Training in Deontological Requirements of Interpreters Dealing with Refugees: International Protection as an Opportunity for Social Entrepreneurship in Translation and Interpreting Studies in Spain

Abstract

Having noted the entrepreneurial reluctance of graduates in general and T&I graduates in particular in Spain, we propose social entrepreneurship in the field of international protection and refugees as a potentially viable employment opportunity. The ever-growing number of asylum seekers arriving in Spain have a recognised right to access translation and interpreting services, and we therefore advocate the training of interpreters to operate in asylum scenarios and meet the specific deontological requirements involved therein. Future professionals need to be equipped with all the tools necessary to be able to handle the different challenges that may arise in such situations. To this end, we present the results of a series of interviews conducted with refugee reception organisations in the province of Seville, the capital of Andalusia which is one of the regions in the EU which handles the highest number of immigrant arrivals. The situations experienced in these organizations may reflect the state of the question in the asylum field. We found that the application of professional ethics in real-case situations is indeed very often deficient, and its inclusion in training syllabuses in the country could help address this social need.

Keywords

Translation and Interpreting training; social entrepreneurship; refugees; asylum-seekers; international protection; deontology; community interpreting

1. Introduction

We know that young people in Spain are generally reluctant to take the plunge as entrepreneurs, and this is equally true in the field of Translation and Interpreting (T&I). According to a market survey of T&I graduates (Galán-Mañas 2017), only 15.2% are self-employed, 8.8% are employed and self-employed, and 2% have set up their own businesses. The author also emphasises the little importance attached to entrepreneurial skills in T&I training. Another study (Álvarez-Álvarez 2018), conducted between 2006 and 2016 with T&I graduates from 19 Spanish universities, found that only 3.36% had established themselves in the labour market by setting up their own businesses.

On the one hand, one form of entrepreneurship that is often overlooked when thinking about a possible future career is social entrepreneurship. In Spain, only 0.51% of the adult population consider entering this type of business (Escuela de Negocios 2015).

On the other hand, the continuous rise in the number of refugees and asylum seekers arriving in Europe and Spain and the fact that they have a right to interpreting services throughout their asylum application processes make the training of future translators and interpreters who may have to meet this demand a matter of urgency, and the sector may even be seen as a door to a career in social entrepreneurship.

^{*} Estela Martín-Ruel Interglosia research group / Área de Traducción e Interpretación Universidad Pablo de Olavide E-mail: estelaruel@upo.es

Since we consider that compliance with professional ethics is always necessary, and even more so in such particularly delicate situations involving very vulnerable people, the training provided should include some kind of deontology module. After analysing what deontology actually means in the asylum context and how it should be incorporated in students' training, our study goes on to examine interviews conducted with refugee reception organisations in the province of Seville in Andalusia (Spain), focussing on those aspects of professional ethics that are actually exercised in the day to day interpreting activities of those organisms. The results obtained offer support to the needs addressed in the rest of the article.

2. Social Entrepreneurship and T&I

Some budding entrepreneurs who decide to embark on careers on their own choose to concentrate on social demands and needs. Ideally they would like to combine a social mission with a business idea, and this aspiration draws them towards social entrepreneurship.

In recent years, social entrepreneurship has become something of a fashion. Although social entrepreneurs are actually very scarce (Martín Cavanna 2013), the concept is constantly talked about by foundations, universities, government departments, companies and politicians. However, as Dees (2001) notes, it is not really a new phenomenon. There have always been social entrepreneurs. It's just that before they weren't referred to by that name.

As Moreira/Urriolagoitia (2011) so accurately review, social entrepreneurship has also begun to attract attention in the academic world, from Leadbeater, with *The Rise of Social Entrepreneurship*, to authors like Bull, Nichols and Zhara who attributed that rise to demographic change, market liberalisation, the failure of state institutions and governments to satisfy social needs, and technological progress.

