, a woman's shelter, and a health care facility.

1) Compromised privacy and confidentiality

Participant 5 works in an organization that provides community services for immigrant women in Gatineau. She summarized a type of challenge that she often encounters in her assignments, and although she did not mention one case in particular, she described the main issue in question as *confidentiality*. This can be considered to be a socio-cultural issue, because body conceptions change from culture to culture, particularly in stronger religious communities, which dictate women's and men's behaviours.

There are two main scenarios in which this problem appears: When the client (a woman) visits a health care specialist with her partner (usually her husband). In this case, it is very hard for the interpreter to make attempts to build trust and let the client know that she will keep everything confidential, because the obstacle to information protection might not be the presence of the interpreter, but the presence of her husband. This is an external factor that the interpreter cannot control.

In a similar situation but without the presence of the husband, the client might not feel comfortable talking about her private life in front of a third person, and even less so if this person is from her own community. Therefore, in this scenario, what Participant 5 recommends is to "make the client understand that we will not judge them". However, some clients may still not feel comfortable, perhaps because they fear that information might be leaked. In this case, it is advisable that service providers do their best to assign an interpreter who does not know the client, or who does not belong to the same community.

> Participant 5: *Another situation is when women have to fill out health care forms and one of the standard questions is: How many sexual partners have you had in the last one or two years, right? So, this is a question that makes certain immigrant women very uncomfortable, especially Arab…and Latino women, too. Or if they have had miscarriages or so. Mainly, when Arab women are in the consultation with their couples, this is very, very uncomfortable for them, and they also feel insulted. They say things like: "What do you mean by how many? Don't you see that I am married? If I am married, he is my only sexual partner." So, making this type of cultural connotations is something that we have considered as very important. Unless we are alone with the health care provider it isn't easy to answer this question. Moreover, immigrant women make part of minority communities, so practically you know everybody, and if the interpreter makes part of this or that community it's hard for them (the clients) to answer this type of questions.*

2) Moral dilemmas

Economic and emotional independence are important values in Canadian society. In many cases, clients' backgrounds may prevent them from adopting new lifestyles and integrating smoothly into the culture of their new environment. The following case illustrates a situation in which the client fluctuates between her cultural mindset and the new cultural values.

> Participant 6: *So, when the service providers see this, they cannot understand why this lady doesn't care about the money. She is ready to work, even to pay a higher rent, but she doesn't want to get into this legal problem (with her ex husband) right now.*

In this case, we can see that although there is no linguistic misunderstanding, there is a cultural misunderstanding. The service providers may need to obtain an explanation of why the client prefers to get a job and not to engage in a legal battle with her ex-husband.

3) Different parenting styles

The last topic in this section on culture-specific situations is addressed by Participant 5, who comments on one of the main challenges for newcomer families in Canada: parenting.

> Interviewer: *Another barrier for communication, especially for refugees, is the lack of education and even illiteracy in their own mother tongue*.
> Participant 5: *Yes, of course. Understanding the context, the level of education, and the origin of clients is very important. Mainly to let the other party know about it, you know. It is important not to the point that it modifies or affects my interpretation, but these are key aspects that will help the other party understand what is happening. Basically, in the context of parenting, because these are the most challenging cases I have encountered, and I think it's one of the biggest challenges for the Canadian government in terms of the integration of newcomers. Because people come with their experience, with their cultural background, with their knowledge and everything; things that will be eventually modified overtime and also depending on the openness and the level of education of the family*.

3.3. Situations that can potentially compromise the impartiality of the interpreter

The following section puts forth six situations that were conflicting for the interpreter and challenged their sense of impartiality. Emotionally charged situations, tensions between clients and service providers, and situations where interpreters felt the need to help are some of them. In Chapter 4 (part 4.3.), we will discuss the coping strategies that interpreters used, and how these strategies reflect interpreters' approaches to impartiality.

1) Getting the client "out of trouble"

Two situations related by Participants 3 and 4 reflect how interpreters may sometimes filter or omit information that they consider could put the client in trouble. In the first case, Participant 4 described a situation in which the client used the word *kill* or *killing.* Participant 4 stated that this term in Arabic cultures "*does not mean anything*", and that this was just a "*way of speaking*".

Participant 4: *For us…kill doesn't mean anything in Arabic places, "I will kill you!" It is what the dad will say to his son, the mother will say to her daughter…it's kind of just words…it's just a way of speaking*.

The second case shows how Participant 3 omitted information when in the context of legal advice, she decided not to translate part of the client's words, at the client's request:

Interviewer: *But you didn't explain*.
Participant 3: *No, I didn't. Because she (the client) said "Don't say it". She was like "Don't say it", "but I don't want him to see that …" "I think he's getting married" "I don't want him to see her", "But cancel it. Cancel it!" She kept saying: "Cancel it!" to me…you know…just like forget about it. Then the lawyer said "Are you concerned for your child safety? You have to tell me…" And then she (the client) was like "No, no, no…never mind", "Forget I said anything", and things like that…so in this case I think she didn't want other people to see her with those prejudices like she is jealous…you know…and things like that.*

2) Tense situations between clients and service providers

The case described below presents a very tense atmosphere at the DPJ, with mistrust and animosity being the best words to depict the scene. Participant 5 found it even more challenging when she was asked to "explain" the meaning of gestures and non-linguistic communication, which she did not. In addition, the interpretation was being made only in one direction: Spanish to French, which meant that only the service provider was being informed of the conversations taking place between the client and his family.

Participant 5: *No, it was only…she…eh everything said by the family had to be reported. Yes, the situation is stressful, the atmosphere is very tense. I'd say that if we had a knife, we could cut the moment, I mean…*
So, in this case it looked like a unilateral interpretation service; I mean everything that was said in Spanish had to be translated to French because it was not a dialogue, it wasn't a conversation. It was only an observation, you see?

Another case in the same setting is described by Participant 6, who decided to give advice to a client who refused to comply with the DJP agent's requests:

Participant 6: *I did both word-by-word and explanations. But, regardless of what I said, the client wasn't open at all. To the point that I said to the service provider "I will explain her in my own terms in Arabic", but I said exactly what I wanted to explain to the service provider from the shelter. I…I talked to her (the client) very clearly. I said "If you don't do what they want, you won't have your children with you. And you can't just focus on* *little details. You must do what they want". She was stubborn, that's it. And she ended up losing her children.*

3) "Helping patients" in health care related situations

Assumptions and attitudes towards health and illness have been associated with cultural background and education, and the overlooking of such beliefs and attitudes by the interpreter may result in non-compliance with the principle of impartiality. The following cases will illustrate how Participant 7, who is aware of the aforementioned association, attempted to prevent non-compliance and to assist clients with their comprehension and integration of new values regarding health.

The first example is about the issue of the client's illiteracy in the official language and the challenge this may represent for the client's treatment:

> Interviewer: *Have you found patients with lack of literacy and if so, how does it affect your work? Do you have to provide explanations regarding for example treatment or dosage or the type of medication they have to use?*
> Participant 7: *Sometimes I have to write all the sensitive information like doses…like…here in Canada physicians have a minimal expectancy of the patients. Patients here ask many questions, they are writing, reading and it's not the same with the Arabic culture.*

The second situation was brought about by a case of a client's non-compliance with taking the medicine due to religious beliefs. The situation draws P7 breach the principle of impartiality.

> Interviewer: *And what about different beliefs or ideas about health and illness? Have you found patients with different beliefs, and how does the physician behave in front of that?*
> Participant 7: *Most of the time they cannot express frankly that they will not take the medication.*
> Interviewer: *But can you know it? Can you sense that they won't take it?*
> Participant 7: *I can't feel it. But most of them are not taking the medication rather than refusing it. It's not believing in natural ways, natural ways of dealing with it, but it's a non-compliance...uh…non…maybe medication is not so important, and maybe praying and believing that God's hands will change everything, regardless what you are doing is the main concept.*

Finally, in the third example, Participant 7 talked about clients' illiteracy, barriers to accessing information on the internet, and dependence on the interpreter:

Uh…if the patient is very meticulous and will put the time of the appointment on his calendar is very good. But most of them do not know how to write, they don't know how to use the internet, and depend on the interpreter to tell them.

…Because many of the non-English speakers are so reluctant to write the dates and they depend on their memory, but also they depend on the translator or the interpreter to call them.

4) Side effects of drugs, dementia, and depression in mental health consultations

Mental health is another challenging domain for community interpreters, as it may compromise brain functioning and language. Therefore, clients who experience mental health issues have a twofold barrier to accessing counseling and treatment: first, the linguistic barrier (limited or non-speaking the second language), and second, the mental health issue that may interfere with his or her mother tongue or ability to communicate.

Some of the reasons for counseling found in this study are depressive disorders, dementia, and PTSD. Participants 1, 2, and 7 reported specific situations that represented challenges for them. Participant 1 described the challenges she encountered while in a consultation room with a patient who was under the influence of drugs:

- Use of insults or swear words
- Unclear voice
- Falling asleep or getting sleepy

Interviewer: *Have you ever worked in an assignment regarding mental health?*
Participant 1: *Yes, I have…I called the hospital to confirm an appointment and then the doctor told me that this is the situation…that when the patient was brought here, he was very destroyed, he was hallucinating, he had this and this condition, so I went in…and because by then he was under the influence of the drug, he was given a drug, a medication, uh…he was okay, but then he would swear, he would get sleepy, he wasn't talking clearly.*

Participant 2 brought up one case about a patient with dementia who was answering the service provider's questions by singing. It is obvious that the service provider could observe the patient's performance, but did s/he know the meaning of the words? Could the translation of the song's lyrics have offered some help in the diagnosis?

> Participant 2: *The majority is whether they are going to the nursing home in the part of the assessment. So, that is very challenging because you encounter all kinds of dementia, from mild dementia to full dementia, so then you basically interpret as if the person is totally cognitive. Okay? And…it happens.*
> *I was in one situation when I asked the question…when were you born and where were you born…and the person replied by singing. But then again…you don't say anything…*
> Interviewer: *What do you do in that situation? Do you interpret the song?*

Finally, Participant 7 remembered one situation with a notably affected patient who was consulting a psychiatrist. He referred to the situation in the following terms:

> Interviewer: *Have you encountered situations with patients presenting silences, amnesia, stuttering, and how did you manage these things in the translation per se in the interpreting work? And what strategies did you use*?
> Participant 7: *Yes. I try to be understanding and I try to give him all the time, not to push, and not to make any facial expression. I try to be…because he expects…he looked at my face to see what's my impression over his stutter or over his crying...sometimes.*
> Interviewer: *What was the medical specialization*?
> Participant 7: *That one was Psychiatry. Yes, dealing with mental health, these cases were mainly with psychiatry but also once with social work.*

5) Different registers in legal cases

The registers that service providers sometimes use can often hinder effective communication. As discussed in the context, most of the clients who require interpreting services belong to low-income social groups and have low levels of education. Therefore, besides the linguistic barrier, understanding technical terminology, or even a high register in the mother tongue, may represent an additional burden for the client's comprehension.

In one example provided by Participant 2, in a legal setting, the service provider was using technical language and additionally was asking questions using double negatives. Participant 2 noticed that the client was not really following:

> Interviewer: *And when you find the conversation is not going smooth, like there is one of the parties that's not following, what do you do?*
> Participant 2: *This happens a lot in legal situations. When lawyers do not take into consideration the person's schooling, for example. So, they start asking questions with the double negatives, okay? "Isn't truth that such and such day you didn't do something" uh…and then you translate that, and then the person says "who? Me?"*

6) Emotionally charged situations

When working within contexts that deal with victims of domestic violence and assault, finding cases of abuse becomes part of the interpreter's job. In not a few cases, I have interpreted for women or children who have experienced different forms of abuse. I identify with Participant 1 when she says that you can't help feeling the pain, you feel heartbroken. As well as Participant 1, I have identified that concealing your emotions is the best way to help primary interlocutors achieve their goal of effective communication.

> Participant 1: *On the other hand, when I have an assignment with someone who has been abused, a lot of times the client cries and to me it's obvious distress, right? And so it's…they have to tell because…and I don't have to do anything…I do feel…you know…I do feel like heartbroken or something right?*

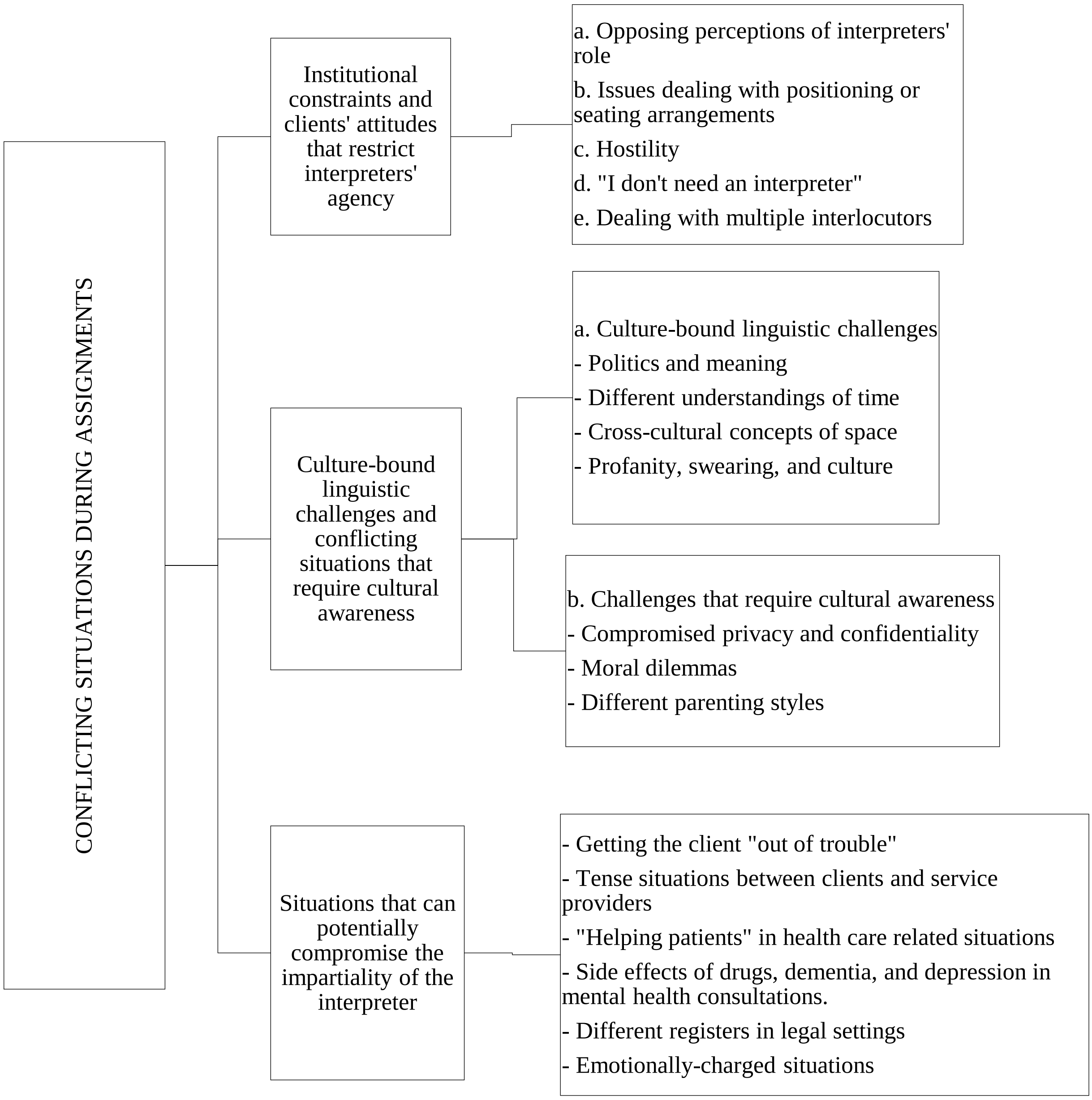


Fig. 5. Typology of conflicting situations for community interpreters during assignments

3.4. Analysis and discussion

Chapter 3 puts forward a typology of situations that community interpreters who participated in this study reported as being conflicting or problematic. One of the main challenges reported is the opposition between clients' and providers' expectations of interpreters. As an extension of the first challenge, I have identified the issue of power dynamics as a second major finding in this chapter. Finally, I will observe the interplay of standards of practice with the typology of challenges during assignments.

3.4.1. Conflicting expectations and the impartiality of interpreters

The first section of Chapter 3 shows how clients and service providers may have opposing expectations regarding interpreters. This has been also found in Hsieh et al. (2010: 176) and Skaaden (2019), in terms of how health care providers expect interpreters to be in alliance with them during assignments. This expectation contradicts those same providers' notion that interpreters must abide by the principle of impartiality by not advocating or having side talks with patients Hsieh et al. (2010: 177). Edwards et al. (2005) focused on clients' expectations and also found conflicting expectations regarding interpreters' roles. The results show that clients prefer interpreters who may eventually mediate for them and help them if need be.

In our case, providers expected interpreters to convince clients of the potential legal outcomes of their behaviour, and they also wanted interpreters to interpret or explain clients' gestures. Furthermore, clients requested advice from interpreters.

One of the aims of abiding by the ethical principle of impartiality is "the avoidance of the perception that interpreters have preference or bias towards any party involved in the interpreted encounter" NSGCIS (2007: 25). Nonetheless, I consider that the issue of impartiality in interpreted encounters in community settings has an underlying power dynamic to it that transcends the superficial aspect of the interpreted event.

In the first place, communication is held between experts and non-experts, in institutions with very specialized discourses where a lack of knowledge my cause overt or covert pressure on one of the parties: the client. Barsky (2000 and 2010) and Inghilleri (2012) have demonstrated that, notably in legal settings, different kinds of proceedings demand discursive logics of coherence and precision for the purposes of argumentation, justification, demonstration, and refutation. In the case of refugees or asylum seekers, for example, these cognitive and linguistic skills are beyond the survival mechanisms they need to make it to a country where their life is not at risk. As Barsky puts it, “It seems unlikely that individuals who have been jailed, tortured, harassed, or excluded from normal societal institutions would keep notes” (2000: 50). On a similar note, Inghilleri (2012: 75) describes settings in which communication takes place within a power imbalance affecting non-official language speakers, or those who have a limited command of the language. They are expected to have an innate ability to understand “discourses that involve logics, validity and rational underpinnings” (Ibid: 57).

In many of the scenarios previously described, community interpreters find themselves at a crossroads of power disparities and of limitations in communication, “where interpreters are used more to fulfill institutional responsibilities rather than to listen to and understand the other party’s needs” (Inghilleri, 2012: 58). These scenarios provide us with the conflict of expectations regarding interpreters’ roles: the institutional expectation of impartiality and the client’s expectation of mediation.

Nonetheless, impartiality is not the only ethical principle at stake in the challenges found in chapter 3. The NSGCIS standards of practice 20, 21, 22, and 23 under the ethical principle of maintenance of role boundaries (2007: 27) that may be seen as an extension of impartiality standards of practice and deserves attention with regard to the cases reported by interpreters. For example, standard of practice 22 states that “the interpreter does not enter into discussions, give advice or express personal opinions about the matter of the encounter or show reactions to any of the parties". This standard totally opposes what service providers expected from P3 and P5, as well as one client's expectation from P3.

In conclusion, standards of practice dealing with accuracy, impartiality, and the maintenance of role boundaries, were at stake in the conflicting situations reported by interpreters in this study. In the following chapter, we shall identify the strategies interpreters used to cope with these conflicting situations and observe to what extent they were in compliance with norms.

CHAPTER 4: COPING STRATEGIES OF COMMUNITY INTERPRETERS DURING ASSIGNMENTS

4.1. Typology of Coping Strategies during Assignments

In this chapter, I categorize the strategies that participant interpreters used to cope with the conflicting situations found during assignments. In Chapter 3, conflicting situations before assignments were classified into three main categories: 1) Institutional constraints and client attitudes that restrict interpreters' agency. 2) Culture-bound linguistic challenges and conflicting situations that require cultural awareness. 3) Situations that can potentially compromise the impartiality of the interpreter.

Likewise, I identified three categories of strategies that interpreters used in order to respond to or deal with the abovementioned situations. Each coping strategy category corresponds to a category of conflicting situations during assignments. The three main categories are: 1) Using assertiveness and interrelational skills. 2) Using cultural awareness. 3) The power and limits of visibility and invisibility.

This classification was made by drawing on the data provided by participants. Within each category, strategies are sub-classified into rule-bending or rule-validating strategies. The latter adhere to norms, while the former tend to be rather idiosyncratic mannerisms.

4.1.1. Assertiveness as a global strategy for institutional constraints and client attitudes that restrict interpreters' agency

Rudvin and Tomassini (2011: 86-88) include assertiveness and interactional skills in the "a-b-c of interpreting competence". According to the authors, these skills are active and should be included in training schemes for community interpreters. Interactional and assertiveness skills may comprise some of the following subskills: "situation control, floor-management and coordination of the conversation, interrupting, asking for clarification of terminology, asserting role boundaries, requesting briefing, requesting breaks" (Ibid: 88).

The degree to which assertive skills are deployed will differ from case to case. There are interpreted-mediated situations in which interpreters have to make use of explanations, or put into practice a set of actions, in order to coordinate communication. A good knowledge and management of interactional and assertiveness skills may assist interpreters with negotiations and strategies to cope with challenging situations, for example, with a varied range of registers and hostility.

The NSGCIS, in the skills and competences section, offers a list of interpersonal skills that community interpreters need to have. "The interpreter shall:

- Have strong communication skills.
- Be polite, respectful and tactful.
- Be able to relate well to people.
- Have good judgement" (2007: 16).

These skills are addressed in a rather scattered manner in the NSGCIS and are not equated to assertiveness or to specific actions in the interpreted event. For example, standards of practice 2 and 4, under the ethical principle of accuracy and fidelity, give interpreters the possibility of taking action when they come up against institutional constraints or client attitudes that may restrict their agency. Similarly, standard of practice 11, under the principle of impartiality, and standards 18 and 19, under the principle of respect for persons, call for action when the interpreter's impartiality and ability to coordinate the interpreted event are jeopardized.

In the following subsections, we can see how, consciously or unconsciously, participants in this study used interactional and assertiveness skills as strategies to deal with: opposing perceptions of their role as interpreters, and issues with positioning, space distribution, hostility, and dialogue coordination.

1) Asserting role boundaries and impartiality as a strategy to deal with opposing perceptions of interpreter's role

Primary interlocutors may have conflicting expectations regarding interpreters' roles. For instance, clients may think that an interpreter will act as an ally or counselor. On the other hand, service providers may think that they have the power to instruct the interpreter on how to do their job. To address these situations and avoid breaching impartiality, interpreters need to be trained to respond with assertiveness both to clients and service providers. Without being rude or disrupting the situation, interpreters need to let primary interlocutors know that they are required to interpret everything that is said, use the first person, and inform if there is an issue that may interfere with effective communication. The following examples show the strategies that interpreters used in order to respond to unjustified or conflicting expectations from clients or service providers.

According to data analysis, service providers at times expect interpreters to influence the behaviour of clients. They also insist on the interpretation of nonverbal language and gestures and request one-way interpretation. Clients also have expectations that would require interpreters to contravene the codes of ethics, for example, in asking interpreters for advice and requesting the omission of information. These situations have been described in chapter 3, in the typology of challenges or conflicting situations that interpreters found during assignments. Faced with these requests or expectations, interpreters of this study tended to respond assertively by prioritizing the principle of impartiality. However, when responding to clients' expectations, data shows that interpreters behaved empathically and instead instructed them on how to receive advice from the service providers. Here are some examples:

On one occasion, Participant 5 was requested to interpret the meaning of the gestures and nonverbal language of the client and his family. In her narrative, Participant 5 pointed out that the service provider expected to have a one-way interpretation from Spanish to French, and this fact made the situation more stressful for the family.

Participant 5's strategy was as follows. She responded with assertiveness by deciding to interpret what the service provider was saying to the family, which meant providing a two-way interpretation. During the interaction, Participant 5 was analyzing the situation and finding the right moments to bring the parties together to resolve problems, and to explain that her attitude may be considered to violate the principle of impartiality as she intervened not just to interpret, but to explain the family's cultural motivations. P5 describes one such moment:

> Participant 5: *At that moment, the social worker said "Why don't you want her to come to me? Don't you trust me?" So, at that point, I took advantage to let her know that if the father had told the girl not to be around is because he doesn't want to bother her (the social worker). Then the social worker said "I am not bothered at all. On the contrary, I love children". So, I let the father know that. So, the man responded "Ah, if you're not bothered, there is no problem!" That… that was a breaking point. That was an ice breaker, I saw something like! I saw how the tension dropped.*

In another conflicting situation, described by Participant 3, the client decided to stay quiet when her lawyer did not attend the appointment and sent an assistant in her place. The silence of the client was not the actual challenge or conflicting situation; the challenge was the service provider's request to convince the client to talk.

Participant 3's coping strategy for this situation was to remain patiently quiet, only translate what was said, and not try to convince or pressure one of the primary interlocutors. She knew that it was not her role to convince the client, and when she used assertiveness, Participant 3 had a very clear reason for it: "*So, I think it's not my place to do anything, so…yes…I just sat there in silence…of course, it's not my place to convince her, you know?*"

Participant 3 adhered to the ethical principle of impartiality. However, she could have made use of the standard of practice 11, by reminding the service provider that she is duty bound to remain impartial and only translate what has been said. These aspects are constituent parts of the introduction. In this case, P3 did not mention whether there was an introduction prior to the assignment.

The findings show that clients also have wrong expectations regarding the interpreter's role. For example, Participant 3 described how one newly arrived immigrant asked for her advice on what to say and do when he was subpoenaed in a child welfare case. In this case, Participant 3 was assertive by not giving advice. Instead, she called the agency and let them know that the man was not well informed about the situation and required some guidance. While she was not the right person to provide advice, this issue needed to be relayed to the service providers, who would have to inform the client regarding the case:

> Participant 3: *And he was like, "What am I gonna do? What should I do? Can you give me some advice? What should I do? What do I do now?" You know, he was just shaking…and I…I said "I really don't know…I'm not a legal adviser". And I also told him, "Are you able to understand a little English? So she, the service provider, will call you". So, he said, "Yes. Please, yes. Have her call me so I will try to understand". So, I had to call the agency again to ask the service provider to call him.*

The following is a summary of the coping strategies that interpreters used in order to deal with opposing perceptions of their role:

- Translate everything that has been said or use two-way interpreting.
- Do not attempt to convince clients to speak.
- Bring parties together by means of an explanation.
- Connect clients with the language service agency or settlement services, where they will likely obtain guidance on how to navigate the systems as newcomers.

2) Strategies to cope with positioning or seating arrangement issues

Coordinating, creating distance and reminding the primary interlocutors of the interpreter's role were conscious strategies that interpreters used to cope with conflicting situations caused by seating arrangements and positioning. These fall into the category of rule-validating strategies, as they adhere to the ethical principles of role boundaries and accountability in the NSGCIS (2007: 27-28).

In the relevant case described by Participant 4, she was assertive and took the initiative to organize the positions of the primary interlocutors, so that they could *"have a face-to-face conversation*". She was also assertive when she interrupted the conversation in order to ask the client to turn off a portable air conditioner, the sound of which had become an obstacle to the assignment and to effective communication.

> Participant 4: *Most of the time, I say "I want you to face each other, so I will sit on the side between you both, so I will ask you please no to sit beside her, so that you can have a face-to-face conversation"*.

During another challenging situation, in which the client refused to talk to the service provider and was addressing the interpreter instead, Participant 4 decided to change the seating arrangement and create more distance from the client:

> *I just said "Please, don't talk to me, talk to the service provider". And I said this several times. And when they look at me, I listen to what they say, but I don't look at them…In the following session, I realized that the client was talking to me maybe because I was sitting very close to him, so I decided to move my chair a little behind…and that time the conversation went smoothly between client and service provider*.

Regarding the challenging situation described by Participant 7, in which he was assigned an inappropriate seating arrangement by the service provider in a health care setting, he did not use interactional or assertive skills in order to offer interlocutors better possibilities for effective communication. Although in this study, this can be seen as a variable or an irregular attitude compared to that of other participants, it may well represent a common situation for many interpreters in different community settings. In similar situations, interpreters should suggest the seating arrangement that is most appropriate to the circumstances and provide a rationale.

The NSGCIS proposes the standard of practice number 34, under the ethical principle of accountability. This standard allows the interpreter to "bring to the attention of an appropriate person any circumstance or condition that impedes full compliance with the standards" and to "[decline] to continue any assignment under conditions that make such compliance patently impossible" (2007: 28). The situation described by Participant 7 could have been an opportunity for the interpreter to make use of this standard. However, it is worth mentioning that Participant 7 works for a language service agency that does not use the NSGCIS as their guide in terms of code of ethics and standards of practice (See: Ch. 1, Table 1 – *Agency 1*).

The following is a summary of the strategies participants used in order to cope with conflicting situations caused by positioning or seating arrangements:

- Coordinate primary interlocutors' positions so that they face one another, promoting direct communication.
- Create an equal distance between the interpreter and the client and service provider respectively.
- Provide a rationale if need be.

3) Being respectful and confident, creating distance, and using the introduction to deal with hostility

Cases of aggressive behavior or hostility on the part of the primary interlocutors are frequent. Some clients may be stressed due to their health or financial situation, or because they may be facing legal issues. Interpreters may also come across service providers who are irritated, or who need to adopt a strong attitude under certain circumstances, e.g. police officers, investigators, attorneys and CAS officers.

Drawing on the standard of practice number 27[59], we may think that when facing hostile attitudes by primary interlocutors, community interpreters need to assume a neutral position and try to understand the situation holistically, without becoming involved. However, when it comes to transgressions directed against community interpreters, what strategies do they adopt? Participant 2 offers an example of assertiveness in response to a rude attitude by a client. When Participant 2 receives 'an order' from the client, the former responds in a very confident

[59] "The interpreter protects his or her own privacy, well-being and safety" NSGCIS (2007: 27).

manner: "*He tells me, 'Go and get my coat'. So, I said, 'I'm sorry, I cannot do that'. So, I told this to the doctor and I walked away*".

As a reprisal for Participant 2's response, the client called the language service agency and made a complaint, reporting that the interpreter's work was of a low quality. This attitude on the part of the client reveals the power constraints that community interpreters face on a daily basis.

By contrast, the exercise of power can also be in favour of the interpreter, who can take advantage of their knowledge of the local culture in order to neutralize aggressive behavior. This was the case in a situation illustrated by Participant 5, in which a former client and his family were dealing with the DPJ. After the children had returned home, an agent from the DPJ made a mistake and as a result, they decided to take away one of the children. The situation was chaotic because the kids were crying, they did not want to leave home again, and the father was very upset: "*So, the father was really, really upset. He was actually in a moment of anger and he couldn't help it*".

In view of this, Participant 5 took advantage of the introduction and added a few words, saying that she was there to help and asking that the client "calm down and talk with respect" so that she could make a good interpretation:

> *I used the lines in the introduction in order to remind him that I would be neutral and that I was there to help, so I needed him to calm down and talk with respect, so I could translate things properly.*

Finally, the issue of power constraints is exemplified by Participant 7's response to a client who was displaying aggressive behaviour due to the fact that both the interpreter and the service provider were late for an assignment:

> Participant 7: *That time, I was late 10 minutes for the assignment. He did not know me and he was so incredibly angry that he was shouting at the service providers, at the clerk, and the service provider was also 10 minutes late, she was with another patient*.
> Interviewer: *And what did you tell him*?
> Participant 7: *I told him…uh…that we are human beings…that I needed to use my car…that it was the rush hour, and you also might be late any time. I am sorry to make*

> *you wait for me, I am so sorry but I did my best to be there on time, but that was out of my hands. I also told him that I would not answer anything and I would not speak to him until the service provider was ready.*

Offering an apology and not engaging in a discussion with the client was an effective strategy. This attitude shows respect for the person, but at the same time avoids extending the conversation with the client. In order to analyze this strategy from a power dynamics perspective, I would assign the role with the most power to the service provider. This can be inferred from the situation, because as soon as the figure of the service provider appears in the narrative, the tension is defused.

Moreover, in the situation described before by Participant 5, she uses power to neutralize or deescalate a tense situation that could otherwise have ended in the DPJ taking the child away. Going back to Foucault's notion of the "*economy of discursive constellation*" (1972: 54-70), we can observe that in both situations, institutional discourses dominated over individual clients' attitudes. Both the service providers and the interpreters, making use of the discursive authority bestowed upon them by institutions, use this authority to either neutralize or deescalate conflict.

Participants 2, 5 and 7 adhered to the NSGCIS principles of respect for persons and role boundaries (2007: 26-27). Nonetheless, the standard of practice 27 seems to fall short when it comes to suggesting effective actions in situations where aggression is directed at community interpreters. This standard of practice states that "the interpreter protects his or her own privacy, well-being and safety" (Ibid). However, it still needs to spell out specific actionable steps in cases where interpreters' safety and integrity are compromised.

To summarize, the strategies used by interpreters to deal with hostility were the following:

- Be clear and confident.
- Use complete introductions.
- Offer an apology if need be.

- Create distance from the hostile person.

4) Listening, explaining, and negotiating regarding participation when clients think that they do not need an interpreter

If interpreters are assertive, they will use the strategy of explanation to remind participants of the importance of their role and the risks of not having a timely and accurate interpretation. This strategy may reassure the clients, making them feel that while their second language skills are adequate, the technical nature of the conversation requires a person who has been trained for that purpose.

The responses of Participants 1 and 9 to clients who said that they did not need an interpreter proved not to be assertive enough. They showed respect for the client's decision; however, they did not try to explain the reason their presence was important in the assignment. Only upon the service providers' requests did these two interpreters join the conversation and carry out their role.

> Participant 1: *So, at one point I say, "she understands and she wants to communicate directly to you, so I will just interpret when she needs me", and the service providers do understand too. Yeah, sometimes it is unexpected, but I do want to respect her, so I bend the rules there too.*
>
> *However, sometimes…the service provider gets frustrated because the communication is not smooth.*
>
> Participant 9: *The client claimed that he spoke English, therefore no need for interpreter. Since I was already there, I politely said: "If you don't mind me staying…And if you need support, I am here to support you".*

In these two cases, one could observe that either the clients truly did have a good command of the official language, or the interpreters should have adopted a more assertive attitude to explain their role and reasons for being there. One important argument could be that seeing as the service provider was the person who determined the need for an interpreter, they should also have decided whether or not the interpreter was required under those circumstances.

However, the previous argument overlooks the expectations and requirements on the part of the client. Maybe the client wants their issues to be private or would prefer to use their second language. In any case, this is difficult to determine because one of the limitations of this study is that it did not consider clients' experiences and expectations regarding community interpreting. Similar findings are presented by Meyer (2012: 99-113), who analyzed interpreter-mediated events in health care settings where patients also stated that they wanted to communicate directly with the health care providers. Meyer's findings from conversation analysis show that interpreters allowed doctors and patients to communicate directly. However, "at the same time, [the situations] required that the interpreter was available as soon as s/he was needed" (Ibid: 111). In Meyer's study, some of the activities performed during interpreters' interventions included assisting in turn-taking, pointing out misunderstandings, and clarifying important points of the conversation.

Going back to the contributions of participants 1 and 9 on this issue, it is important to mention that both interpreters work under the ethical principles and standards of practice suggested in the NSGCIS (2007). However, an approach towards assertiveness as part of the interpreter's role is yet to be included in this document. This could explain why they shied away from taking a more active role in terms of the coordination of communication when they found these "language constellations", to use Meyer's term.

To conclude, an assertive approach in dealing with this issue includes the following strategies:

- Listen to the client.
- Explain the relevance of the interpreter's role for the specific case.
- Interpret everything to the service provider.
- Let the service provider and client negotiate the need for an interpreter.

5) Interrupting, explaining, and coordinating participation in order to cope with assignments with multiple interlocutors

When Participant 2 found multiple interlocutors in the consultation room, he expressed that the situation was practically "out of control" because everybody was speaking at the same time. Present in the room were the client's relatives, the family physician, the social worker, and other health specialists.

Participant 2 used two strategies. The first one was to explain to the social worker (the service provider who had requested interpretation services) that he could not translate everything said to the client because he was missing some of the dialogues, since different conversations were taking place at the same time. Then, he interrupted and asked the interlocutors to take turns speaking. He explained: "*You need to say: 'excuse me, if you want me to translate, please one at a time'. Or 'I'm sorry, I can't translate simultaneously for everybody.'*"

Three clear strategies that Participant 2 used in this situation were the following:

- Interrupt main interlocutors politely.
- Explain the problem and how it affects effective communication.
- Coordinate turn-taking.

Overall, strategies in which participants show an assertive attitude may be matched with some of the assertive and interactional skills that Rudvin and Tomassini indicated (2011: 86-88). For example, when participants in this study used explanations and were transparent with both parties, they were reaffirming roles and role boundaries. Likewise, when community interpreters interrupted and coordinated the space and turn-taking, they were controlling the situation and managing the floor and the conversation.

Furthermore, participants showed interactional strategies such as being respectful and courteous, and most importantly, being confident. All the situations described in this section took place during assignments, but assertiveness should also be used before and after assignments, for example to request briefing and debriefing sessions. More than a skill, assertiveness is an attitude, a confident behaviour that adds seriousness and professionalism to the interpreter's work.

The following section studies a different angle and discusses the ways interpreters deal with situations that do not challenge their interactional skills, but their linguistic and cultural knowledge-related skills.

4.1.2. Culture-bound and cultural awareness responses

In explaining his semiotic approach to culture, Geertz points out that the "besetting sin of interpreting approaches to anything–literature, dreams, symptoms, culture–is that they tend to resist, or to be permitted to resist conceptual articulation and thus to escape systematic modes of assessment" (1973: 24). This continues to be true; however, the approach to culture that Translation and Interpreting Studies have taken distances itself from a semiotic or interpretive one. This is because the field has adopted a more pragmatic direction and aims to understand or prescribe translation and interpreting practices, but not necessarily to conceptualize the nature of societies.

Examples of pragmatic guidelines for translating "culture-specific or culture-bound items" can be found in different handbooks: i.e., *Translating Cultures* (Katan, 2004); *In other Words* (Baker, 2011); or the controversial *On Translation* (Nida, 1966).

Notwithstanding the above, the translation or interpretation of so-called culture-bound items is still the focus of academic debate around community interpreting. However, with the increasing practice of community interpreting today, and the publication and development of new research findings, the view of the interpreter as a conduit or a channel is in disuse. It is clear that the role of the interpreter goes beyond a conduit analogy. The problem now is how the interpreter's intervention or agency affects messages, meanings, and effective communication, as well as impartiality, transparency, and professionalism.

These and other aspects will be discussed in the following sections on the interplay between interpreters' coping strategies and standards of practice. The strategies presented here show how participants deal with conflicting situations found during assignments and classified as *culture-bound linguistic challenges* and *conflicting situations that require cultural awareness* in chapter 3.

1) Strategies to cope with culture-bound linguistic challenges

When dealing with this specific issue, participants decided to make linguistic adjustments, without making these adjustments evident to service providers or letting them know that linguistic adjustments were required in order to make sense in English or in French. Considering the work of Katan (2004: 230-243) I named the findings of this section by trying to adjust them to his "Taxonomy of cultural orientations". The case studies depict how cultural aspects such as politics, notions of time and space, customs, and taboo discourse may affect language in a challenging way for interpreters.

It is worth mentioning at this point, that my conception of culture is neither monolithic/essentialist nor stratigraphic/relativist. Such approaches to culture have led to historical determinisms in the former case, and generalizations and stereotypes in the latter case. By contrast, in my view there is an intertwined evolution between the human being and the world that constructs what we call culture. The more I relate to the world, the more I use or devise tools to understand it, or modify it, or live in it; and at the same time, those tools and the world itself modify me physically and mentally. This is what Geertz called a "synthetic conception of culture" (1973: 44-47).

Along the same lines, the examples offered by interpreters are not being classified in terms of stereotypes or within a monolithic notion of culture. For example, not all Mexicans use certain terms, and not all Vietnamese have the same religion or spiritual identity. However, as Katan argues, when it comes to translation, some words are "formalized, socially and juridically embedded phenomena that exist in a particular form or function in one of the two cultures being compared" (2009: 80). I would add that those words also form part of the contextualized human construction called culture. This being said, I resort to Katan's categories of *culture-bound* and *cultural awareness* to classify what I understand as cultural aspects of the challenges that interpreters found during assignments.

2) Using pragmatic equivalence to cope with politics and sense

Faced with the expressions "*Ya te llegó la chingada*" or "*Te va a llevar la chingada*", which imply a death threat in Mexico, Participant 8 affirms that a literal translation would not reflect the real dimension of the situation, which in a courtroom may have serious effects on the judge's decisions.

> Participant 8: *How do you translate it literally into French? If you translate it literally, it will not be understood as a death threat. So, if I don't make adjustments, there may be a confusion. So, they may say, "well in your affidavit, you report a death threat, but that's not what you're saying", or they may think that the testimony is not reliable. I am focusing my examples on refugee claiming cases, because I think it's the best example to understand the fact that if you mistranslate or misinterpret either feelings or colloquial expressions, the outcome can put claimants in dangerous situations.*
>
> *…Sometimes I don't know the issues from other countries in the region. For example, Venezuela, I don't know the meaning of the word "escuálido", I was making a literal translation into French, and I used to translate it "maigrichon". One lawyer told me that that was a correct literal translation, but in Venezuela the word "escuálido" is an equivalent of the term "worm", meaning a member who is part of or who supports the opposition of the revolution.*

In both examples, Participant 8 used what Mona Baker has called "Pragmatic equivalents" (2011: 29). Although P8 did not provide the specific terms or expressions she used in the target language, she explains what needs to be known in order to make pragmatic adjustments when it comes to issues of politics and meaning. She highlights the following strategies:

- Interpreters need to be aware of current and historical political events of the cultures in question.