The definition of 'social entrepreneurship' is itself controversial. If the focus is placed on innovation (the means), it would mean a new, viable approach to solving a social problem, whereas if it is placed on the objective (the end), it would mean providing aid for a specific group of people (Martín Cavanna 2013). Several researchers have offered definitions for the phenomenon as those mentioned by Moreira/Urriolagoitia (2011): Bloom/Chatterji, Dees, Dees/Anderson, Mair/Marti, Martin/Osberg, Murphy/Combs, Peredo/McLean or Zahra.

After having analysed several contradictory definitions, Dees (2001: 4), a widely acknowledged author, proposed the following, fully aware of its 'over-idealisation'.

Social entrepreneurs play the role of change agents in the social sector, by:

- Adopting a mission to create and sustain social value (not just private value),
- Recognizing and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities to serve that mission,
- Engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation, and learning,
- Acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand, and
- Exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created.

Some examples of social entrepreneurship initiatives are: Handiway –leisure and tourism activities for people with disabilities; Ictus Care – an app which provides information for brain haemorrhage sufferers and their families; and Smileat – which supplies children's food made with organic Spanish ingredients (Escuela de Negocios 2015).

In the field of T&I, the idea would be to orientate the language services habitually offered by T&I companies towards needs and social problems in which it is possible to identify business opportunities that could be combined with a social mission. Business activity would thus be geared towards underprivileged groups, creating a win-win situation, but would at the same time take

into account the current market demands and economic pressures that may always condition objectives.

One example of T&I-related social entrepreneurship is the Ninäk Translation company, created in 2015. Defining itself as a "Social Enterprise in Translation and Interpreting", its philosophy is "Ethical professional practice fostering human and community development for women speakers of Peru's original native languages", and its mission "To raise the quality of life of young women speakers of original languages through education in translating and interpreting".¹

In comparison with entrepreneurs in general, social entrepreneurs are characterised by a number of very specific features related to their combination of business and social objectives. As Dees (2001: 5) considers, "social entrepreneurs are one special breed of leader". Mair/Martí (2006) define them as individuals with special values, skills and capabilities which lead them to seek new opportunities and innovative solutions in order to create social welfare. They assume that social entrepreneurs possess very special qualities, enthusiasm to realise their dreams, leadership ability and strong moral fibre.

Martin/Osberg (2007) stress that a social entrepreneur will look at a situation of unfair social imbalance and draw from it an opportunity to create something new and create a new balance.

Social entrepreneurs in T&I would be people who combine the skills habitually required by translators/interpreters, including professional ethics, with the qualities mentioned above, merging social awareness and business acumen.

3. Interpreting for immigrants and refugees as a social entrepreneurship niche in Spain

Immigration and asylum is an area marked by injustice, high demand and social necessity, but one which also offers an opportunity to create, to solve problems and help a given group of people and to generate social welfare (in this case by facilitating communication, a key factor for integration in the receptor society). In our opinion, any activity in this sector requires a high degree of ethical awareness. All this fits in with the factors mentioned earlier as defining features of social entrepreneurship. Whether the objective is to offer language services FOR refugees (and the organisations that receive them) or WITH refugees. Working WITH them opens up additional possibilities of employment as translators and interpreters in the receptor society, but only when training is provided to develop the professional skills those future interpreters will need.

3.1. International protection in numbers

Arrival of immigrants and refugees in so-called first-world countries, and particularly in Spain, the gateway to Europe, have continued to increase dramatically in recent years, in some cases triggering full-blown humanitarian crises.

According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in June 2018 the number of forcibly displaced people all over the world was 68.5 million, of which 25.4 million were refugees and 3.1 million asylum seekers (ACNUR 2018).

The European Union has become one of the most habitual destinations. The EU Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs has therefore established refugee integration as one of the Union's priorities (Horizon 2020, Social Challenge 6). In 2017, there were 704,625 asylum seekers in the EU (CEAR 2018).