- Do not use literal translations of culture-bound items, since they will not make sense in the target language.
- Use pragmatic equivalence, i.e., cultural substitution.

3) Using literal translation and explanation to manage different understandings of time

The way time is understood, experienced, and expressed also varies across cultures, as well as levels of education. This is the case in a scenario related by Participant 9, who came across a mother who did not know the date of birth of her child according to the Gregorian calendar.

> Participant 9: *I interpreted exactly what she said, "he was born the year of the pig", but I also had to tell the interlocutor (service provider) to check with mom…because she answered that instead of the day of birth. She (the client) explained that she was born in a rural area with no calendars, no birth certificates, so the only thing she remembered was that the year he (her son) was born was the year of the pig according to the Vietnamese lunar year*.

Participant 9 used a different approach. Unlike Participant 8, she used a literal rendition of the culture-bound expression. However, she explained this difference to the service provider and encouraged him to ask the client directly about the utterance. Therefore, in this case, we can summarize coping strategies as follows:

- When faced with culture-bound terms or expressions, offer a literal translation.
- However, inform the other party about it and encourage them to ask about the term or expression of concern.

4) Using pragmatic equivalents or analogies to cope with cross-cultural concepts of place

One of the situations presented by Participant 4 illustrates how lifestyles are conceived and expressed differently across cultures and require more than a literal translation in order to be understood. It is important to understand the context of this assignment. Apparently, the service provider was trying to house a mother and her child by relocating them from a woman's shelter to a new place. Although Participant 4 did not mention the specific term that was being used in Arabic, she explained that what the client was meaning to say was ‘our own place’ or ‘a house with privacy’–. However, the interpreter was translating it as ‘a private house’, which concerned the service provider. Perhaps the referent notion in the source language was making reference to the privacy that the client wanted to have with her family, without necessarily implying specific housing standards.

> Interviewer: *So, you went to provide let’s say some kind of explanation, so that the service provider could understand what she (the client) really meant, like when you speak in Arabic and use the term ‘private house’ it doesn’t necessarily mean a detached house…*?
> Participant 4: *Maybe…maybe I have to look for different words…terms, because ‘private’ means this here. So, she (the client) doesn’t want a ‘private’ house. She wants ‘privacy’, yeah…something like home. So…now I changed the term, because private house means something totally different in Canada*.

Mona Baker points out the importance of identifying references for “participants, entities, events, and practices for drawing inferences and maintaining the coherence of a text” (2011: 243). Yet, it seems that Participant 4 initially failed to identify the referent in the source culture, which could have been done by identifying the specific social and contextual features of the notion of ‘privacy’ in the client’s culture of origin.

Perhaps, using an explanation could have been a good way of letting the service provider know the client’s request. Instead, Participant 4 used an analogy in the target language and culture (private house), which failed to render the sense of the abstract noun and triggered a rather negative reaction from the service provider. It is common to try to find analogies in the target language when we want to translate terms that do not have a linguistic or formal equivalent, but that could be rendered using other strategies. This issue was observed by Bassnett and Lefevere (1998: 9-10), who warned about the likelihood of acculturation when trying to use analogies as equivalents. According to the authors, analogies may efface the difference (alterity) of the foreigner and the diversity of worldviews and lifestyles.

Although Participant 4 initially used an analogy, the change she made to a pragmatic equivalent, 'privacy', apparently worked better. Therefore, the strategies that characterize this section are the following:

- Use a pragmatic or functional equivalent.
- Use an explanation when the specific social and physical features of the referent cannot be identified in the target language and culture.

5) Conveying the tone implied in the utterance or using pragmatic equivalence when dealing with swearing and profanity

The translation of swear words or taboo language is an issue for both translators and interpreters. The first aspect to consider in this regard is that swear words do not only happen in one specific context, i.e., mental health care settings. The challenge here is not the context and how this affects interpreters' behaviour, but the nature of the statement itself and the feelings or emotions it conveys. Feelings of annoyance, frustration, disapproval, irritability, and disappointment, among others, are often represented by swearing.

Swearing does fit well into the category of culture-bound linguistic challenges. Interpreters encounter a challenge when it comes to translating these types of words and expressions. They want to provide an accurate rendering of the message, but sometimes the there is not an equivalent expression in the target language.

> Participant 1: *I try to tell that…to say exactly what the clients (…?) said. But eh…sometimes swearing it's not exactly the same in English, so I have to think what he is trying to say, and not what he is…because if I try to say that…translate that word for word, that doesn't make sense.*

For Participant 1, this has represented a challenge throughout her long experience as an interpreter. She says that she tries to obtain an accurate rendering, and that her strategy is not to provide a literal translation, but to convey the sentiment implied in the statement.

> *So, it's a challenge to this day like I try to think what I should be…how I should be translating that. But I do try to convey that atmosphere, I try to convey the fact that he is saying something not good, not nice.*

The reason swear words and profanity are a challenge for interpreters and translators may be the fact that such words and expressions are socially and historically constructed. They have specific references for local speakers at a certain place and time, respond to distinct situations, and achieve specific functions.

As Participant 1 suggests, two good strategies for translating swear words and profanities are:

- Find the particular associations in the source language utterance.
- Use pragmatic equivalence in order to convey a similar atmosphere or sentiment, or to trigger a similar association in the target language and context.

When contrasted with the NSGCIS standards of practice (2007), most of the strategies in this section breach the norm: using pragmatic equivalence, interrupting, informing the interlocutors about misunderstandings, and using explanations are not part of the available possibilities in the guidelines. Yet, standards of practice 3 and 31, under the principles of accuracy and accountability respectively, may suggest the possibility of using them: "The interpreter retains culture-bound terms […] whenever possible and will attempt a translation of that word to provide the listener with an idea of what the word means." (Ibid: 23). And "the interpreter maintains his or her role, limits and obligations, and takes steps to ascertain that all parties understand them" (Ibid: 28).

Expressions such as "takes steps" and "provide the listener with an idea of the meaning" are open to interpretation, and interpreters may well consider that those steps include interrupting, providing explanations, and so forth. In the analysis and discussion section of this chapter, I will bring in service providers' views on this issue. In essence, service providers say that they need interpreters to explain the cultural differences in the clients' use of language, in order for them to carry out their job in a more holistic manner.

4.1.2.2. Strategies for situations that required cultural awareness

Cultural awareness can be seen more like a competence that interpreters develop during their training courses or during their work experience. Rudvin and Tomassini point out that cultural awareness or competence is "the ability to identify the salient verbal and nonverbal communicative features that the interlocutors unconsciously rely on and consciously employ to communicate (2011: 33). Cultural competence also includes the ability to render specific historical, social, or physical features embedded in the source message.

Although the aforementioned ability can be equated with the competence of using pragmatic equivalence, some challenges or conflicting situations may not be explicitly linguistic–like those described in the previous section. They may have to do with culture-bound beliefs, practices, habits, or family or group conventions that need to be explained or described to the other party, since they may hinder communication. The following cases describe situations in which, by means of cultural awareness, interpreters managed to promote effective communication between the primary interlocutors.

1) **Reassuring clients by reminding them of the role of the interpreter when privacy and confidentiality may be compromised**

In the previous chapter, in section 3.2.2. (1), Participant 5 described the issue of confidentiality when immigrant women visit the doctor with their husbands or are assigned interpreters that they know from their communities. Both scenarios represent a challenge because the client may not feel confident enough to disclose private information about her sexual life and health. Faced with situations like these, Participant 5 suggests that interpreters need to remind the client of their impartiality and of the principle of confidentiality and that these elements are here in order to protect her privacy.

> *We need to make our clients understand that we will not judge them, that we are there just to translate (to interpret), let's say…she had three partners…that's it. But confidentiality is always in question when interpreters and clients know each other*.

Likewise, in the presence of an interpreter who knows the client, the latter may still not feel comfortable because she may fear that information might be leaked. In this case, it is wise–if conditions allow it–for service providers to take measures to assign an interpreter who does not know the client, or who does not belong to the same community. Another alternative is for the service provider to use remote interpreting services, such as conference call or video-conference interpreting.

Coping strategies used by Participant 5 can be summarized as follows:

- Remind the client of the role of the interpreter, especially of the principles of impartiality and confidentiality.
- If you know the client, communicate any potential conflicts of interest, or suggest the use of alternative interpreting media or mechanisms to service providers, as stated by NSGCIS standard of practice 15 (2007: 25).

2) Provide an explanation of culture-specific family habits and assumptions when dealing with moral dilemmas

In this particular scenario, the interpreter used the strategy of explanation. To summarize the situation, the client had been living in a shelter for some time. She could not get access to other social services because the house she had lived in previously was registered under her name. Based on Participant 6's description, it seemed that social workers and legal advisors from the shelter found it hard to understand that the client did not want to go through a legal process regarding property distribution with her husband.

> Participant 6: *So, when the service providers see this, they cannot understand why this lady doesn't care about the money. She is ready to work, even to pay a higher rent, but she doesn't want to get into this legal problem right now*.

She refused to do so mainly because she feared that her family would withhold their support. After going back and forth between the client and the service provider, Participant 6 decided to explain the situation to the service providers, and apparently, they then found a new way to help the client. In her explanation, Participant 6 focused on the importance for many newcomers of keeping family ties and having family support. However, Participant 6 explained that this may represent a moral dilemma for them as they also want to integrate into the new culture, which has different moral values and social requirements.

> Interviewer: *Okay. So, you gave the context to the service providers*?
> Participant 6: *Yes, that's it. And just there, they understood much better and they found a different way to help her. It was necessary to say that we needed a context. We depend on all those people; we can't say that because we decided to break up with the relationship, we don't care anymore about all the family behind us*.

Participant 6 used the following strategies to cope with culture-specific moral dilemmas:

- Be sure that the communication challenge is produced by a culture-bound feature, such as habits, or family or social conventions.
- Communicate this to both parties and let the service provider manage the situation. This action promotes direct communication between the parties in the interpreted encounter, as suggested by NSGCIS standard of practice 18 (2007: 26).

3) Getting informed about clients' backgrounds and provincial regulations regarding parenting, and providing explanations to understand different parenting styles

> Participant 5: *Basically, in the context of parenting, because these are the most challenging cases we have encountered, and I think it's one of the biggest challenges for the Canadian government in terms of the integration of newcomers. Because people come with their experience, with their cultural background, with their knowledge and everything; things that will be eventually modified over time and also depending on the openness and the level of education of the family*.

This case illustrates how important it is for interpreters and service providers to be aware of their clients' backgrounds, especially of their "*contexts, education level, and origin*" as Participant 5 puts it. Knowledge of these aspects may help providers and interpreters understand clients' behaviours and provide more suitable guidance for their process of integration in their new country. Participant 5 discussed the context of parenting, which she considered to be the most challenging for newcomers to Canada. However, medical, educational, and legal settings may be equally challenging for newcomers.

When it comes to the culturally specific aspects of practices such as parenting or eating habits, Participant 5 prefers to offer explanations so that service providers might understand clients' habits and make more informed decisions.

> Interviewer: *Okay, and for example when you find those cultural aspects during the assignment, what do you do*?
> Participant 5: *I explain them to the service provider. Yes. As far as I know the case in question and if I think it's a barrier for communication, I explain it*.

The following are the strategies used by Participant 5 to cope with the challenging situations that arise from different parenting styles:

- When allocated an assignment with CAS or DPJ, get informed on the updated regulations concerning parenting.
- During the briefing, request information on the client's country of origin and do some research on family and parenting regulations in the region or country[60].
- Interrupt and provide explanations if need be.

Although some of the strategies of intervention and explanation in the previous section accounted for effective communication in the interpreted encounter, some of the interventions presented in the following section breach the principle of impartiality and may be considered unprofessional.

[60] As a researcher, I discussed the topic of parenting practices because participants mentioned it in their narratives. It is not my intention to associate parenting practices to child abuse cases or to leave the impression that there is a problem with newcomer families and their parenting practices exclusively. Contrary to that, Participant 5 as an immigrant mother, a community interpreter and a community worker in Women's Services, suggests that immigrant families should have better knowledge of parenting regulations before coming to Canada, since these may be different in their home countries.

4.1.3. The power and limits of visibility and invisibility

Following the non-essentialist approach of this study and considering that community interpreting is a twofold activity (linguistic and social), the cases below reflect how community interpreters' strategies oscillate between the principle of impartiality and a range of different actions that go as far as omitting information. Data analysis reveals that in none of the following cases did interpreters' decisions depend on the settings where the assignments took place, but rather on the circumstances in which participants considered that their intervention would improve effective communication.

The term "mediating strategies" will be used to refer to coping mechanisms in which interpreters used intervention. The term "self-effacing strategies" will refer to approaches in which interpreters abided by impartiality principles.

4.1.3.1. Mediating strategies or rule-bending strategies

1) Omitting information

Sometimes, interpreters are asked not to translate what has been said. However, in this example the interpreter herself decided to omit information in order to get the client "out of trouble".

> Interviewer: *But in that situation, for example if the client says or uses the expression kill, but you know that they don't mean that they will kill someone, do you translate it as kill or you translate it as…how do you translate that expression, for example?*
> Participant 4: *Maybe, I will translate it with kill, but I'd say, "Give me one second, because this is something that we usually say for no meaning", this is a cultural thing…and I will add, "If you want to ask him again for it". You know…like kind of I am getting out of it but I'm not putting him in trouble. I try not to put him in trouble because something like this happened to me one time actually.*

When asked whether briefing or debriefing would be advantageous to community interpreting in general, Participant 4 initially answered negatively. She went on to affirm that those moments were not essential for her because she interprets all messages literally during the assignment and does not need to speak to the service provider about "meanings" or details of the conversation. Nevertheless, when one example came to her mind, Participant 4 seemed to change her mind about her literal and faithful renderings.

The example that came to her mind was the word *kill* or *killing.* Participant 4 stated that in Arabic cultures this term "*does not mean anything*", that this is just a "*way of speaking*". Therefore, in the event of coming across the word *kill* in a conversation in which she does not believe that the speaker really means that they want to kill somebody, Participant 4 explains that her strategy would be to ask the service provider to restate the question, so that the client can paraphrase their answer, or to find a way of translating the meaning and getting them out of trouble.

Regarding this problematic case, I consider that:

- Participant 4, perhaps due to one bad personal experience, tried to help the client avoid a similar bad situation.
- By means of self-awareness, she understood that not all her renderings are as literal and faithful as she would like them to be.
- When Participant 4 omitted the literal translation of the aforementioned term, she may have neglected to consider two things: 1) that perhaps the nature of the problem she once had and that of the client's situation are different, and 2) that the service provider is the person who might need to identify what the client really means by using the word *kill*.

2) Promoting comprehension by means of transparency and explanation when dealing with tense situations between client and service provider

In this scenario, Participant 5 observed that the atmosphere was one of mistrust and animosity. But she found it even more challenging when she was asked to '*explain*' the meaning of gestures and non-linguistic communication, which she did not do. Furthermore, the service provider was demanding a one-way interpretation: from Spanish to French but not in the opposite direction.

> Participant 5: *So, in this case it looked like a unilateral interpretation service; I mean everything that was said in Spanish had to be translated to French because it was not a dialogue, it wasn't a conversation. It was only an observation, you see*?

This means that only the service provider was being informed of the conversations taking place between the client and his family, while the client was not informed of the service providers' utterances[61]. Although Participant 5 ignored this request and rendered everything said, it is worth highlighting the fact that in order to reach effective communication, both parties need to be aware of what the other interlocutors are saying. This is the principle of transparency.

The strategy of explaining the client's behaviour may be considered to go against the ethical principles of accuracy and fidelity. However, Participant 5 used this strategy to move primary interlocutors towards a dialogue that could help them solve the problem in question.

> *At that moment, the social worker said, "Why don't you want her (his daughter) to come to me? Don't you trust me?" So, at that point, I took advantage to let her know that if the father had told the girl not to be around is because he didn't want to bother her (the social worker). Then the social worker said, "I am not bothered at all. On the contrary, I love children". So, I let the father know that. Then, the man responded, "Ah, if you're not bothered, I have no problem!" That…that was a breaking point. That was an ice breaker, and I saw how the tension dropped*.

[61] This is a problem that I, as an interpreter, have encountered in the same institution (CAS). Service providers ask the interpreter to behave unilaterally when they say that their utterances do not need to be interpreted to their interlocutor, unless they deem it necessary. Perhaps one step to promote impartiality and transparency should be to inform the institution of the importance of the introduction and the fact that everything that is said needs to be translated. Agencies should also inform the service providers that they should not ask interpreters to 'explain' non-linguistic behavior.

According to Participant 5, after this approach was used, the primary interlocutors engaged in dialogue and were able to understand each other's needs and expectations. They were even able to solve the problem that they had not been able to resolve in 18 months of visits.

> *So, they achieved what had been impossible to reach in 18 months of work. And the father made part of one assessment and family therapy. He was now ready to participate in the program assigned by the DPJ so they (the parents) could have their children back.*

Participant 5's coping strategies for this complex situation are the following:

- Be transparent and always provide two-way or bilateral interpreting.
- Explain the importance of transparency for effective communication to the service provider.
- Provide an explanation if any culture-bound aspect arises.
- Provide culture-bound explanations to both service providers and clients.

3) Writing down prescriptions and instructions, calling clients before consultations, and giving advice in health care related situations

Canadian patients and non-official language speaking patients differ in their behaviour when it comes to taking care and control of their health. As pointed out in the article *Patients' perspectives: exploring patient values and preferences* (Telfer: 2018), more and more Canadian patients are willing to get involved in decisions regarding their health. Canadian patients are proactive on average: they want to reflect on the options they have, they ask questions, and they discuss the benefits and harms of potential treatments. Furthermore, they get help from other professionals to learn how to read nutrition labels or to understand medications. Finally, they are likely to check with their doctors before using alternative treatments.

As I had no direct access to newcomers to study their opinions, I used data from participants in this study and from the literature review to support the following description. On average, English or French limited or non-speakers are not active participants in decisions regarding their health treatment. This can be partially explained by language barriers, since these limit their access to information. Doctor-patient relations in countries of origin may also affect active participation in health care decisions. However, it seems to me that language barriers may still be the biggest obstacle hindering newcomers from becoming more involved in such decisions. Participant 7 is aware of newcomers' behaviour when it comes to decisions about their health, and he might well agree with my observations. Taking into consideration that prescriptions are written in English, Participant 7's strategy is to write down (translate) in Arabic critical information such as dosage, instructions, names of medications, etc.

> Participant 7: *Many times I ask for a piece of paper and I write some of the information that is important for patients, mainly the name of the medication and some instructions…when to take the medication, morning…night, because it is written in a language that is new for them, which is English*.

Besides language barriers, cultural barriers may also be an obstacle for newcomers to discuss the possibility of accessing alternative treatments with specialists. This is an important point raised by Participant 7 and has to do with religious beliefs and the way these may influence non-compliance. He affirms that there are some patients who would not follow the doctors' prescriptions because they believed their faith in God might cure them. At times, Participant 7 advises clients on the importance of compliance and lets them know that not taking care of their own health is not a good sign of faith.

> Participant 7: *During the assignment I interpret what is going on, I would never interfere; but after finishing the assignment I may say, "You should consider quitting at any time". Uh…I have certain sentences to push them towards quitting smoking. Uh…this maybe, I know the culture and I may make some connection with their faith: that it's not the good way to be faithful, and this may be touching something inside of them. But during the assignment, I will keep up my impartiality*.

Finally, Participant 7 referred to the fact that some clients rely on the interpreter to remind them of their appointments. Newcomers who require interpretation services sometimes need more than just linguistic interpretation during the assignment. In some cases, clients are illiterate even in their mother tongue, or they simply do not have the habit of using calendars or keeping agendas. It is also possible that they do not have access to the Internet, or do not know how to use a computer. Participant 7 explains: "*Because many of the non-English speakers are so reluctant to write the dates and they depend on their memory, but also they depend on the translator or the interpreter to call them*."

After having some misunderstandings because certain clients were missing their appointments with the excuse that they did not know about the appointment or had forgotten about it, Participant 7 decided to call them twice: the weekend before the appointment and one day before.

Participant 7 calls clients in order to help them and to avoid problems, and I consider that this is a sign of overcommitment, that it goes beyond the role of the interpreter, and opposes the NSGCIS standards of practice 19–which promotes individuals' autonomy–and 25–which advises interpreters to avoid performing services other than interpretation (2007: 26-27). Interpreters should only act in the aforementioned way if they are asked to do so and are paid for it as part of their duties. In addition, this practice also reinforces newcomers' dependency on third parties. Interpreting agencies and service providers should work on guidelines to promote habits of independence with newcomers and the different stakeholders that work with them.

Coping strategies used in these types of situations can be summarized as follows:

- Write down prescriptions and instructions, only upon the client's request and with the approval of the service provider.
- If you write down prescriptions and instructions, do it in the presence of the service provider and back translate to check accuracy.