According to CEAR (2018), Spain has become the principal route for migrants and refugees arriving in Europe by sea, with Ceuta, Melilla, Andalusia and some parts of its Mediterranean coast being the main arrival points. In 2017, Spain dealt with a record-breaking 31,120 asylum applications. Over 40,000 are still pending rulings.

¹ Source: Ninäk Translation company Facebook profile available on https://www.facebook.com/pg/ninak.pe/services/?ref=page internal (accessed 24 February 2020).

3.2. The right to asylum and refugee reception in Spain

The right to asylum is a fundamental human right listed in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the Geneva Convention of 1951 and in the New York protocol of 1967. At European level, it is addressed in Article 18 of the 2017 European Union Charter of Fundamental Rights. In Spain, it was first recognised in Article 13 of the 1978 Constitution, and in 1979, Spain also signed the Geneva Convention. Access to refugee status is regulated by the Asylum Law of 1984, which was replaced in 2009 by the current Asylum Law 12/2009 (30 October) governing the right to asylum and subsidiary protection.

While waiting for asylum applications to be processed, asylum seekers in Spain undergo through an 18- or 24-month process comprising three phases (reception, integration, autonomy) under the supervision of different entities, government agencies and NGOs (Dirección General de Migraciones 2017).

3.3. The right to translation and interpreting in international protection

Language is one of the biggest obstacles in the reception and integration of asylum seekers. The role played by interpreters is therefore decisive throughout the process. Apart from everyday procedures like requesting appointments with doctors/psychologists and seeking work and accommodation, there are also asylum interviews with the police, where the final decision on the application could mean life or death and where the granting of refugee status could depend on the interpreter's work.

Fortunately, international, European and Spanish law recognises the crucial importance of refugees being able to understand procedures and express themselves sufficiently accurately in a given situation, acknowledging their right to translation and interpreting services in the process of applying for international protection and in the different phases of the reception system. In fact, budgets are allocated exclusively for this purpose and made available to reception organisations. At European Union level, for example, this right is mentioned in *Directive 2011/95/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 December 2011*, in *Directive 2013/32/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013*, and also in *Regulation (EU) No 516/2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 April 2014*, the legislation which created the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund. In Spain, it is addressed in *Constitutional Law 4/2000 of 11 January concerning rights, liberties and social integration of foreigners in Spain*, and in *Law 12/2009 of 30 October governing the right to asylum and subsidiary protection*.

It should be noted, however, that although all the above legislation mentions the right to translation and interpreting, none of the laws or directives make any reference to the training interpreters should have. This absence of any guidelines regarding training, naturally raises reasonable concern about the professionalism and training of interpreters in the field. According to León Pinilla et al. (2016), in Spain interpreting for refugees is carried out "as best as can be", and public interpreting services for asylum seekers and refugees are patently precarious, making those users more vulnerable. Hicheri (2008) also draws attention to the frequent use of *ad hoc* interpreters (family members, including children, friends, neighbours or the staff of the organisations themselves), while Handi (2010) mentions the hiring of interpreters with little or no quality control, and even the hiring of unemployed people with no prior training in T&I.

3.4. The need for training in Translation and Interpreting for international protection

Considering the above, it would be reasonable to conclude that there is indeed a social need for T&I professionals correctly trained in the specific requirements of international protection scenarios. The arrival of immigrants and asylum seekers is a phenomenon impossible to deny and which inevitably continues to grow. There will therefore be an increasingly higher demand for language

professionals in this sector of the labour market and, by extension, more opportunities for social entrepreneurship focusing on T&I.

In the academic domain, attempts are being made both to raise awareness of the need for professional interpreters in such scenarios and also to offer better training for future interpreters.

Of all the skills this type of training needs to develop – skills associated with interpreting in general, community interpreting and specialisation in interpreting for asylum-seekers – we would particularly emphasise the importance of deontology.

4. Deontology in interpreting

In our opinion, any commitment to encouraging social entrepreneurship in Spain through the creation of T&I-related projects in the field of international protection must necessarily require the inclusion, in training syllabuses, of a solid grounding in the deontology language professionals should apply in their work. Let us therefore take a look at the current situation in this regard.

In Spain, no professional T&I college exists which defends the interests of its members or has the capacity to impose sanctions which may restrict specific practices with a potentially negative impact on society or on their collective image (Monzó 2005). So, neither is there a single deontological code to which all translators and interpreter are obliged to adhere.

However, not only would it be in the interests of language professionals themselves to have a code of professional ethics, which could also help them guarantee the quality of their service and dignify their profession: it would also benefit the receivers of the service provided, who are usually unable to judge its quality for themselves, and help reinforce the profession's image among the general public.

Nevertheless, some professional associations do exist, with deontological codes that might serve as guidelines for all professionals. Such organizations include AIIC (The International Association of Conference Interpreters), AUSIT (The Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators), CHIA (California Healthcare Interpreter Association), ITIA (Irish Translators' and Interpreters' Association), NAATI (National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters) and RID (Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf) at international level, and ASETRAD (Asociación Española de Traductores, Correctores e Intérprete), AICE (Asociación de Intérpretes de España) and Espaiic (AIIC interpreters in Spain), in Spain.

Any consideration of deontology encompasses the notions of ethics and morality. Professional ethics would be the adjudication of universal principles to the exercise of any profession, duties and obligations as a member of a society in which a specific activity is performed (Burad 2008). In our case: ethics applied in professional T&I contexts.

Deontology would be a more up-to-date term for professional ethics (Burad 2008) and it is used with that meaning in this article. Etymologically, it means the science of duty: *deontos* = duty, that which is needed; *logos* = science, reasoning. It was first conceived by English philosopher Jeremy Bentham, who in 1834 defined it as the description and study of a particular set of duties concerning a particular class or professional group which indicates what should be as opposed to what is. It implies conduct appropriate to an end and is much more than a compendium of good practices related to a profession (Bentham 1834).

With regard to professional ethics or deontology in T&I, both in corporate ethical codes and in the principles mentioned by authors who have addressed the issue, like the ones cited in each of the following paragraphs of this section, there is general agreement as to the principles all professionals should adhere to, although they may be given different names.

AIIC, the world's most prestigious international interpreters' association with over 3,000 members from all continents, mentions (among other principles) it's members' obligation to safeguard confidentiality regarding both people and information disclosed in conversations, the impossibility of obtaining personal benefit from such information and the acceptance only of those jobs for which the professional is qualified. All this contributes to a high-quality service, dignifies the pro-

fession, ensures appropriate salaries and makes the profession attractive to new interpreters If any of the rules are broken, the association's sanctions committee may intervene (AIIC 2018).

The White Book on Institutional Translation and Interpreting (RITAP 2011), overseen by Spain's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, addresses the fidelity and integrity of translated speech, sufficiency in skills and training, communication of circumstantial limitations, impartiality (with the obligation to declare any conflict of interests), confidentiality, responsibility, moral and ethical integrity (not using information for personal benefit or the benefit of third parties), ongoing training and professional solidarity.

Burad (2008) refers to sign language, but some of the principles she mentions are also applicable in our context. For example, she first identifies the ethical principles of the interpreter's professional practise, citing specific competence, vocation, responsibility, intellectual honesty and integrity (i.e., the search for truth), professional secrecy, remuneration and freedom, "Freedom" here refers to physical, psychological and linguistic liberty and freedom of conscience, including independence to take decisions and judge whether or not to accept the challenge of intervening linguistically/culturally in a given situation with real actors. These considerations may lead an interpreter to turn down a job for personal, religious or ideological reasons, or for the existence of family or affective relationships between the parties involved; other scholars call this impartiality. Burad then identifies ethical principles associated with the act of interpreting in itself. These include idoneity (psycho-physical aptitude for the profession), professional seriousness (propriety, diligence and courtesy), functional role (linguistic-cultural mediator as opposed to another role such as consultant, etc.), training relevant to the performance of a specific job (more than mere linguistic competence), fidelity, neutrality and impartiality. Thirdly, she addresses ethical principles affecting relationships with colleagues, such as incorruptibility (exclusive dedication, rejection of dichotomy and bribes), respect for other people's writings and versions, consideration for others' honour and reputation, and solidarity.