4.1.3.2. Self-effacing strategies or rule-validating strategies

1) Trying to understand and transmit the message

Participants 1, 2, and 7 had interesting insights on how to deal with different challenges within mental health settings. Their coping strategies included: not translating prosody, listening carefully, and not asking for repetitions.

Participant 1 described a challenging situation she experienced while in a consultation room with a patient. Because the patient was under the influence of drugs, she found the following challenges: Use of insults or swear words; Unclear voice; Falling asleep or getting sleepy.

Participant 1 also described the strategies she used in order to provide the most accurate interpretation of the message possible. Firstly, she mentioned that she would not change her tone of voice, or mimic the patient's nonverbal behavior, because as she pointed it out: "*It's obvious that the doctor sees the patient and understands his conditions, so there's no point in me trying to mimic*".

Participant 1 added that her best strategy was to try and understand what the patient was saying, and simply transmit the message to the doctor.

Although Participant 1 did not make any further comments regarding her coping mechanisms in this specific case, the strategies she mentioned can be analyzed as opposed to what Hanneke Bot has called "Over commitment" (2005: 56). The role of the interpreter in the case described by Participant 1 is to transmit the linguistic message and let the service provider interpret nonverbal communication. Bot's assumptions go against Fernando Poyatos' idea that interpreters can use what he refers to as "oral footnotes": a way of "replacing verbally what has been communicated nonverbally" (Poyatos, 1997: 263 in Miletich, 2015: 180). For Poyatos, communication encompasses more than the linguistic aspect of language and includes nonverbal language, prosody, and proxemics; he argues that these metalinguistic aspects of communication may be universal or may change from culture to culture. In both cases, universal or particular, community interpreters should be aware and ready to linguistically translate what has been expressed by a nonverbal sign, a gesture, a change in pitch, a pause, etc.

Notwithstanding the above, community interpreters who participated in this study disagree with Poyatos' (2002) suggestions, and instead leave the interpretation of gestures and other nonverbal signs in communication to the service provider, especially in health care cases. Likewise, Service Provider 2, who I will cite in the following section of this chapter, does not believe that nonverbal communication needs to be interpreted.

Similar to Participant 1, Participant 2 also prefers to be totally neutral and does not intervene during mental health consultations.

> Participant 2: *I was in one situation when I asked the question…when were you born or where were you born…and the person (the client) replied by singing. But then again…you don't say anything…*
> Interviewer: *What do you do in that situation? Do you interpret the song?*
> Participant 2: *No. I don't say anything. The patient is singing…the social worker can see that, and it's up to them to formulate the next question.*

Participant 2 puts it clearly. For him, interpreters should be there only to transmit a message. However, I will analyze in detail the possibility of going beyond a mere "parrot" simile and textual transfer, without compromising fidelity and impartiality.

In the case of the patient with dementia who answered by singing, Participant 2 did not translate the song. It is obvious that the service provider could observe the patient's performance, but did they know the meaning of the words in the song? Could the translation of the song's lyrics have offered some help in their diagnosis?

Furthermore, Participant 2 agrees with Participant 1 when it comes to avoiding giving opinions, or going beyond the limits of the profession:

> Participant 2: *I would discourage (interpreters) to give opinions, because opinions as an interpreter count and don't count. You know, in fact if you have a vow of impartiality, you should stay away from giving opinions, you only translate the message, what the person says.*

The previous excerpt illustrates Participant 2's understanding of impartiality or neutrality; it is clear that he abides by the idea of non-implication or non-overcommitment. However, in the specific case he described, these questions may still be asked about his actions:

- By not translating the song's words, was the interpreter giving an opinion?
- What if the service provider had asked him to translate the meaning of the song's words?

Finally, during an assignment that dealt with depression, Participant 7 opted for listening very carefully, being patient, and respecting the pace and rhythm of the patient's words:

> Interviewer: *Okay. So, for example when he was speaking did you understand all the messages*? *Or did you have to ask him to repeat*?
> Participant 7: *Yes. No, I didn't have to ask him to repeat anything, but I gave him all the time that he needed, because I feel that asking him to repeat would make the problem worse for him…but…but all the time I got all the messages that he wanted to express*.
> Interviewer: *Okay. And was that stuttering*?
> Participant 7: *Yes. And crying…many times crying*.
> Interviewer: *And when this happened, you just waited*.
> Participant 7: *Wait as long as they…they will take all the time they need and I would never, never push him to say anything until he gets himself back.*

According to Bot (2005 90-91), during mental health consultations it is important to remember the following directions so that the patient does not lose the rhythm of their ideas or simply stop talking:

- Listen carefully.
- Take notes as thoroughly as possible.
- Write down everything that is said, even if it does not make sense to you.
- Do not ask patients to repeat themselves because they may have forgotten, or they may lose the thread of the narrative.
- In order to help with memory, try to establish a rhythm of work with the service provider, so that you do not miss important information. For example, before the

assignment, try to establish a moment when the specialist will slow down the rhythm of the conversation, so that you can remember all the messages.

- Maintain neutral and calm facial and body expressions, as these transmit confidence to the client.
- Do not use tissues or other items from the office to comfort the client, since this is the specialist's work.

As well as the previous suggestions, the following strategies used by Participants 1, 2, and 7 can be included in a repertory of coping strategies that apply to mental health consultations:

- Translate as faithfully and thoroughly as possible.
- Do not translate nonverbal communication.
- Take notes discreetly.
- Be patient if clients are taking a long time to speak.

2) Non-intervention when there are different registers

When interpreting between interlocutors who use different registers, interpreters appear to avoid matching the original registers, and leave the responsibility of adjusting the register in the hands of the service provider.

This is a good example of how interpreters' non-intervention or self-effacement strategies are effective in solving communicative issues. When answering the question about challenges relating to linguistic disparities between the primary interlocutors, Participant 2 remembered one specific case in which his non-intervention helped even out such disparities, in this case of different registers.

> Participant 2: *When lawyers do not take into consideration the person's schooling, for example. So, they start asking questions with the double negatives, okay? "Isn't it truth that such and such day you didn't do something…"and then you translate that, and then the person says, "who? Me?" and I translate that. But then the other party realizes that*

> *they have to modify, because otherwise…If you make their job easy and say, "I don't think he understood", that's the wrong thing to say, you just stick to the thing direct and let the other worry about.*

Instead of providing explanations to the service provider or client, the interpreter decided to maintain the rhythm of the conversation and translate the client's answers directly. With this strategy, P2 abided by the ethical principles of accuracy and fidelity and let the service provider notice that they needed to adjust their language register and perhaps rephrase questions or statements.

3) Concealing your emotions

When working in emotionally charged situations, for example those dealing with victims of domestic violence and assault, coming across cases of abuse is possible. In not a few cases, I have interpreted for women and children who have experienced different forms of abuse. I identify with Participant 1 when she said that you cannot help feeling the pain, you feel heartbroken. Like Participant 1, I have identified that concealing your emotions is the best way to help primary interlocutors achieve their goal of effective communication.

In assignments with emotionally charged content, it is important to conceal emotions and avoid communicating personal feelings such as moral judgements, pain, disgust, surprise, disapproval, compassion, etc. Additionally, concealing emotions allows interpreters to keep a distant and neutral position, so that they can focus on the messages and on achieving the most accurate rendition.

> Participant 1: *I do feel like heartbroken or something right? But I learnt to suppress that feeling over time because I'm not, I'm just a translator. I do feel sorry for her and I am sad and I do want to cry, but I learnt not to show any emotion*.

Participant 1 acts in accordance with the ethical principle of impartiality. She stays focused on the task and conceals her emotions. Participant 1 does not provide many details regarding the specific institutional contexts where she found emotionally charged situations. However, she does mention the specific type of case she has encountered: domestic abuse. "*When I have an assignment with someone who has been abused, a lot of times the client cries and to me it's obvious distress*".

When Participant 1 performed her role following the norms, she did not necessarily think of the consequences her performance could have for the primary interlocutors. She merely performed her job following the norms dictated in the ethical principles and standards of practice to which she adheres.

Notwithstanding the above, Wadensjö warns of the likelihood of interpreters "suffering burn-out from working intensively with cases involving victims of horrors like torture, rape or abuse" (1998: 54). She goes on to say that when they are freelancers, interpreters may have very few opportunities to debrief with a professional or to afford a specialist, such as a psychologist. Furthermore, the principle of confidentiality and the corresponding NSGCIS standards of practice 9 and 10 put restrictions on what may be talked about outside of the assignment (2007: 24), and some interpreters fear speaking to non-participants or anybody about what they experience on duty.

This will be a key issue in chapter 5, in which interpreters and service providers discuss the actual and potential health and safety issues for interpreters, and how to deal with them after assignments. I shall now present the typologies classifying interpreters' coping strategies for challenging situations during assignments, in graphic form.

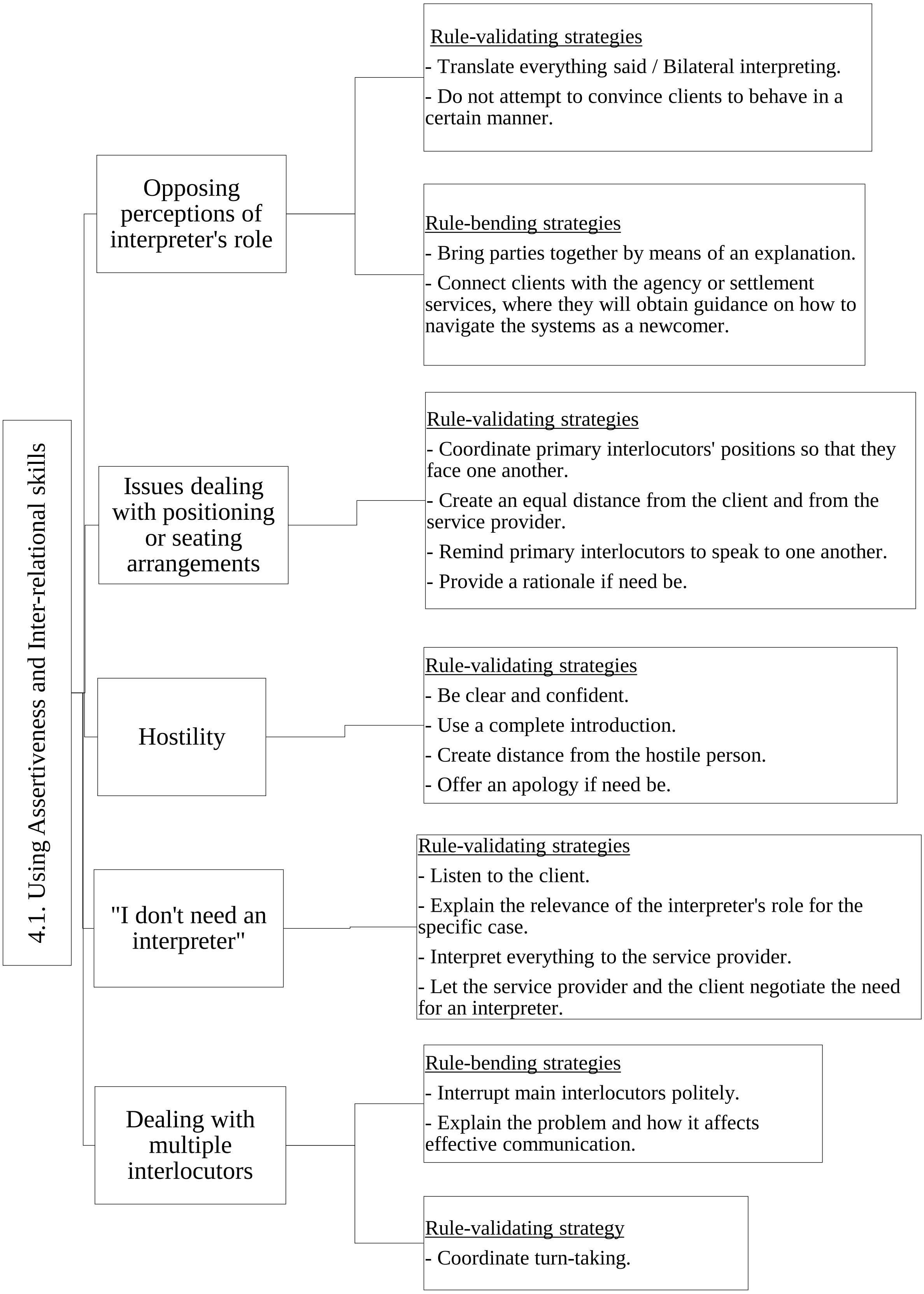


Fig. 6. Typology of community interpreters’ coping strategies during assignments (Assertiveness)

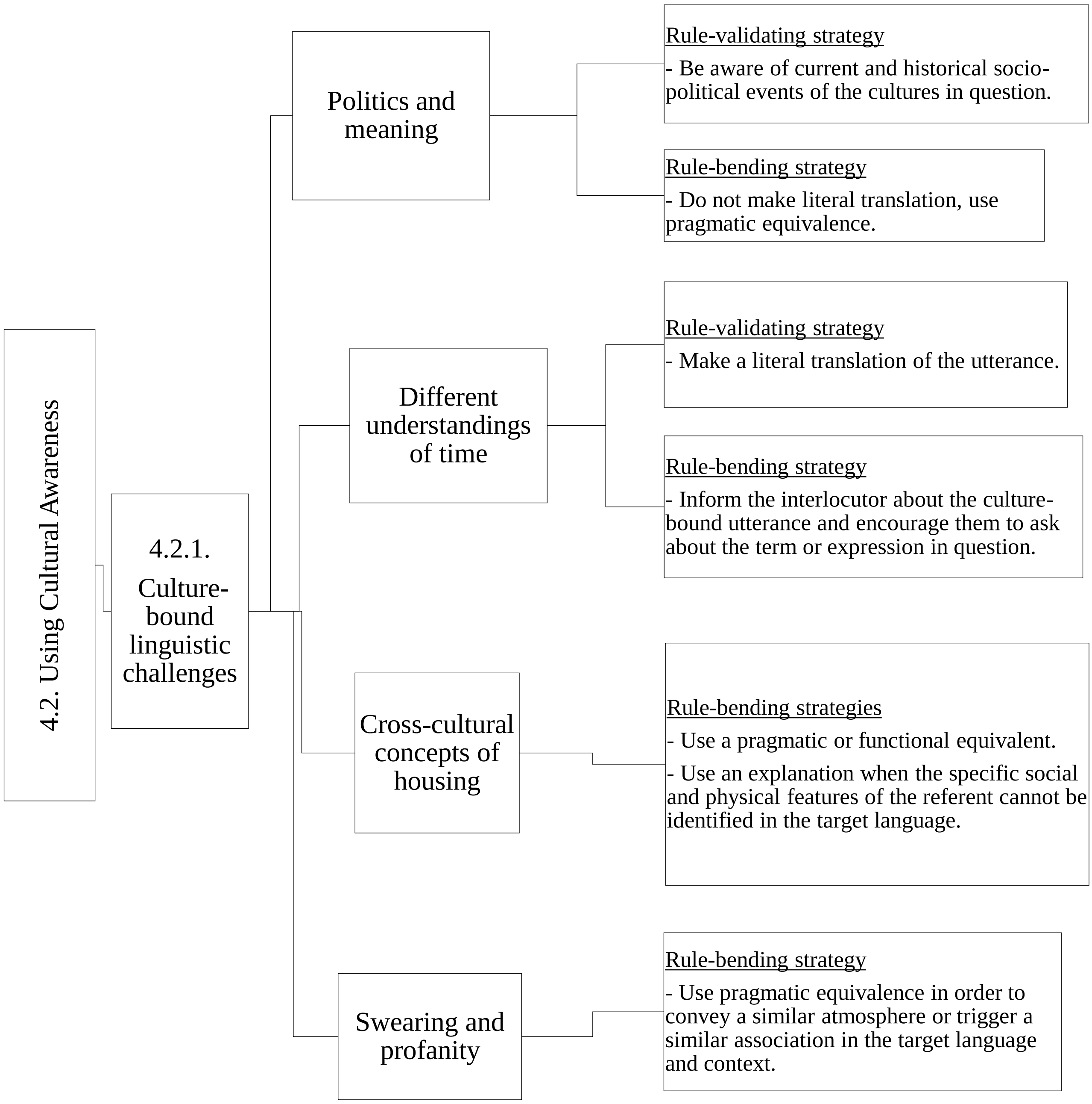


Fig. 7. Typology of community interpreters' coping strategies during assignments (Using cultural awareness with culture-bound linguistic challenges)

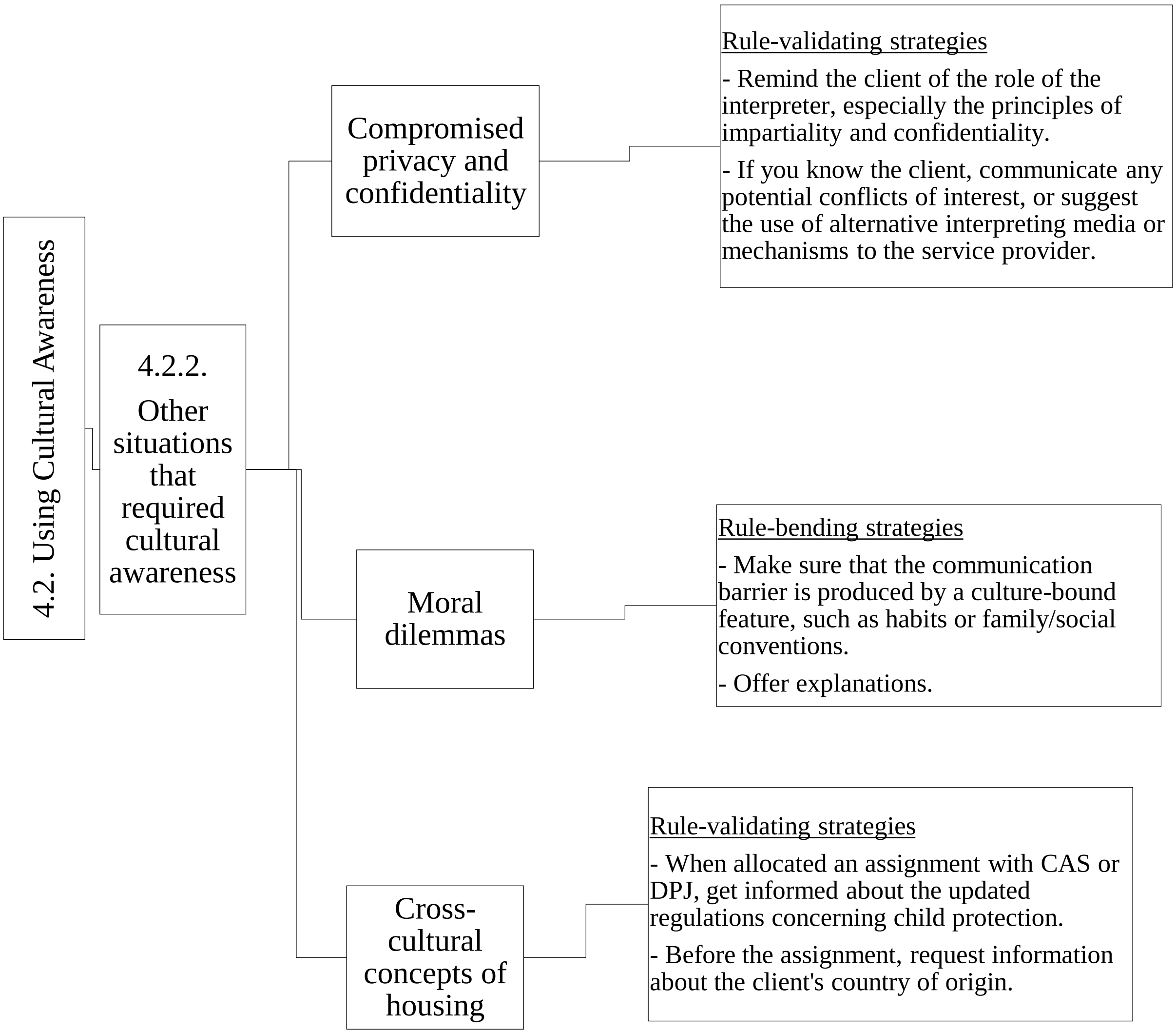


Fig. 8. Typology of community interpreters' coping strategies during assignments (In other situations that required cultural awareness)

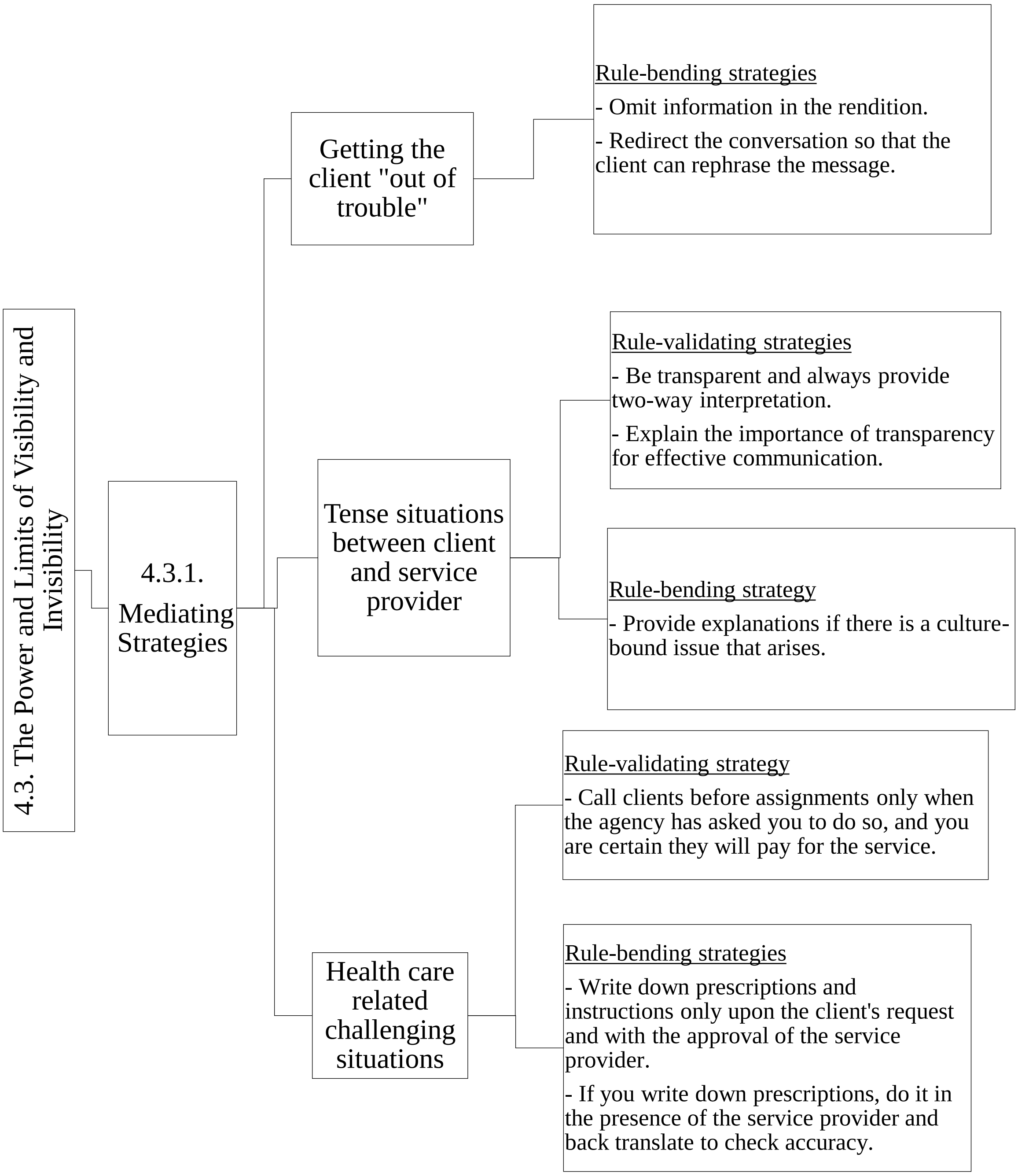


Fig. 9. Typology of community interpreters’ coping strategies during assignments (Using Mediating Strategies)

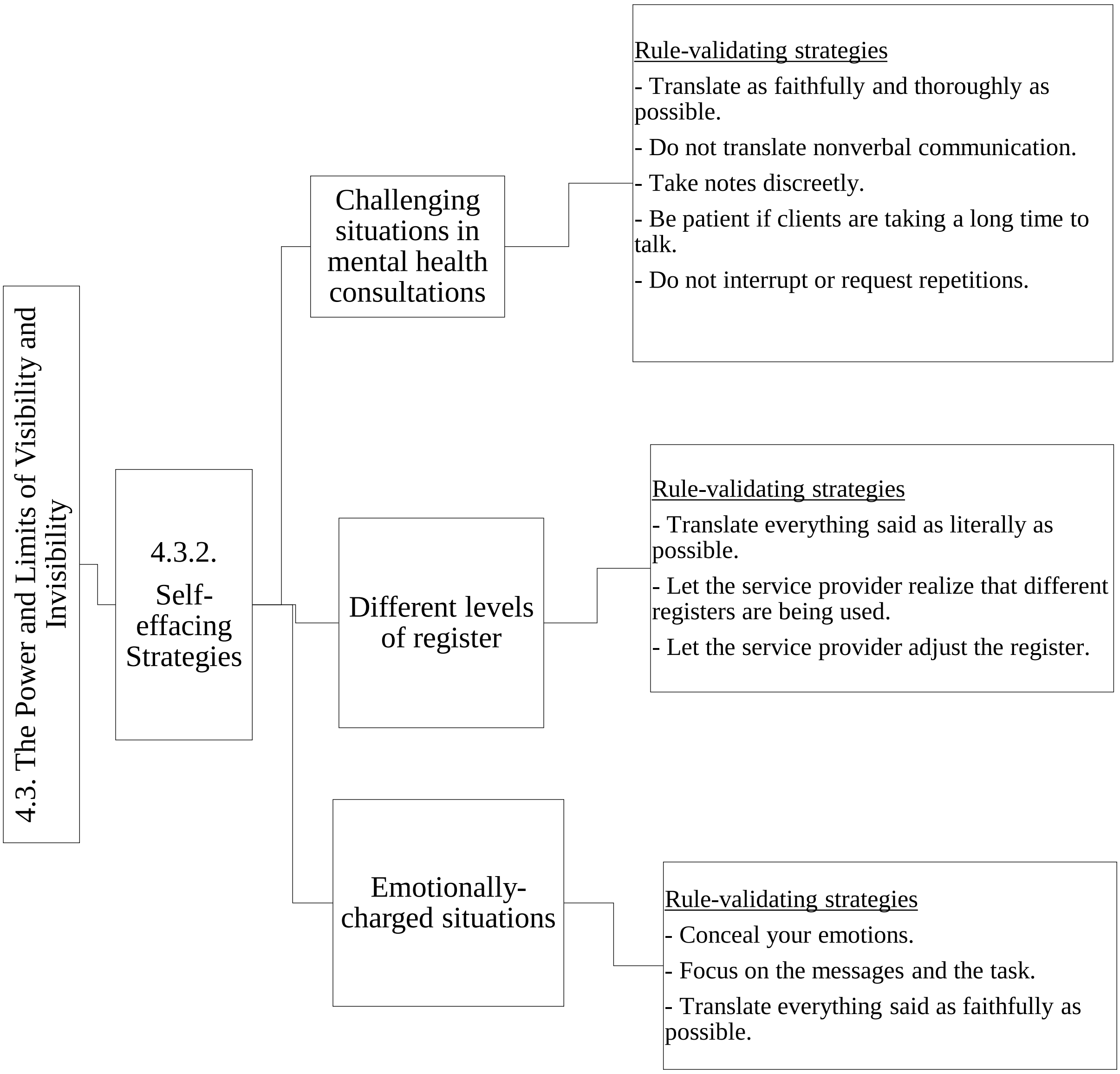


Fig. 10. Typology of community interpreters' coping strategies during assignments (Using Self-effacing Strategies)

4.2. Analysis and discussion

The findings in chapter 4 focused on two main areas: on the one hand, the characterization of interpreters' strategies for coping with various challenging situations during assignments, and on the other hand, the underlying social and interactional nature of community interpreting. This social-interactional nature is reflected in almost all the categories depicted in figures 6 to 10. It is social because the interpreter-mediated encounter often takes place in settings where public services are delivered to individuals within a social context. It is interactional because there is an interplay between at least three individuals within the interpreted encounter, and in this interaction, there are situations that go beyond the linguistic–source text versus target text–aspect of interpreting (Wadensjö, 1998: 276). These situations arise, for example, when interpreters encounter hostility, three or more interlocutors, opposing expectations, tension between primary interlocutors, moral dilemmas, etc.

The strategies used by interpreters in this chapter lead us to reflect on social-interactional issues of the interpreter-mediated event that standards of practice have yet to address, as well as issues relating to culture and ethical principles, the principle of impartiality, conflicting expectations, and the directionalities of power dynamics in community interpreting. The following subsections unpack some of these reflections and triangulate them with service providers' insights.

4.2.1. Standards of practice and the social-interactional realities of the interpreted encounter

The typologies of coping strategies during assignments show that in most situations, interpreters adhere to, or try to abide by, ethical principles or standards of practice. Nonetheless, there are situations for which these guidelines do not offer specific standards of practice that may guide interpreters' performance. For example, in the code of ethics proposed by the NSGCIS (2007), the standards of practice do not define a framework for challenging situations such as problematic seating arrangements, hostility, opposing expectations, and tension between the primary interlocutors.

In a similar study, Vargas-Urpi, whose aim was to observe problems and strategies in public service interpreting in Barcelona, found that two main problems that interpreters encountered were related to cultural issues, and to clients' level of education (2016: 5-6). Two coping strategies that Chinese-Catalan-Spanish interpreters used were: writing down important information for clients and using pragmatic equivalence for titles or positions that did not have a "direct equivalent in Chinese" (Ibid: 11).

This study also found similar problems, notably in the case described by Participant 7, who wrote down medical prescriptions and treatment on a piece of paper for the client, and in the cases described by Participants 1 and 8, who used pragmatic equivalents for expressions relating to politics or foul language with no formal equivalent in English. The framework suggested by the NSGCIS standards of practice (2007) does not offer specific guidelines to orient interpreters' performance in situations like these.

The lack of a framework for working in these specific situations leaves interpreters with two choices. They could limit their interpreting practice to a textual source-target rendition, avoiding other types of interaction or coordination that would improve the interpreted encounter and communication between the parties. Alternatively, they could find gaps in the body of norms that give them leeway to exercise a degree of agency to resolve the situations and favour effective communication.

4.2.2. The issue of culture

One of the most common strategies among participants is *offering explanations*. This strategy opposes the ethical principle of accuracy and fidelity, which states the following: "Interpreters strive to render all messages in their entirety accurately, as faithful as possible […] without addition, distortion, omission or embellishment of the meaning" (NSGCIS, 2007: 23). Offering explanations is not included in the standards of practice of these guidelines; however, interpreters employ this strategy often and service providers request it as well. In this study, service providers 1, 2, and 5 stated that they actually ask interpreters for explanations regarding aspects or attitudes that are unfamiliar and may be of relevance to their job. For example:

> Interviewer: *When you find communication-related problems with a patient, does the interpreter need to convey both content and form of the message during the consultation?*
> SP1: *Uh…I ask for cultural interpretation. It's not only language. I will give you an example: when I assessed this Chinese lady, I looked in her fridge. I checked if there was food, so I wasn't too sure of how to interpret what I was seeing. So, because I had the interpreter with me, I asked her advice about. "Okay, is it normal what I'm seeing or this lady doesn't have enough food? So, can we talk about that*."

In his essay about translation and culture, Katan (2009) states that languages are rooted in the realities and constructions of cultures, and that readers need to be aware of the broader contexts of verbal utterances (Ibid: 77). The author goes on to put forward four translation strategies to compensate for the lack of cultural equivalence: "foreignization, amplification or explicatory procedures, adaptation or recognized exoticism, and assimilation" (Ibid: 81).

The second strategy suggested by the author is in fact being used by interpreters to compensate for culture-bound aspects in the interpreted dialogue. Similarly, Juliane House (2016) affirms that there is no cause-effect relationship between culture and language, that culture is rather a context within which language can be explained, and that this explanation may be done by means of thick description (Ibid: 44). In community interpreting, providing explanations may be equated with thick descriptions in translation strategies.

Service Provider 5 also admits the possibility of explanations; however, she maintains that these should take place in briefing or debriefing sessions, not during the interpreted encounter. This is her statement:

> SP5: *Another thing is that for us it's really important to leave the cultural element outside. It is not a cultural interpretation and it's very difficult. Because we are all part of it, we are all in one way or another immigrants…you might understand it better, and you might*

think that because you understand it better, you are going to explain the person's position, because where she's coming from or what happened…but it's really important not to bring that up…In a smaller community where there is only one interpreter available and they know each other. And it's very difficult because sometimes the victim doesn't want it. Or sometime she wants you, because you may understand what she does. So, it's really important to set that limit. And I know it's very hard because in different countries there's a sense of control for the woman, especially on domestic violence when the police are called and charges are laid. Because most people want the abuse to stop, but they don't want him (the accused) charged because you know, he's probably the only breadwinner in the family, or the house is under his name. And because he was charged or because she called the police, now he's refusing to pay mortgage or paying for the children. So, she is dealing with all these implications…there is pressure from the family or the community to recap and withdraw the charges. It is not her choice, you know, charges are laid. She cannot withdraw charges, it's not up to her…because the system is set up to look for the public interest. You might come from a place where it is acceptable to do that. Here it is not acceptable.

[…] *And of course, as I mentioned before, please speak to me (to the interpreter) if you have any questions, any concerns…even if you need to interrupt the meeting because of something…ask me privately, you know. And those conversations can be before and after, not during the meeting. For example, before, we can have a conversation about what the case is about, what the job is, the terminology that may be found, the purpose of the encounter. What if you are overwhelmed with the case…we're human…so if you need to talk about it, approach me afterwards. You can also request breaks and pauses to use the washroom, for example*.

The last two quotes from Service Provider 5 are very illuminating for the purpose of this study. Firstly, they perfectly illustrate a culture-bound situation that goes beyond the linguistic aspect of communication. The example depicts some attitudes towards legal procedures that may be different from the attitudes in Canada. In Canada, in domestic violence-related cases, once charges have been laid, the accuser cannot withdraw them, which may be different elsewhere. Culture-bound aspects like this should not be taken for granted or expect to be an existing part of other's background. On the contrary, the process of integration into the new culture demands that newcomers build an understanding of how the new culture functions, and this includes the legal and justice systems.

Secondly, SP5 makes it clear that interpreters for the Victim/Witness Assistance Program (VWAP) are not translating machines. She understands that cases may overwhelm interpreters;

that they also have doubts, opinions, or assumptions about cases, and may need to disclose this information. However, SP5 also states that there are specific moments for this disclosure, moments that should ideally be before or after the meeting.

Service providers' answers regarding cultural awareness and the interpreter-mediated event can be summarized as follows: it is necessary and advisable that community interpreters have knowledge of the client's background, more specifically, regarding culture-bound linguistic aspects and historical events that have taken place in their geographical region of origin or in regions that share their language or dialect. If interpreters perceive that any one of the abovementioned aspects interferes or may interfere with effective communication, they should either: 1) continue to provide a linguistic rendition and let service providers discern that there are culturally specific aspects that need to be addressed. Or 2) find an appropriate moment to discuss their concerns, ideally before or after the assignment.

The concept of culture-bound aspects in communication continues to provoke debate and is one of the main points of contention in the theoretical construction of community interpreting. The introduction to this dissertation explains how two approaches have favoured or disputed the mediation or agency of community interpreters. In fact, the NSGCIS acknowledges the existence of cultural differences between individuals who do not share a common language, however, it affirms that cultural differences may also exist between individuals who do share a common language. However, "given the complexity of factors that impact and influence an individual's culture, acting as a cultural broker/bridge is beyond the scope of an interpreter's duty" (2007: 21). Respecting the difference between being a community interpreter and a cultural broker has been considered a criterion of quality in endeavours to professionalize community interpreting.

4.2.3. Impartiality/Neutrality in reality

Regarding expectations when working with interpreters, service providers agree on one thing: neutrality is synonymous with impartiality. Nevertheless, data reveals that their assumptions or ideas about the principle of impartiality/neutrality vary. Together with those of interpreters, these ideas may help to construct a concept of impartiality/neutrality in which both community interpreters and service providers can find solid ground for their work. I shall begin with service providers' assumptions.

1) Impartiality/Neutrality is inconsistent

> Interviewer: *And finally, what are, in big lines, your expectations when you work with interpreters*?
> SP1: *I think neutrality is the first one and that the interpreter is able to connect with the client as well*.
> Interviewer: *Like building trust*?
> SP1: *Yes, but also building trust for me. Yes, including me in that trust. Because often I see…I have to say, "Okay, we stop here", because I can see they change the topic*.

Neutrality is clearly one of the aspects highlighted by Service Provider 1 when asked about her expectations when working with interpreters. However, perhaps unaware that this may affect interpreters' neutrality, she also asks interpreters to use so-called 'cultural interpretation' and to give opinions when she does not understand a habit of one of her clients. Because neutrality is the absence of decided views towards both client and service provider, primary participants in the interpreter-mediated events should not assume that neutrality means not taking sides with the other party only.

Another expectation highlighted by Service Provider 1 is "*that the interpreter is able to connect with the client*", which I understand as 'trust'. However, when asked about the notion of trust as an expectation from interpreters, Service Provider 1 makes clear that this trust must also be established with her and especially with her. This is because when she observes that there is a conversation going on between the client and the interpreter, her trust in the interpreter is breached.

Service Provider 2 expresses similar expectations:

> Interviewer: *And the last question I have for you is…what are your expectations from interpreters*?
> SP2: *Uh…well I think my two big ones would be to keep confidentiality and staying neutral, as neutral as possible; and be human, which means sometimes they will have to bend the rules…and…uh…like I'm fine with that*.

One property of neutrality can be deducted from the contributions of service providers 1 and 2. Neutrality has a centre that gravitates towards the speaker. However, since there are two primary speakers, the neutral centre may gravitate between centres *a*nd *b*. In summary, neutrality does not represent a static centre, neutrality may be variable. In Interpreting Studies, this notion has been called "Rotational Loyalty" (Gile, 2009). The author understands neutrality as providing the same quality to both service provider and client in the interpreting service.

1) Conflicting expectations

> SP3: *It's a grey area. For example, it was funny because I received just yesterday, one teacher asked me…What are the dos and don'ts of an MLO. So, that's right, from the part of the teachers they don't want the MLOs to intervene a lot, they want the MLOs to be interpreters. You see…they just want the MLO to deliver the linguistic message that they have to the parents, I can…I can see them. From the part of the parents, they want the MLO to be someone who assists them. There is a figure of authority from the parents, because they see this MLO who knows the system, who is already established, who is helping them. So, you see how different perceptions…*

This case illustrates the dilemma that many community interpreters encounter in the field: the conflict of expectations from clients and service providers. In the case of Multicultural Liaison Officers (MLOs) in schools, on the one hand, teachers expect MLOs to have defined functions and limits. On the other hand, parents expect a figure of reference and someone to trust during their settlement and integration process. This is the case not only for parent-teacher communication, but also for patient-physician, client-lawyer, victim-crown, and other types of communication.

These conflicting assumptions regarding the role of the interpreter go beyond the awareness of service providers and clients. As shown by Marjory Bancroft (2005), standards of practice across countries and institutions often put forward contradicting principles. In one example presented by Bancroft, within the same code of ethics one principle stated "Offer no advice" while a contradictory statement stipulated: "Some information or cultural guidance are acceptable" (Ibid: 37). For the NSGCIS, impartiality means "Showing no preference or bias to any party involved in the interpreted encounter", and it also states that the interpreter should avoid "the perception that s/he has a preference or bias towards any party" (2007: 25).

2) Complete and non-judgmental interpreting

> SP5: *Another key piece is to interpret all words back to the victim witness worker. I've worked with many interpreters over the years, and sometimes, every once in a while, you know…we can have a scenario where there's a conversation happening that I'm not involved in.*
>
> *…To be nonjudgmental in working with our clients. It takes a lot to understand the cycle of violence. There are many people in society that simply say: I don't understand why she just didn't leave? And there's a whole psychology behind it…and a whole rooming period that brings them there…so, to be nonjudgmental means that you may not agree with what you're hearing or you may have a different view, but do not express that within the setting of the meeting.*

Service Provider 5 understands impartiality or neutrality as the rendition of everything said without summarizing or omitting any word or utterance. Furthermore, she affirms that interpreters should avoid expressing their opinions or moral judgment about issues or topics that arise in meetings with clients, who are, in this case, victims or witnesses of crimes.

Drawing on service providers' insights, neutrality could be understood as being neither an absolute nor a human condition. Neutrality can be a social and institutional construct. It can be seen an abstract centre, an ideal point that allows human actors within specific contexts to perform their professional tasks with a virtual distance, so that they can observe whether the objectives of such tasks have been skillfully fulfilled. When it comes to community interpreting, the abstract centre of neutrality "leaves some room for interpreters' judgement and action"

(Tipton, 2008) based on the social circumstances of their tasks. This should always be done with the imperative of facilitating effective and accurate communication between primary interlocutors, with transparency and without expressing any personal viewpoints or moral judgements.

Following on from the notion of community interpreting as an activity with a social-interactional nature, chapter 5 also presents situations in which the ethical principles of role boundaries and impartiality are at stake. Hopefully, these findings and typologies can deepen our understanding of how codes of ethics can better adapt their standards of practice to contextualized realities.