Hale (2010) analysed sixteen codes of professional ethics in T&I at international level, dividing them into three areas:

- 1. The interpreter's responsibility to authors, including fidelity, impartiality and confidentiality.
- 2. The interpreter's responsibility regarding his/her own work practice, in aspects related to his/her attitude as a professional (punctuality, dress, etc.).
- 3. The interpreter's responsibility to him/herself, in aspects like ongoing learning, work conditions, recognition, etc.

Likewise, Kalina (2015) noted the consensus which exists in most deontological codes regarding discretion, professional secrecy, careful handling of documents received, and, with a view to interpreting quality, accuracy and continuing professional development.

It is therefore clear that, in one way or another, the ethical codes established by professional associations and in the academic and professional worlds all refer to the same basic principles as a means of making interpreting more worthy, respectful and excellent.

More specifically, in the fields of community interpreting and interpreting for refugees there already exist manuals and guidelines for workers and interpreters involved in asylum application processes which contain chapters on deontology:

- In Australia, the Refugee Appeals Court and the Immigration Appeals Court have published a manual for streamlining the process (Hale 2010).
- Methods and Techniques for Interviewing Applicants for Refugee Status (UNHCR 1995) is a manual which explains in great detail how an interview should be conducted and how the interpreter should prepare for it, highlighting important aspects such as confidentiality, neutrality and objectivity. It emphasises the importance of not summarising the information provided, and of

paying particular attention to family ties and other bonds which may exist between the interpreter and the parties involved. Recommendations are also made about where the interpreter should be positioned during the interview to allow the interviewer and the asylum seeker to communicate face-to-face and thus facilitate a sense of privacy by making it impossible for the interviewee to turn to address the interpreter when speaking. Interpreters are advised to have a simple little chat with the interviewee at the beginning of the interview to ensure that they understand the language. It is also recommended that the interpreter and the interviewee should be of the same sex, to avoid uncomfortable situations for the latter.

- The Handbook for Interpreters in Asylum Procedures is another, more recent, manual published by the UNHCR (2017) for asylum interview interpreters, trainers and reception authorities and organizations. Its objective is to underline the importance of having professional interpreters specifically trained in interviews with asylum seekers. Divided into 12 thematic blocks, it includes sections on: learning objectives, theory, specific information about the country, a bibliography and useful resources, practice activities and exercises and self-assessment of knowledge acquired. Block number 5 is dedicated precisely to professional ethics and professional conduct.
- Dialogue Interpreting: A Guide to Interpreting in Public Services and the Community (Tipton/Furmanek 2016) is a guide which, although orientated towards community interpreting in general, contains a chapter (Chapter 3) on Legal Interpreting in Asylum Procedures with both adults and unaccompanied minors. It provides examples from different countries, a case study and practical exercises.

Having emphasised the importance of professional ethics for interpreters and listed what aspects they should cover, we now examine the current state of deontological training in T&I studies in Spain.

Up until the introduction of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), which specifically included ethical and social competences in academic programmes, syllabuses in Spain prioritised cognitive and technical skills. It was even assumed that ethical competences would be picked up when actually working as a translator or interpreter (García López et al. 2009). However, the same authors also added that we cannot rely on the good fortune of all professionals to end up working responsibly, fairly and with dignity without first having given them ideas, tools and styles that will serve as a reference. Indeed, it may be imprudent to entrust professional practice to individual notions of ethics, because professional conduct is not instinctive. It is not enough merely to confide in personal diligence, as Baker/Maier (2011: 4) suggested with their affirmation that "it is ultimately a question of personal integrity, not skill in following a prescribed set of rules". On the contrary, it is very possible that such moral integrity may contradict professional ethics themselves, or even the specific deontology of their own profession (Palacio Alonso 2018).