CHAPTER 5: TYPOLOGY OF CONFLICTING SITUATIONS AND COPING STRATEGIES AFTER ASSIGNMENTS

5.1. Conflicting Situations and Coping Strategies of Interpreters after Assignments

The last section of the interview guide for the community interpreters who participated in this study contained questions on the following topics: the use of debriefings; strategies to manage vicarious trauma; and unusual or unexpected situations with clients.

In their answers, interpreters mentioned specific conflicting situations; the most noteworthy cases relate to settings where a debriefing takes place and situations that have triggered vicarious trauma (VT). Some interpreters also commented on conflicting situations with clients that took place after assignments.

5.1.1. Vicarious trauma: nature of assignments, feelings, and coping strategies

Participants reported that the types of assignments that most commonly trigger emotional states of sadness, grief, helplessness, frustration, and even sleep deprivation are those related to child abuse, domestic violence, sexual abuse, sexual assault, family services, and victims of human trafficking. Although the participants were not asked to report exactly how long those feelings last, data analysis shows that VT may last from a couple of hours to as long as a week.

Regarding coping strategies, participants reported that in order to deal with these emotions, they resort to self-reassuring techniques, among others. One interpreter even stated that from time to time she has to take breaks from working on certain types of assignments, i.e., family services or court interpreting. The following points summarize some strategies used by community interpreters in order to manage vicarious trauma:

- Trying to think of something else.
- Taking a break from court interpreting, especially from cases related to child services.

- Talking to partners or friends.
- Using self-reassurance and meditation techniques.
- Saying a prayer for the clients or the victims.
- Talking to a counselor.

> Interviewer: *Just the last two questions. Have you experienced feelings of sadness, grief, irritability, mood swings, or frustration after certain encounters? And how do you handle these feelings? What do you do*?
> Participant 3: *Yeah…I am normally as a sensitive person. So, what I did was taking a break from it. I mean from interpreting at court, like when they called me for an assignment, I said: maybe I won't do court assignments for a little bit because of the constant witnessing trouble over and over again affects me and it's not healthy, so…I say that I just want to take a break from it, you know. Or, I also sometimes talk to my partner, but I try not to, because you know, not to bother another people, because it's a sad situation and you don't want to also make the other person sad, so…I…normally my nature is very sensitive, and I keep it inside…so I just take a break, and just take small doses of work.*

The aforementioned coping strategies can be associated with positive approaches to overcoming VT. However, Lai et al. (2015: 15) state that there are also negative strategies to deal with vicarious trauma: "avoidance, denial, negative emotions, and substance abuse". In this study, two interpreters responded that they have not experienced vicarious trauma, and one expressed that her strategy is to "suppress her feelings". These answers may illustrate negative strategies for dealing with the issue in question, however, there were no follow-up questions in the interview guide that explored their answers further in order to confirm this assumption.

> Participant 1: *About vicarious trauma? No, not really. A lot of times I came to appreciate that I don't have those problems that a lot of patients do. But yeah…like I suppress my feelings…and yes, sometime later, I think of the individual situations and become sad, but not really a vicarious trauma.*

Some interpreting agencies offer counselling services for interpreters to help them deal with vicarious trauma, however, in this study, only one of the interpreters who work for agencies reported seeking this professional help. Freelancers who are contacted directly by service providers are not offered any type of assistance in order to deal with vicarious trauma. This statement by Participant 8, a freelancer who mostly works as a court interpreter in Montreal, affirms that they do not receive help, protection, or resources to deal with it, and when these are requested, service providers may threaten to not give them any more assignments:

> Participant 8: *Regarding vicarious trauma…yes, sometimes one comes back home with things you can't forget, especially from those hard cases…you just get home and cry, and try to think of something else. But it is true that most of the time we don't have any type of help, or protection, or resources…in the worst case, they will tell you, "That's the way it is. If you like it, you can keep your job, if not we won't call you*".

One of the conclusions of a study on vicarious trauma and community interpreters in Australia, affirms that employment conditions for many community interpreters are precarious, and services such as counselling are not offered. The study also affirms that counselling and other employment services should be offered to all interpreters. This is an issue that must be addressed in a systematic fashion in countries different to Australia. Another finding of the same study is that during training courses, this topic is only vaguely studied or even considered irrelevant. Therefore, the authors urge interpreting agencies and training institutions to raise awareness of the issue and teach interpreters how to identify, treat, and seek help in the event of vicarious trauma (Lai et al., 2015: 16-17).

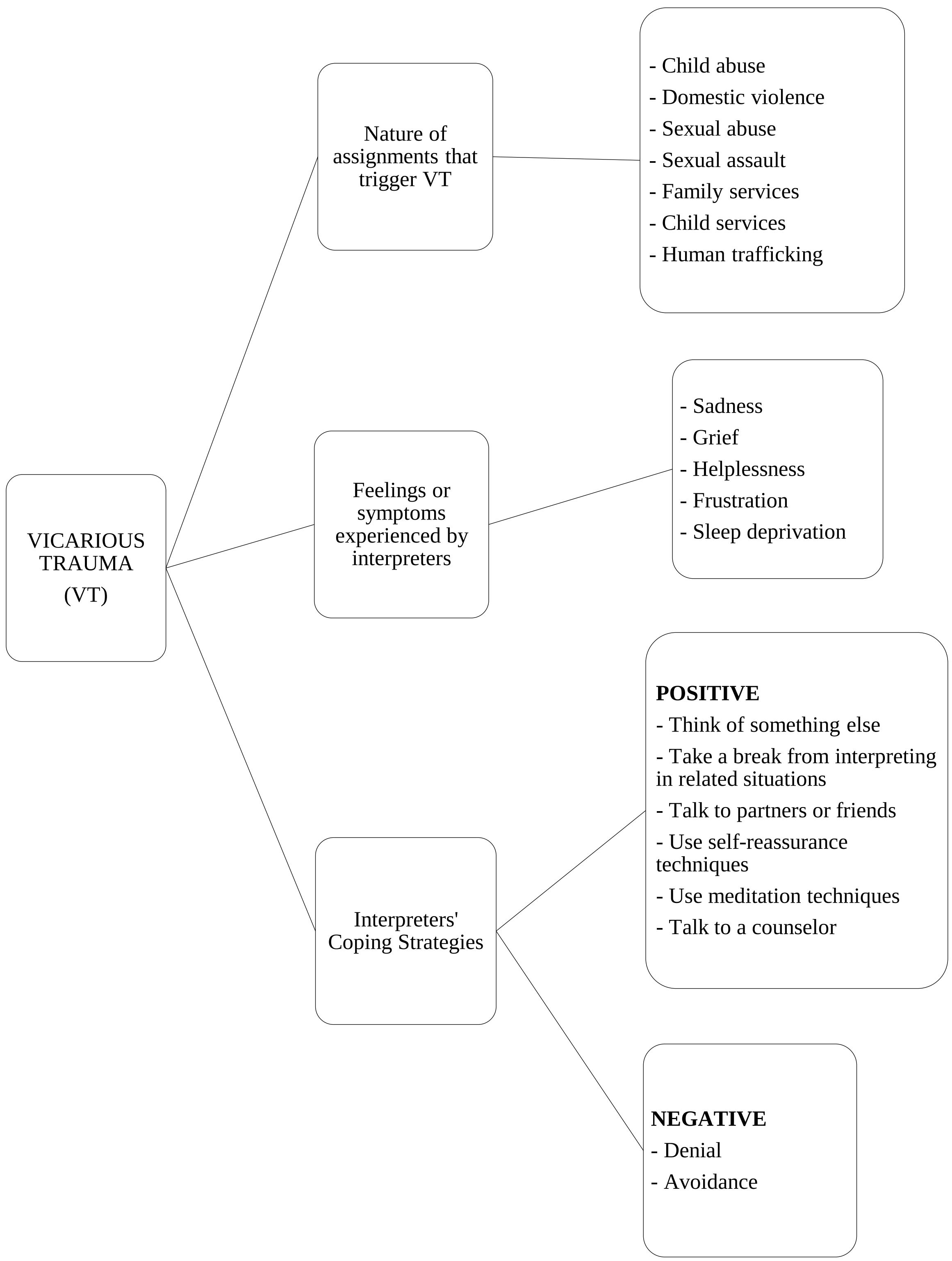


Fig. 11. Typology of conflicting situations after assignments: vicarious trauma

5.1.2. Debriefing: settings and purposes

The previous section presented information regarding vicarious trauma, the situations in which it is triggered, interpreters' mental states when they experience VT, and their coping strategies. Whereas none of the participants mentioned debriefing as a coping strategy to deal with vicarious trauma, a recent study shows that debriefing is one of the commonly used mechanisms for dealing with vicarious trauma, especially in mental health interpreting among sign interpreters in the United States (Knodel, 2018: 14-16).

In the book *Introduction to health care for interpreters and translators*, Crezee et al. (2015: 160), describe the debriefing as a session with service providers in which they may ask questions about patients' word choices or culture-bound expressions and behaviours, cultural background, nonverbal aspects of communication, or anything else the interpreter noted during the assignment and considers of relevance to the service provider. However, in their description, the authors do not state whether this is a moment for interpreters to talk about their own feelings on the assignment's traumatic contents, if need be.

During the interviews for this study, when interpreters were asked if they have had short meetings or sessions with service providers after assignments, most of them answered negatively, with only three affirmative answers.

According to these statements, post-assignment sessions regularly take place at child services, counselling services, school counselling, women's shelters, and after parent-teacher meetings at schools. Furthermore, service providers reported having two main purposes when they conduct a debriefing session: on the one hand, they want to hear interpreters' additional comments or explanations regarding any culture-bound behaviour or language use.

> Interviewer: *After your assignments, have you ever met with the service providers for a debriefing? I mean, to talk about specific linguistic or cultural aspects?*
> Participant 6: *Yes. For example, in the case of one client from Lebanon, I explained the service providers that in our culture, it is normal that after getting married, women are*

> *expected to perform certain roles, for example you don't have to go to work necessarily or even do the grocery shopping. Those things are for men to do, and because of that you don't think that a woman is not autonomous. But here, they think the opposite.*

On the other hand, service providers may have a debriefing session in order to assess the development of the assignment, and notably also the interpreter's performance, as reported by Participant 9: "*Yes, most of the times I meet with teachers or service providers to debrief. I find debriefing very helpful. In the debriefing, we mainly go over how the meeting was conducted, or we have feedback on the interpreter's work.*"

Participants' statements on debriefings match the descriptions provided by Crezee et al (2015: 160-161). From my experience and point of view, I think that some discussion on vicarious trauma should be included, whenever it is necessary. In this study, Interpreters' assumptions about debriefings have contributed some properties to the construction of a more structured concept of the debriefing session. Such properties relate to the settings where debriefing takes place and the purposes of the debriefing. Additional properties will be added with the contributions made by service providers in point 5.2.

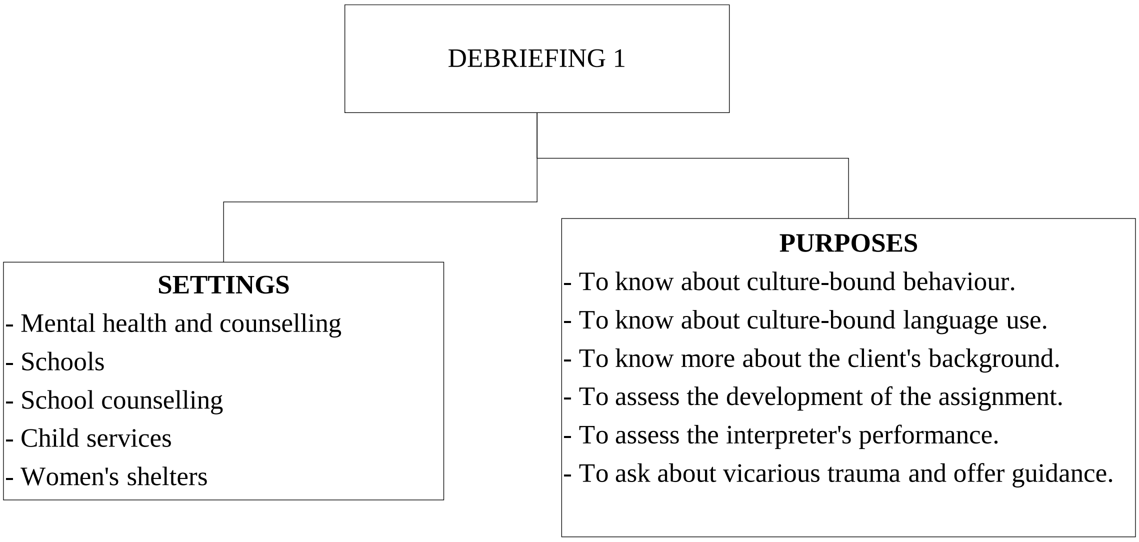


Fig. 12. Typology of interpreters' challenges and coping strategies after assignments: debriefing

5.1.3. Conflicting situations with clients and coping strategies

Not only might interpreters be in touch with clients before assignments (as shown in chapter 2), but also after assignments, mainly when these have taken place in legal or medical settings. Data reveals that some clients want to approach interpreters after their assignments for different purposes.

In legal settings, perhaps after a taxing and long hearing or process, clients may want to express gratitude, or may be curious to know if the interpreter has learnt some information regarding outcomes or a judge's decision. Participant 3, for example, has experienced situations in which clients have offered tokens of appreciation or made invitations as signs of gratitude.

> Interviewer: *Have you ever had unusual or unexpected encounters or situations with the clients or their relatives after an assignment*?
> Participant 3: *I never had a lot after assignments, but…after the assignment is done, they say things like, "Oh, thank you so much!" "Can I buy you a coffee or can I offer you lunch?" You know, things like that right after the assignment. And sometimes, when it's very emotional, they kind of wanna talk to you, you know, as you walk out and they wanna walk with you to tell you, you know, or explain.*

Participant 3's mechanism to deal with these types of situations is first and foremost to preserve the integrity of the client, making sure that as an interpreter she is abiding by the code of ethics. This is in fact one of the most relevant findings not only of this chapter, but of the entire thesis: the fact that community interpreters can perform their job professionally, respecting ethical principles and standards of practice, with a good level of agency and respect for others. Assertiveness and interactional skills are operative tools when it comes to effective communication, and they should be constitutive elements of community interpreters' competence, as we have learnt in chapters 2 and 4. We shall now see Participant 3's coping strategies when dealing with conflicting situations with clients:

> Interviewer: *Yes, and how did you manage in these situations*?
> Participant 3: *I…I don't run out right away. I always let them do the talking, but I refrain from…you know…saying too much, or giving advice that I know nothing about…But yes, I walk with them as they go, and I make sure they're okay and they're on their way,*

and…you know…I say, "Maybe I'll see you next time. Good luck with everything!" I think it's rude if I don't listen, yeah, it's hard.

The previous situation may be common in legal settings, given the highly sensitive situations typical of the field. Nonetheless, following NSGCIS standards of practice 23, 24, and 27 under the ethical principle of role boundaries, and standard 31 under the ethical principle of accountability (2007: 27-28), interpreters try to protect themselves from legal consequences and tend to avoid unnecessary contact with clients before or after assignments.

Along the same lines, in health care settings, participants also reported having experienced conflicting situations in which clients have approached them. However, in these cases, clients' intentions were different. Apart from showing their gratitude, clients also approached interpreters because they needed help with the following tasks: sight translation of forms and prescriptions; filling out forms; a ride home; setting up the next appointment at the reception desk; picking up forms or prescriptions at the reception desk; buying medication or other medical supplies, etc.

> Interviewer: *So, going on with the next part of the interview, have you ever taken 5 to 10 minutes with the physician just to…uh…to debrief or to discuss questions about patients, their habits or cultural background? How does it go?*
> Participant 7: *You mean the service provider*?
> Interviewer: *Yes. With the service provider*.
> Participant 7: *The provider, never. I never had a provider who asked for some clarification of the cultural background or so, no. I never had something like this*.
> Interviewer: *So, you never had this situation. And what about the patients*?
> Participant 7: *Yes. The patients may ask for…no. They may ask for a favour, "If you can come with me next time, because you know my case now". Or they ask you for a ride, or to schedule the next appointment with the receptionist, or, "I received a letter, but I don't know anything about it. Can I take a picture of it and send it to your email?"*.

These are clearly conflicting situations, because as Participant 7 stated later on in his interview, interpreters are trained not to share personal information such as phone numbers or email addresses with clients or service providers, all this as a measure to protect their safety. However, Participant 7 bends the rule, and his coping strategy is to help. As he affirms, he is "happy to help". Later on in the chapter, I will discuss the potential consequences of his actions in these specific situations:

> Participant 7: *Many times, I also fill in many papers for them, because we build some…because I know that they need some help, especially at the beginning, maybe the first two or three years until they get some learning of the language. And they know that I am happy when I help them. I do it against my…against my courses and the codes. Because in the courses they tell you to hide your ID or hide your number, hide your identity, don't offer any transportation, don't make or receive any offers from clients, but I think it's human rather than something professional*.

The cases described above illustrate the multiple possibilities of potential encounters with clients after assignments, notably in health care and legal settings. The following graphic summarizes the challenging situations with clients presented above, and both rule-validating and rule-breaking strategies used by interpreters.

In the subsequent section, the findings yielded by interviews with community interpreters will be triangulated with those of service providers.

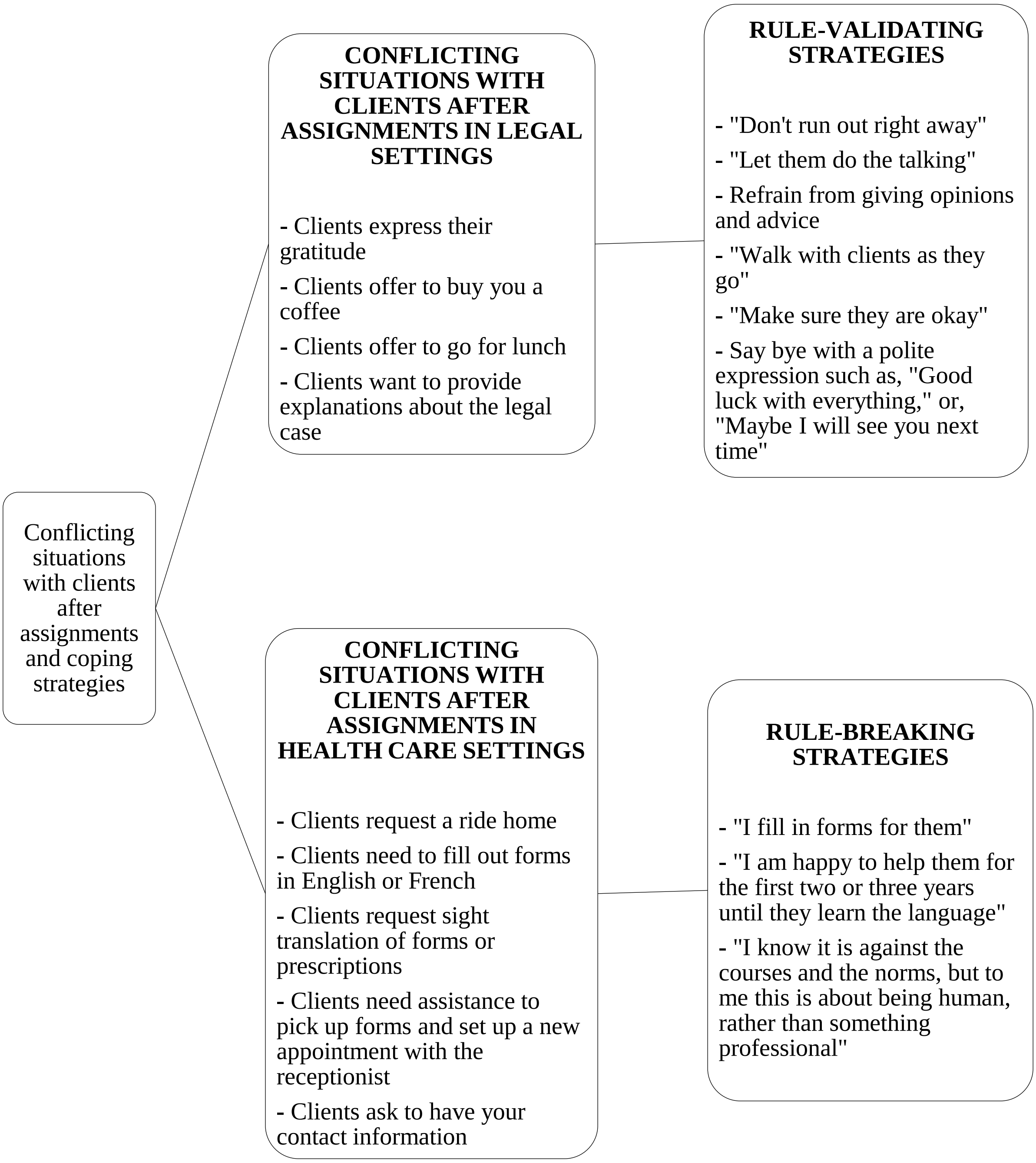


Fig. 13. Typology of conflicting situations with clients after assignments and two strategic approaches

5.2. Analysis and discussion

5.2.1. Service providers' assumptions and procedures after interpreter-mediated assignments

The last section of interviews with service providers yielded data regarding the main topics discussed in part 5.1., notably on debriefing, vicarious trauma, and the issue of impartiality versus empathy.