The EHEA's spirit of Bologna advocates integral education for students.

[...] Competences are understood as knowing and understanding (theoretical knowledge of an academic field, the capacity to know and understand), knowing how to act (practical and operational application of knowledge to certain situations) and knowing how to be (values as an integral element of the way of perceiving others and living in a social context) (González/Wagenaar 2009: 27-28)

UNESCO's International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century (1999) set out education objectives focussed on four aspects: learning to be, to know, to do and to live and work together. These are also essentially the skills on which learning is based in the EHEA's vision of education.

As Palacio Alonso (2018) identifies, most T&I degrees in the country currently include deontology in general courses on professional aspects which also address things like tax obligations, relationships with potential customers, contracts and rates, negotiating strategies and invoicing. Most teachers also address ethical issues to a greater or lesser extent in their subject courses. As a subject in its own right, however, deontology is only offered in the T&I degree at the University of Salamanca, in the course called *Deontological Aspects of Translation and Interpreting*.

We consider it crucial to offer students a grounding in deontology – either as a separate subject or imparted transversely through other courses on the syllabus – as a means of completing their training with other skills. As Palacio Alonso (2018) so rightly points out, the university is not only a professional training environment but also provides education in professional, and therefore citizenship, values.

Awareness first began to grow of the importance of training in ethical issues for legal and community interpreting, but such training is now advocated even for conference interpreting (Donovan 2011). Baker/Maier (2011: 2) also stated that "We are aware that there have been recent calls for an increased attention to ethics in the context of pedagogy", adding "In order to address the question of accountability, educators need to engage far more directly and explicitly with the issue of ethics and build it into the curriculum".

According to Jones (2016: 10), "on ethics we can say that there are five main areas to be covered, but that each of them needs to be developed and discussed thoroughly with trainees, even if trainers sometimes have the feeling that they are stating the obvious. The five areas are confidentiality, collegiality, professionalism, neutrality and diplomacy". Jones recommended the AIIC deontological code as a basis for debate in the classroom, but we think its examples are equally applicable to community interpreting. As an example of a subject for debate regarding confidentiality, he proposed a situation in which Interpreter A cannot continue after a top-secret meeting and has to be relieved by Interpreter B. To maintain the quality of the communication taking place, it would be very convenient for A to inform B of the conversations conducted up until that point and offer B the documentation used – thus violating confidentiality. Collegiality would cover guidelines about relationships with colleagues, courtesy, solidarity and in-cabin assistance, sharing of documentation and the safeguarding of professional reputation and dignity. Professionalism would address punctuality (taking into account time needed for prior preparation), accepting jobs only in those language combinations in which the profession considers him/herself competent, and showing the same respect for all parties involved. Neutrality would involve training to ensure that even if a delegate were to say something completely reprehensible or personally intolerable, the interpreter should neither omit nor tone down their words. Jones also mentions relationships with customers: translators and interpreters should be trained to strike a balance between respect for their working conditions and a certain degree of flexibility, and make any requests in a positive, polite manner.

However, these basic principles of professional ethics cannot just make up a de-contextualised list. They must be brought down to the reality trainees will face in their future professional careers. After this theoretical groundwork, fundamental for interiorising concepts and making informed decisions (students will have the ethical arguments needed to do so), training must be completed through critical reflexion: "training students to think through the consequences of their behaviour, rather than telling them what is right or wrong per se" (Baker/Maier 2011: 4).

If we want students to be able to manage the social impact of their future professional activity, ongoing learning should be based on learning for life, in which *theoretical reasoning* (knowledge) and *practical reasoning* (action) come together in the training process, but without ever neglecting to cultivate *instrumental reasoning* (reflexion) (Palacio Alonso 2018).