5.2.2. Service providers on debriefing

> Interviewer: *Have you ever had the opportunity to discuss the assignment after your consultation with the interpreter*?
> SP2: *What went well and what…uh…you know what? Uh…yes, I sometimes, we sometimes, uh…when we have difficulties, like a few instances, like I don't do that on a regular basis, but there were some difficult instances, some difficult cases when we had a debrief with the interpreter because the situation was so difficult, the client was so distressed, uh…that I kind of felt that I needed to make sure that the interpreter was okay, and to give feedback on how well they did in the session, and how well they interpreted, and the fact that that was very helpful…uh…so, I do. But they are kind of here and there, but regularly no. I don't. I don't really follow up. And what we do is that sometimes the interpreters have the feedback forms, so I kind of…I fill that in*.

Based on the answers of SP1 and SP2 to the question above, the following information may be useful in enriching the notion of debriefing that was developed in the first section of this chapter. On the one hand, SP2 affirms that she seldom meets interpreters after assignments. SP2 requests a meeting only when she faces the following situations:

- After situations with clients in distress, or assignments with highly emotional or traumatic content.
- After an assignment with culturally specific language that may have led to misinterpretations.
- For feedback on the functions and expected fulfillment of specific purposes.
- To fill out feedback forms from agencies.

On the other hand, SP1 says that she and her colleagues spend time meeting with interpreters after assignments. Here is a summary of her account of a debriefing session:

- It takes approximately 15 minutes.
- SP asks follow-up questions and comments on issues pertaining to the appointment.
- SP fills out interpreter's feedback forms.

In the light of the principles stipulated in codes of ethics, having a debriefing session may seem to breach the ethical principle of impartiality, because one of the primary interlocutors is not present in this part of the assignment. Since this meeting does not include the client, it might be biased. For example, service providers may use it in order to obtain further information about the client, or to confirm or reject assumptions. Furthermore, SPs may make use of power disparities over interpreters in order to obtain information. Therefore, the principle of impartiality may be jeopardized.

In this study, the data does not provide elements to affirm that debriefings are used to break the rule of impartiality, or that power imbalances may play a role. Further research, hopefully with direct observation, is required in order to learn more about the right procedures that should be included in a debriefing session in community interpreting. In the meantime, with the information collected from participants–interpreters and service providers–it is possible to put forward some criteria for debriefings:

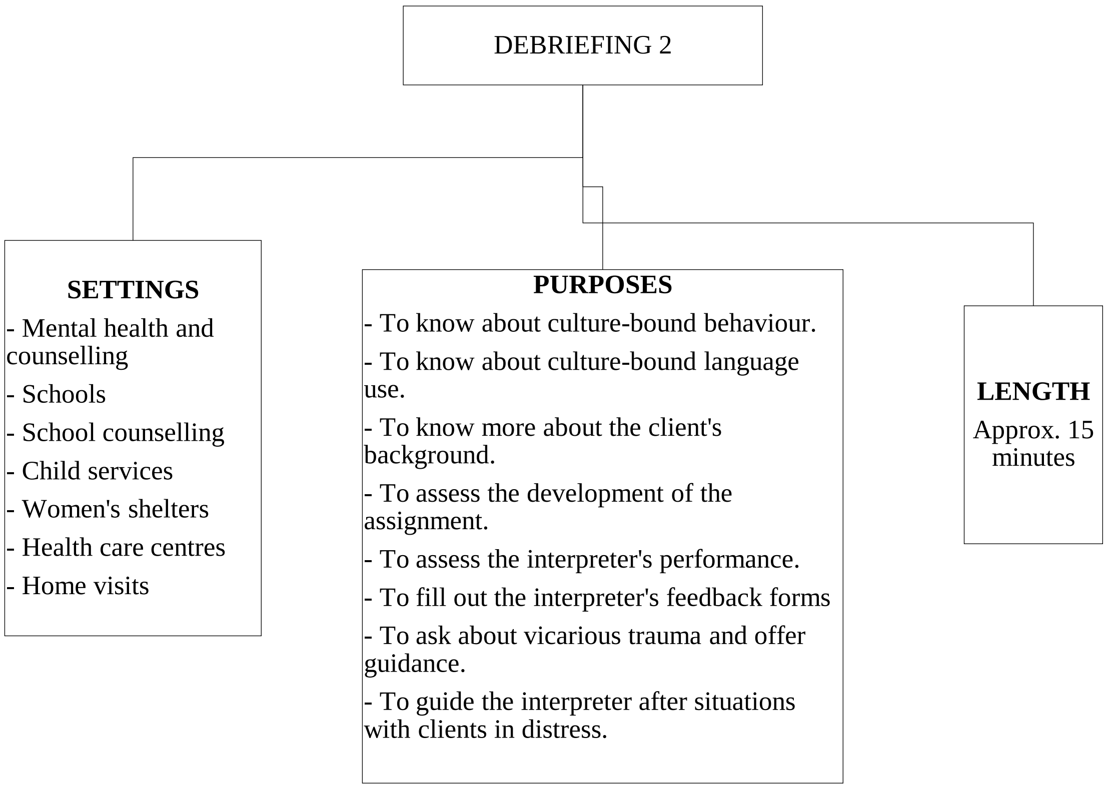


Fig. 14. Typology of settings, purposes and length of debriefings with input from interpreters and service providers.

5.2.3. Service providers on vicarious trauma

Out of the five service providers who participated in this study, only SP2 commented on interpreters and vicarious trauma. There may be two main reasons for this: the first one is that SP2 works in the mental health field and is aware of the fact that all professionals involved in these types of consultations require counselling assistance at some point.

> SP2: *I think it can be very hard if they're* (interpreters) *not prepared, but unfortunately they don't have too much chance to debrief. I don't think they have a supervisor that is accessible and has some understanding of vicarious trauma and can talk to them. And I think that would be something that should be implemented, like after*.

In her statement, SP2 is referring to the fact that in assignments with highly emotional content, many interpreters do not have time to debrief, or do not get the opportunity to do it. The second reason may be that, although some agencies and supervisors are aware of the importance of addressing vicarious trauma as part of professional codes and responsibilities towards the employee, there is no coordination between agencies and institutions to assign time for debriefing sessions when they are necessary. This may be due to economic or time constraints, yet it is an issue that should be discussed while setting up the assignment.

Moreover, agencies, associations, colleges, and other institutions hiring and training community interpreters should include a scheme of self-care in their training programs. When dealing with situations that can trigger vicarious trauma, interpreters should be able to identify it, so that they can seek help and appropriate treatment. This treatment should be offered or covered by the agency or hiring institution.

5.2.4. Impartiality, role boundaries and empathy

> SP2: *Yes, I think that's really important not only for…and not to punish people, but to try to constructively solve these problems, and deal with the impact of witnessing very difficult like medical procedures or witnessing…like being witness to trauma stories and all that…and also the fact that the client in distress will pull the interpreter into…into doing things, like human things…on the spot…like you know…you're not supposed to do, but you cannot…like for example give a client water or calling a taxi for her or this kind of stuff because in that context is a human thing, but you're not supposed to do as a professional. But actually, if you're sticking very rigidly with the professional code, you're actually letting down values as a human being that you're supposed to…*
>
> […] *Yeah, so I think these are things that we need to go back...to a supervisor and need to be kind of dealt with constructively and so, the interpreter doesn't hold that. "Oh my God! I just did something that I shouldn't have done". Because that has an impact on how you function as a professional*.

These statements by SP2 bring up an overlooked topic in the professional field of community interpreting: the opposition between the ethical principle of neutrality or impartiality, and the human aspect of the interpreter and their ability to be empathetic. In the professional field of community interpreting, being empathetic and being ethical may be seen as oppositions.

Some findings in the data collected from interpreters' interviews show that building trust and showing empathy with clients may become an issue for interpreters. This simple human value has become an issue in community interpreting due to professional codes and standards of practice, and specifically the standard of impartiality. Therefore, when interpreters try to be professional by adhering to codes of ethics or standards of practice, sometimes their attitudes can be interpreted as rudeness and a lack of fundamental human values. How can we balance this disparity in the professional field of community interpreting?

A similar issue is underscored by Barsky (2010: 296) when he explains how in the interpreted encounter, there are contextual assumptions that, together with the linguistic elements, account for the whole "message" of the situation. For the author, the ability to render both linguistic and contextual elements would be synonymous with efficacy in the interpreter's job, and a competence that training schemes should contemplate: "the training of the interpreter would have to include some sensitization of the issues confronting the immigrant, particularly, of course, in cross-linguistic and cross-cultural exchanges" (Ibid.).

By the same token, Kalina observes that interpreters in "asymmetrical settings"–settings other than conference interpreting settings–encounter challenges in adhering to the principles of impartiality and role boundaries due to cross-cultural differences that include verbal, nonverbal and discourse elements that override the linguistic messages (2015: 76-78). She then raises the question of whether intercultural knowledge should be a constituent part of interpreters' skills (Ibid: 76).

Contextual aspects such as debriefing sessions or assisting clients with sight translation should not be considered transgressive actions. They should be discussed and relevant orientation should be provided in training schemes for community interpreters. Obviously, this entails broadening the scope of the interpreted assignment beyond the mere linguistic transfer of linguistic messages.

As SP2 suggests, issues like distress and empathy need to be discussed and dealt with constructively between the interpreter and supervisor. Interpreters need a space to debrief and to talk about vicarious trauma if need be. Although, sometimes, service providers or institutions cannot afford to open this space due to economic or time constraints. Therefore, translation agencies should provide this space so that interpreters do not withhold from sharing vicarious trauma or information that may be harmful and negatively impact professional interpreting functions.

In addition, when working with clients in distress, interpreters may encounter situations in which they need to 'bend the rule' and "*do certain things, like human things…on the spot…things that you are not supposed to do*". These are situations in which interpreters feel that they cannot do nothing and stay neutral. They involve, for example, calling a taxi for a distressed client, offering a glass of water, answering a simple question, helping to schedule a new appointment, etc.

These examples are brought up by SP2 and framed in the context of debriefing due to the fact that community interpreting occurs in contexts where it is highly likely to come across uncontrolled variables such as distress, persons in need, disabilities, language barriers, and the like.

The interplay between human values and the ethical principles of impartiality and role boundaries in deontological codes is an issue that needs to be observed more systematically in the professional field of community interpreting. It can be addressed in training courses, in professional development sessions, and in debriefing sessions. It is also a topic that requires more in-depth study, hopefully through further empirical and scholarly research.

CONCLUSIONS

The main questions that motivated this study focused on the challenges or conflicting situations that community interpreters encounter and the strategies they use to cope. From the outset of this study, I learnt that no matter the institutional context or technical level of the assignment, community interpreters are susceptible to facing situations that represent a challenge or conflict between ethical principles or standards of practice and their actions, and that these situations can take place before, during, or after assignments. The interpreters participating in the study work in four Canadian cities: Toronto, Ottawa, Gatineau and Montreal.

The area of study referred to as problem of interpretation may vary from that of problem of translation, at least as these have been understood and presented by Toury (2013) and Gile (2009). In community interpreting, the analysis should transcend the linguistic renditions of transcriptions and include contextual and interactional aspects that occur before, during and after the interpreted event–aspects that may affect the unfolding of the encounter and the effectiveness of communication.

These findings are in line with those of Piacentini et al. (2019: 261-266), whose study on the determinants of effective communication in intercultural health care settings showed that there are a series of structural factors that intersect with the linguistic element. These factors include clients' migratory status, conceptions of health, and familiarity with health care services. Along the same lines, Barsky (2010) and Inghilleri (2012) described contextual aspects which, together with linguistic elements, account for communication as a whole.

Within the framework of what Wadensjö (1998) referred to as social and interactional aspects of interpreting, this study yielded noteworthy findings on rule-validating and rule-bending strategies' interplay with ethical principles and standards of practice; conflicting expectations regarding the interpreter's role; the issue of trust and empathy; the relevance of the introduction and briefings as institutionalized rituals before assignments; and issues dealing with explicit coordination, such as seating arrangements, positioning, and tackling hostility. This study also produced findings on institutional discourses and strategic power dispositives (Foucault, 1978) within intercultural communication; the importance of assertiveness and interactional skills to interpreters' competence; the use of explanations or explicatory procedures by interpreters to compensate for a lack of cultural equivalence; and the importance of debriefings, especially when there are cases of vicarious trauma.

In terms of methodology, I found GTM to be an effective method to collect, classify, and analyze data using a bottom-up approach. The combination of the centre-periphery image combined with GTM and a dialectical perspective allowed me to contrast findings in the field with federal and provincial legal instruments, institutional discourses and ethical principles, as well as with power constraints in the domain.

1) Teachings of this study

The development of this PhD project was undoubtedly a learning process from beginning to end. The processes of topic exploration, project design, project defence, methodology design, ethics approval, data collection and analysis, and writing formed me as a researcher. In the following lines, I will detail the main teachings of this study as far as community interpreting conceptualization is concerned.

In the first place, the use of the centre-periphery analogy to frame the interpreter-mediated event was very useful, because it played the role of an abstract visual field in which I could analyze the proximity of interpreters' performances to the centrality of institutional norms and discourses. In the dialectics between ethical principles and interpreters' performance, I learnt that norms are not absolutes, that hey are in constant construction, and that they are very useful as signposts that guide practitioners towards a common goal, which in this case is effective communication between clients and service providers in cross-cultural contexts.

Along these lines, I observed that some norms are more central and stable than others. For example, the ethical principles of confidentiality, respect for persons, and accountability seemed to have a tacit acceptance by both interpreters and service providers. However, the ethical principles of impartiality, maintenance of role boundaries, and accuracy or fidelity seemed to be more susceptible to breaches due to the different perceptions of the interpreter's role, and conflicting expectations regarding their performance.

I also observed that for the most part, both accredited community interpreters and service providers appear to have a common goal in terms of effective communication in cross-cultural community service settings. However, the social and interactional nature of community interpreting presents situations that challenge conventional views of interpreting as a linguistic transfer and demand the inclusion of new interpreting competences such as dialogue coordination and assertiveness. Authors such as Barsky (2010), Kalina (2015), Wadensjö (1998), Rudvin & Tomassini (2011), Piacentini et al. (2019), Tipton (2017), and Skaaden (2019), among others, have also underscored that the development of such competences is paramount for community interpreting training.

*

In practical terms, the typologies of challenges and coping strategies presented in this thesis may serve as a reference point for other community interpreters and researchers. These professionals may identify similar challenges in their own practice and help widen the inventory of coping strategies used before, during and after assignments.

The following section presents a summary of the main findings of each chapter:

In chapter 2, I identified three things of great importance that may potentially affect the quality of the assignment:

1. It is crucial to have a briefing before assignments, no matter the setting. Additionally, the interpreter is the person responsible for requesting it, and agencies, associations or similar institutions should promote and support its practice as a fundamental part of the preparation stage. Moreover, briefing sessions should be paid for based on their characteristics, length, technical contents, and other factors considered relevant by stakeholders.
2. A complete introduction is necessary in every assignment, no matter the setting or the experience of primary interlocutors working with other interpreters or the same interpreter. In an introduction, interpreters establish factors of upmost importance for effective communication, such as the directionality of the speakers, turn-taking, the rhythm of the conversation, the principles of impartiality and confidentiality, recognition of the interpreter as a dialogue coordinator, and respect for the other. In addition, the consistent use of the introduction (as a ritual) is a way to instruct service providers and clients on how to work with interpreters.
3. The standard of practice "*The interpreter avoids unnecessary contact with the parties prior to and after the encounter*" is a norm that is still in construction. This is because this standard is not met in all settings, and there is no consensus among agencies, service providers, and community interpreters on how it should be applied. Whereas some affirm that it is an essential practice in maintaining role boundaries, others think that there can be contact between interpreters and the parties as long as principles of confidentiality, impartiality, professionalism, and respect for the other are not compromised.

Chapter 3 revealed that many of the situations that represent a challenge or a conflict between norms and actions take place during assignments. Among the most representative conflicting situations found in this chapter are the following:

1. Institutional and individual constraints: conflicting expectations regarding the role of the community interpreter; technical issues such as positioning, control of the space, or turn-taking; and personality traits of individuals.
2. Culture-bound linguistic challenges and conflicting situations that require cultural knowledge and awareness.
3. Situations that can potentially compromise the impartiality of the interpreter.

In chapter 4, I designed a typology of strategies that both interpreters and service providers used or suggested in order to deal with the challenging situations described in chapter 3.

First, I suggested assertiveness as an overarching concept to address the first category of the challenges described in chapter 3. Assertiveness as a strategy was consciously or unconsciously used by participants. With assertiveness, participants managed to coordinate the rhythm of conversations and turn-taking, as well as arrange the directionality of primary speakers, or in assignments with multiple speakers. Assertiveness was also useful to address hostility, and to interrupt and offer explanations when necessary. Thus, one of the main findings of this chapter is that assertiveness should be developed as a competence for managing technical issues in the assignment, rather than simply be considered a social attitude.

Second, chapter 4 documented and classified interpreters' strategies to address issues dealing with culture: culture-bound linguistic challenges and situations or behaviours that required cultural awareness. Among such strategies I found:

1. Be up to date with geopolitical, economic, and social events of the countries or regions where the interpreter's working languages are spoken.
2. Have up-to-date knowledge of colloquial expressions and proverbs, and their linguistic or pragmatic equivalents.

3. Remind primary interlocutors of the role of the interpreter and the importance of impartiality and confidentiality.
4. Provide explanations whenever they are requested.
5. Be up to date with terminology and potential equivalents relating to traditions such as parenting practices, social roles, clothing, food, housing styles, deities, and notions of time.
6. Do not overexert yourself or go beyond the tasks assigned, and always demand payment for any extra task assigned.
7. Enhance short-term memory and note-taking skills, especially in situations dealing with mental health patients, victims of abuse, and long hearings.
8. Translate everything said and do not adjust language registers.
9. Use psychological self-protection techniques when dealing with traumatic content during assignments.

Chapter 5 also discusses the importance of having a debriefing session after assignments. Especially after dealing with clients in distress or after witnessing situations with traumatic content, interpreters should be offered the opportunity to identify and treat any vicarious trauma. This treatment should be covered by the hiring institution, and time and money concerns need to be better addressed in the language industry. Likewise, this chapter yielded information regarding other aspects that can be discussed in debriefing sessions, other than potential or actual vicarious trauma.

Additionally, chapter 5 documented and classified strategies suggested by interpreters and service providers in order to deal with issues that take place after assignments, especially issues that may breach the ethical principle of impartiality.

2) Contributions of this study

In terms of theoretical paradigms, this thesis did not make new contributions to the existing theory in Translation and Interpreting Studies. However, it explored different theoretical approaches and drew connections among them: Toury's concept of norms in translation and by extension norms in interpretating, Foucault's analysis of strategic power devices in institutional discourses, and Grounded Theory Methodology.

As far as theory generation is concerned, the main purpose of this thesis was not of an explanatory nature, but rather an exploratory and pragmatic nature that helps understand the intricacies of social processes, in this case social processes related with the provision of community interpreting services. Following Glasser and Strauss (2017), participants' contributions and theories had the same weight for the generation of categories in this dissertation. Notably, the concepts, categories, and typologies constructed thanks to the experiences of nine accredited community interpreters and five service providers in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, certainly make a significant contribution of this study. With such products, this study may contribute to the field of community interpreting in two key ways:

1. This study acknowledges interpreters' ability to deal successfully with challenges relating to clients' difficulties in accessing services due to language and cultural barriers. This recognition of interpreters' knowledge is the main benefit for the participants involved in the study. It is important to mention that much of this knowledge has been overlooked by scholars and other professionals, and this practical knowledge needs to be documented in a more systematic way.
2. Other contributions are the typologies of challenging situations and coping strategies used by interpreters before, during, and after assignments. It also contributes new data and properties that enhance existing categories in the discipline, such as the main constituent

aspects of briefings and debriefings; culture-bound linguistic challenges; assertiveness as a professional competence, and situations that require cultural awareness.

3) Validity and reliability of this study

The relevance of sampling, validity and reliability in qualitative research is a contested topic. In terms of sampling, some authors argue that its aim is not to represent any other group apart from the one under study. However, there are non-probabilistic sampling strategies used in the qualitative paradigm, for example: quota sampling, convenience sampling, purposive sampling, dimensional sampling, snowball sampling, volunteer sampling, and theoretical sampling (Cohen et al., 2007: 100-117). For this study, I used snowball, volunteer, and theoretical sampling. Since I had access to some community interpreters, I asked them if they were interested in volunteering as participants, thus nine participants (four interpreters and five service providers) volunteered for the study. Additionally, other participants (five interpreters) were recommended by other community interpreters, which made for snowball sampling. Finally, I used theoretical sampling, which is commonly used in GTM, and what matters here is not the number of participants but the relevance of data in the construction of the final account.