We therefore defend the inclusion of real case studies in the teaching of deontology (as, indeed, for the assimilation of all the other interpreting skills), with ethical dilemmas as real as possible drawn from the experience of the course teacher or of other professionals with whom he/she is in contact. Such cases should be highly debatable and open to the practical application of the theoretical principles taught beforehand. In the Bachelor's Degree in Translation and Interlinguistic Mediation at the University of Valencia, for example, roleplays are conducted in the classroom with professionals (doctors) recreating real situations involving ethical dilemmas (and focussing

above all on impartiality, fidelity and confidentiality). All the participants then give their opinions on what happened (Sanz-Moreno 2017).

Baker/Maier (2011: 5) propose three dimensions of student training in ethical challenges, to be complemented by activities in the classroom. Firstly, theoretical concepts, with critical analysis, including the pros and cons, of the consequences of their decisions. Secondly, students would be invited to identify strategies for ethically compromising situations (such as speaking in the third person instead of the first person). Thirdly, the creation of pedagogical situational tools in which decisions have to be implemented, the consequences of those decisions assessed, and lessons drawn from the experience, and with classroom discussion of specific cases. For example, "If you're pro-life, do you interpret for an abortion clinic?", or "Legal interpreters who are against the death penalty may have to interpret judgments they don't agree with" (Baker/Maier 2011: 6). Other proposed activities are writing critical essays and roleplaying in the classroom.

Kahane (2009), too, considered examples of ethical dilemmas that we can use for reflection in the classroom: the interpreters described in *Gomorrah*, who work in forgery classes given to Chinese immigrants by the Camorra on mafia-owned premises; interpreting at the *International Conference to Review the Global Vision of the Holocaust*, to deny the existence of Nazi genocide; working for a terrorist organization; or what to do if we hear information which may prevent a terrorist attack.

One highly debated aspect of training in deontology is assessment. However, the most advisable thing, and the approach suggested by Baker/Maier (2011), is to concentrate on the process of reflection and reasoning rather than on a student's final decision.

Obviously, knowledge of deontological principles will not guarantee compliance with them. Neither can trainers bring all the situations which may arise in the real world into the classroom. But teachers should at least provide the tools needed for the student to be able to reflect on the type of professional he/she wants to be. This conviction is based on a necessarily copulative, synergic idea of the relationship between university and society (Palacio Alonso 2018).

5. Deontology in interpreting for refugees

If training in deontology is generally considered necessary, it becomes even more indispensable when talking about interpreting for refugees. As a vulnerable group caught at a moment when their whole future is in balance, an interpreter participating in their application for protection and in their reception is privy to information which must be handled with the highest degree of ethical integrity. This cannot be ignored when considering activity in this sector of social entrepreneurship.

Both as an ever-growing social reality and for the rise in demand for interpreters in this sector, international protection is therefore an imperative subject in training programmes for community interpreting. Such training should address its specific deontological requirements, thus ensuring the professionalism and quality of students considering working in the sector as social entrepreneurs, salaried employees or freelancers.

This type of interpreting is much more asymmetrical than conference interpreting. On one side there is the party with power – local authorities, governments or police; on the other, the immigrant, usually with a different level of culture and education. The interpreter's level of empathy and sensitivity should therefore be heightened. Also, particularly when dealing with minority languages or dialects, hardly anyone controls the quality of the interpreting work (Kalina 2015), and the information to be communicated is of a highly private nature. Professional secrecy must be absolute.

Impartiality is one of the deontological principles which here require greatest attention and, perhaps, flexibility. Due to the asymmetry, the interpreter often has to lean towards the asylum seeker and assume more of a mediator role in order to overcome cultural obstacles, while never neglecting the fidelity owed to the other party. Kalina (2015) highlights the fact that many asylum

hearing officers distrust interpreters, for fear that they may be excessively biased. Asylum seekers themselves may see the interpreter as someone who is on their side and ask for additional help, especially if they share the same nationality (Lázaro 2008). Certainly there is a greater danger of this with *ad hoc* interpreters, who may exceed their remit and clearly favour one of the parties, completely overriding the principles of professional ethics.