In qualitative research, validity may take different forms. For example, it might be addressed through the honesty, depth, authenticity, richness, trustworthiness, dependability, credibility and scope of the data achieved, the participants approached, the extent of triangulation and the disinterestedness or objectivity of the researcher (Winter, 2000; Flick, 2009).

Out of fifteen principles for validity suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Flick (2009) as cited in Cohen et al. (2018: 246-250), the design, process, and results of this study meet the following:

- The researcher is part of the researched world.
- Data are socially situated, and socially and culturally saturated.

- Data are descriptive.
- There is a concern for processes rather than solely with outcomes.
- Data are analyzed inductively rather than using a priori categories.
- The researcher–rather than a research tool–is the key instrument of the research.
- Data are presented in terms of the respondents rather than the researcher.
- There is context-boundedness and ‘thick description’.
- There is a double hermeneutic exercise–understand others’ understanding of the world.
- Seeing and reporting the situation through the eyes of participants.
- Capturing the notions of agency, meaning and intention was essential.

This last point was developed across the dissertation. The fact of registering and classifying interpreters’ coping strategies shows an honest and primary purpose to assert their agency. In addition, the meaning of interpreters’ actions is translated in this thesis as potential instruments for systematizing the delivery of language interpreting services.

Nonetheless, other principles for validity do not appear to have been met in this study, which is something to be considered in future research. Those principles include the following:

- The natural settings are the principal source of data. This point may seem ambiguous in terms of validity: data were collected from community interpreters and service providers in settings where community interpreting takes place, such as health centres, community centres, or schools. However, it is not legitimate to say that data were collected during the interpreting assignments *per se*. Therefore, I can say that this was field work based on indirect observations.
- The study failed to be holistic since it did not include clients in its sample.
- Although in principle, participants’ validation is important, this thesis also failed to meet this validity criterion. Time constraints did not allow participants to know the results of

the study before its submission. However, all participants will be informed of the study's results as soon as the thesis is approved.

- Finally, data selected must be representative of the sample, the whole data set, and the field. This validity criterion is hard to meet given the stage of my research career. However, the theoretical framework and research methodology used in this thesis proved to be useful in terms of replicability or transferability. I hope to use them in future studies in the same field.

4) Limitations of this study

Aside from the methodological limitations mentioned above, the major limitation of this study lies in the fact that clients' points of view and expectations regarding community interpreting services were not included. Clients were not considered as participants due to institutional factors that were out of my reach. In order to contact clients, I had to apply for ethics approval in each institution where they receive services mediated by interpreters; it would therefore have been a very lengthy and complex process to obtain approvals from health care centres, courtrooms, schools, community centres and other institutions. In contrast, in order to contact service providers and interpreters I only required ethics approval by the University of Ottawa.

Additionally, taking into account that this is an exploratory study, I interviewed a limited number of participants, in a limited number of language combinations, and within a relatively restricted geographical area. Finally, it is worth to mention that the interviews were in English, which may have shaped the quality and length of the responses.

5) Future work

Using the aforementioned findings, I aim to design a community interpreting protocol that can enhance coordination in communication between service providers and newcomers with linguistic barriers. This protocol will be initially tested by two of the institutions that collaborated with this study, one based in Ottawa and the other in Gatineau.

I also intend to use the theoretical framework and GTM to conduct further research in the field of community interpreting in my home country and other settings. Hopefully, this will come with the possibility of carrying out field work with direct observation.

As far as theory is concerned, I would like to further explore the intersection between immigration policy, language policy, institutional/professional guidelines, and community interpreting. This is a line of research that I identified while exploring different concepts and categories during the dissertation; and it has already been suggested by Cronin (2010), Ozolins (2010), Eser et al. (2018), and Piacentini et al. (2019).

Last but not least, I would like to use Nussbaum's approach to ethical principles (2000: 50-86) for a comparative analysis of those standards of practice that were met or breached by interpreters in this study.

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ANNEX 1

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY INTERPRETERS

Annex 1. Data collection instrument

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INTERPRETERS

Norm, periphery, and strategy in community interpreting

Objectives:

- To understand the interplay of randomness and normativity before, during and after interpreter-mediated assignments.
- To gain knowledge of the strategies interpreters use to manage with unexpected challenges in their assignments.

In this interview there are two types of questions, the leading questions and the follow-up questions. Leading questions contain the most relevant information; they are also called content questions. Follow-up questions include information that might be tackled by the interviewee when answering content questions. However, if this is not the case, the interviewer will use follow-up questions to address the required information.

When answering leading questions, participants might address the issues presented in the follow-up questions. However, if for some reason the interviewee does not provide the expected information following the content question, the interviewer can use follow up questions to elicit the information needed.

This guide is going to help me conduct the conversation. The leading questions are indicated with numbers and the follow-up questions are indicated with bullet points.

BACKGROUND

1. Why are you an interpreter?
2. How long have you been working as an interpreter?
    - Is this experience only in Canada or have you worked in another country?
    - In average, how often do you get assignments?
    - How did you become familiar with the healthcare system or other services systems in Canada?
3. How did you learn to interpret?
    - How do you manage to continuously improve your skills?

4. Do you interpret mainly in person or over the phone?
   - Which is your main language pair? Do you also work in other languages?

BEFORE THE ASSIGNMENT (Unexpected encounters/situations)

1. In your experience, can you describe what normally happens before the actual assignment unfolds?

2. Can you talk to me about unusual or unexpected situations you have experienced before any one assignment?

   - In the waiting room
   - In the street / neighborhood / temple
   - Have you been offered invitations?
   - Have you been offered a drink or something to eat?

   How did you manage within those situations?

3. Do you ever meet with the health specialist or service provider before the assignment for a briefing?
   If so, what technical aspects do you consider in the conversation?
   If not, do you think it would be helpful to have this meeting? Why or why not?

4. Have you ever interpreted for someone you knew, other than a family member?
   - If so, did you ever discussed their case/situation with them either before or after the assignment?

DURING THE ASSIGNMENT

1. In your experience, can you describe how an assignment unfolds regularly?

2. During the assignments, have you ever encountered unusual or unexpected situations?
   - Seating arrangements
   - Unexpected foreign language – dialect
   - Difficulties to build up rapport with the patient / client
   -Multiple interlocutors

- Aggressive behavior
- Neuro-linguistic/neuropsychological challenges (rhythm, silences, pace, amnesia, stuttering)
- Socio-cultural / ideological challenges: lack of literacy, beliefs, taboo language, whining, and culturally specific traditions of hospitality
- With clients who are adults, children or teenagers who refuse to talk or want to tell you secrets, who want to make friends or attempt to create bias or to bring the interpreter on his/her side
- Abrupt ending of the encounter

- Can you think of other unusual or unexpected situation not mentioned here?

3. How did you manage within these situations? What strategies did you have in order to maintain the conversation? Did they work? Would you use the same strategies again? Would you do anything differently? Why?

4. Sometimes, one of the parties does not understand what you say to them, whether it is a statement or a question put to them, what do you do in those situations? how do you feel about offering more extensive explanations in order to improve communication or to have the conversation flow?

AFTER THE ASSIGNMENT

1. Have you ever had any unexpected encounters / situations with clients or their relatives after an assignment?
   - If so, how did you manage these situations?

2. Some service providers meet with the interpreter after an assignment. What do you think about that?
   - In your experience, have you met with a service provider after an assignment for a de-briefing?
   - If yes, what aspects of the assignment are considered in the conversation?
   - If not, do you think a de-briefing would be helpful?

3. Have you experienced feelings of sadness, grief, irritability, mood swings, or frustration after certain assignments?
   - If so, how did you deal or are dealing with those feelings?

4. As professionals, interpreters are expected to remain impartial, neutral and not let their emotions influence their work. Have you encountered situations where it was particularly difficult to do so?
   How did you deal with it? What can be done to avoid those situations?

ANNEX 2

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SERVICE PROVIDERS

Annex 2 - Data collection instrument

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SPECIALISTS

Objective:

- To get knowledge or the expectations that service providers have regarding interpreters' role in the interpreter-mediated assignment.

In this interview there are two types of questions, the leading questions and the follow-up questions. Leading questions contain the most relevant information; they are also called content questions. Follow-up questions include information that might be tackled by the interviewee when answering content questions. However, if this is not the case, the interviewer will use follow-up questions to address the required information.

When answering leading questions, participants might address the issues presented in the follow-up questions. However, if participants do not tackle some of those issues, this guide is going to help me conduct the conversation. The leading questions are indicated with numbers and the follow-up questions are indicated with bullet points.

BACKGROUND

1. Do you work with interpreters?
2. Do you and your institution have guidelines for working with interpreters? If so, can you make reference to some of them?

3. How long have you been working with interpreters?
   - Can you please describe your experience working with limited or non-English/French speaking patients (L/NESP)?
4. With which languages and ethnicities do you work more frequently?
5. Are interpreters always available for all the languages and dialects required? If not, what do you do?

BEFORE THE ASSIGNMENT

5. Before the assignment, how do you determine the need for an interpreter?
6. Do you meet with the interpreter for a briefing session? If not, why?

- If so, how long should it take and which of the following aspects can be considered in the briefing:

- Number of interactions with the same client
- The general purpose of the meeting
- Interpretation mode(s) required
- Role of interpreter
- How the interpreter will be introduced
- Forms or documents to sight translate
- Diagnostic tools
- Any language problems or technical aspects of the meeting regarding speech form, aphasia, stroke-related language problems, etc.
- Safety concerns
- The use of resources such as whiteboards, pictures, therapy cards, games, music, guided meditation recordings, etc.
- Turn taking

7. What other aspects of the assignment can be considered in a briefing session?

DURING THE ASSIGNMENT

1. As a mental health practitioner, do you deal with non/limited English speaking patients whose communication has been affected by trauma or any other mental health disorder? (Only for mental health specialists).

2. What are the most common symptoms displayed by language pathology?

- How many of those symptoms are recognizable regardless of the language barrier?
- How many of those symptoms require an interpreter for you to recognize?

3. In your opinion, does an interpreter need to convey both content and form of the message during the mental health consultation? If so, why?

- What should be done when it is difficult for the interpreter to replicate the specific features of the linguistic form of the patient?

4. As a specialist how do you perceive the dynamics between patient/client and interpreter?

5. Do you consider that interpreters who want to work in healthcare consultations should have additional training concerning illnesses and treatments?
- If your answer is yes, can you elaborate on it?

6. What is more advisable: working with the same interpreter during all the sessions of a patient's treatment or having a different interpreter for every session? Elaborate your answer.

7. Some authors and interpreters claim that institutions should hire their own interpreters so that they become part of the professional team. Do you agree with this? To what extent is that possible or desirable?

AFTER THE ASSIGNMENT

1. Do you have the opportunity to discuss the assignment with the interpreter?
- Do you discuss the quality of the consultation?
- Do you ask for clarifications?
- Are you open to suggestions from the interpreter?
- Do you think there should be a de-briefing session with the interpreter?

ANNEX 3

SAMPLE OF A CODING MEMO

MEMO 9
DATE: August 23
CONCEPT: On briefing
SUB-CATEGORY: Length of briefings and language structures

RAW DATA:

Participant 3: "*In a childcare case where I had to sight interpret for the mom what it (the document) said, but it was just done on the spot… yeah… it would've been a great help for sure… yeah… if I had it beforehand. So, I think it would be a good thing to have at least* ***5 to 10 minutes before the assignment to prepare****, especially when there are documents to sight translate. And… yeah… it doesn't really matter the setting… for sure… it doesn't. In anything, to be honest, because the language that I speak is very different, the structures of the languages are too different so, it's not like you can read one sentence and just interpret it right away. No, you have to read the whole paragraph and kind of make a meaning out of it, because you can't directly translate word for word, you know… the structures are different*".

CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS: There are two main aspects to highlight from this passage. (1) There should be at least from 5 to 10 minutes before the assignment to prepare, especially when there are documents to sight translate and even more when language structures are very different. (2) The nature of the assignment is not what counts here: medical, legal or social security settings have their own technical forms and language and documents to be sight translated should be prepared in advance.

When interpreters know that preparing the document 5 to 10 minutes before the actual translation, they can ask for this time and, if necessary, argue that this is required if an accurate rendition is desired. This attitude is a way to show assertiveness and professionalism and agencies should include this as part of guidelines to working with interpreters.

ANNEX 4

SAMPLE OF A SUMMARY MEMO

SUMMARY DESCRIPTIVE MEMO 3

DATE: September 17

CATEGORY: USING OR NOT THE INTRODUCTION (Summary of memos 10, 17, and 22).

1. Challenges and context

This summary memo 3 does not refer necessarily to a type or challenge that participants encounter before the assignment. However, when interpreters' introduction are just an option, coordination and communication during the assignment may present challenges. This is the reason why the question was introduced only after interview number 3, therefore the results showed here might be incomplete. However, these results in the preliminary analysis will shade light in the new interview guide for the next three interviews that will close the study.

The information bellow summarizes the answers to questions regarding the use of the introduction: *Do you always use the introduction*? *In your training as an interpreter, what were the aspects that you learn to mention during the introduction*?

a. In legal settings:

- Regarding Participant 3's comment about the use of the introduction, she notes that in legal settings, service providers are aware of the usefulness of the introduction. However, when the interpreter meets the parties outside the courtroom and the conversation does not take place in a closed space like an office or a room, it is hard to do the introduction. This is something that needs further exploration in other participants' statements or in new interviews.

  Another aspect that is noteworthy is the fact that it is not the interpreter who takes the initiative for the introduction, but the service provider, in this case in legal settings.

- Participant 5 argues that the use of the introduction depends on factors such as time, awareness of the service provider, interlocutors' mood, or other factors that are out of the interpreter's control. In her statements about the use of introduction, Participant 5 explains that when you work with the same clients in multiple assignments, it is important to use it mainly in the first assignment; she believes that introduction is not necessary in all the assignments either because there is little time or because the parties already know the role of the interpreter.

In health care settings

- Likewise, Participant 7 affirms that when he started his practice as a community interpreter, he used the introduction for all the assignments regardless of the situation. Overtime, he has decided to wait and see if service providers request an introduction, otherwise he will only use it when he works with a new client.

2. Graphic summarizing the category Using or Not the Introduction

Using or Not the Introduction

<u>In Legal Settings</u>:

- Service providers are aware of the importance of using the introduction.
- It is hard to do it in open spaces: outside the courtroom.
- Service providers regularly request for the introduction.
- Introduction depends on the service provider.

<u>In Health Care Settings:</u>

- The use of the introduction is an activity in disuse.
- It is an option: only when meeting new clients.
- Service providers sometimes request an introduction.
- Introduction often depends on the service provider.

In Social Services Settings:

Introduction:

A formal presentation of one person to another, in which each is told the other’s name. Furthermore, it is a preliminary explanatory section at the beginning of a book, report, speech, or in our case, an interpretation assignment. However, in the last case, an introduction does not necessarily happen only during a person’s (client or service provider) first experience of an assignment. All interpretation assignments require an introduction.

ANNEX 5
SAMPLE OF A DIAGRAM USING IN-VIVO CODES

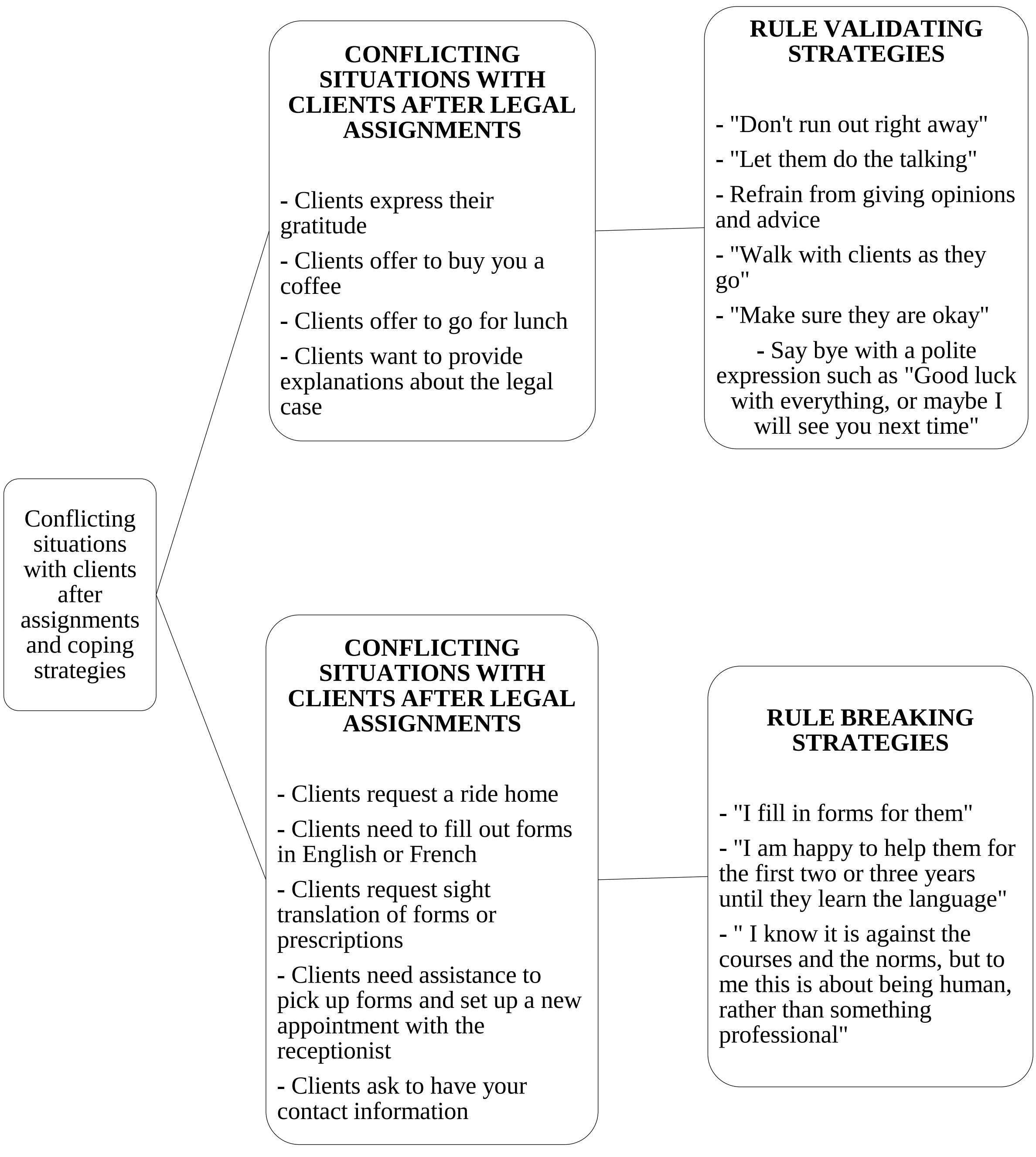

Fig. 13. Typology of conflicting situations with clients after assignments and two strategic approaches

ANNEX 6

ETHICS APPROVAL

File Number: 09-17-08 **Date (mm/dd/yyyy):** 03/12/2018

Université d'Ottawa
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa
Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Ethics Approval Notice

Social Sciences and Humanities REB

Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Co-investigator(s) / Student(s)

First Name	Last Name	Affiliation	Role
Malcolm	Williams	Arts / Others	Supervisor
Heidy	Gutiérrez	Arts / Others	Student Researcher

File Number: 09-17-08

Type of Project: PhD Thesis

Title: On Roles and Strategies in Health Interpreting

Approval Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Approval Type
03/12/2018	03/11/2019	Approval

Special Conditions / Comments:
N/A

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File Number: 09-17-08 **Date (mm/dd/yyyy):** 03/12/2018

Université d'Ottawa
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa
Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

This is to confirm that the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board identified above, which operates in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2010) and other applicable laws and regulations in Ontario, has examined and approved the ethics application for the above named research project. Ethics approval is valid for the period indicated above and subject to the conditions listed in the section entitled "Special Conditions / Comments".

During the course of the project, the protocol may not be modified without prior written approval from the REB except when necessary to remove participants from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) pertain to only administrative or logistical components of the project (e.g., change of telephone number). Investigators must also promptly alert the REB of any changes which increase the risk to participant(s), any changes which considerably affect the conduct of the project, all unanticipated and harmful events that occur, and new information that may negatively affect the conduct of the project and safety of the participant(s). Modifications to the project, including consent and recruitment documentation, should be submitted to the Ethics Office for approval using the "Modification to research project" form available at: https://research.uottawa.ca/ethics/forms.

Please submit an annual report to the Ethics Office four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to request a renewal of this ethics approval. To close the file, a final report must be submitted. These documents can be found at: https://research.uottawa.ca/ethics/forms.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Office at extension 5387 or by e-mail at: ethics@uOttawa.ca.

Signature:

Gabriel Petitti
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For Barbara Graves, Chair of the Social Sciences and Humanities REB

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