Verbal and non-verbal language often require cultural clarification, and this may be interpreted as violating the principle of fidelity to the message being conveyed. This brings us to Niska's (2002) great debate on the interpreter's role as (in rising order of intervention and decreasing order of invisibility) *conduit*, *clarifier*, *culture-broker* or *advocate*. In a court situation, for example, an interpreter is usually expected to show more neutrality (Hale 2010), whereas in a medical consultation, a school or a meeting with social services – contexts in which both parties share the same objective – he/she would be expected to intervene as much as is necessary for both parties to understand each other both linguistically and culturally (Kalina 2015). It may be necessary simply to explain how public institutions or administrative, education, health or social systems work in the receptor country because a worker does not realise that this information is needed. Or more emotional aspects, such as honour, respect, group identity or religion, may have to be taken into account (Lázaro 2008).

All this can only be evaluated if the interpreter is backed up by good training which has included simulations of similar situations, and if he/she knows how to clearly differentiate what has actually been expressed by a party from any explanatory comments of his/her own, without omitting anything or adding more than what is strictly necessary.

Exercises should be conducted in the classroom to debate ethical issues like those mentioned above in situations with asylum seekers. Firstly, there should be theoretical input about existing deontological codes and the meaning of fidelity, confidentiality, impartiality, etc. One possible starting point would be to talk about the most general deontological codes and then specifically look at the guidelines and instructions given in manuals like *Methods and Techniques for Interviewing Applicants for Refugee Status* (ACNUR 1995), the Australian Refugee Appeals Court and Immigration Appeals Court Manual (Hale 2010), the *Handbook for Interpreters in Asylum Procedures* (UNHCR 2017) or the *Guide to interpreting in public services and the community* (Tipton/Furmanek 2016) (See Section 4).

This would be complemented by recordings of situations, debates, roleplay with real or simulated professionals, critical evaluation and, where possible, even attendance at real interpreting sessions.

In the Master's Degree in Intercultural Communication and Community Interpreting and Translation at the University of Alcalá, for example, the following types of ethical situations are discussed (Lázaro 2008):

A female patient has just been diagnosed with tuberculosis. Before prescribing treatment, the doctor asks her if there is any possibility she might be pregnant. She says no. [...] She later confides to you that she may in fact be pregnant, but was reluctant to say anything because she is not married and her family would be angry.

An elderly patient has just been diagnosed with terminal cancer, and told he does not have long to live. [...] You immediately realise that this is not the way the doctor would have acted in the patient's own culture, where it would be unthinkable to tell patients directly that they are soon going to die.

It si a third set of quotation, so it should start in a new line, exactly as "A female patient..." (first set of quotation) and "An elderly patient..." (second set of quotation). In total, there are three examples = three sets of quotation.

6. Real-case application: deontology in Andalusian reception organisations

Finally, as a reflection of how professional ethics are applied in real situations and as an argument supporting the need for training in deontology in T&I syllabuses, as a possible aid to a future career in social entrepreneurship, we present data regarding such ethics in reception organizations dealing with refugees and unaccompanied minors in the province of Seville.

6.1. Methodology

The study described in this article was preceded by a preliminary work (Martín-Ruel/González-Rojas in press) on how interpreting services are made available to migrants at the CAR (Refugee Reception Centre) in Seville. Taking these results as a point of departure, we extended its scope to another five entities receiving international asylum seekers in Andalusia, to obtain a more general overview of interpreting services in the region, which constitutes the biggest point of entry for migrants arriving in Europe by sea, so analysis of what happens here is therefore very illustrative.

The entities studied were the CAR, the Red Cross, the Federación Andalucía Acoge, Accem, the Fundación Cepaim and the Fundación SAMU (specialised in unaccompanied minors), covering almost all the organizations involved in the international protection programme at regional level. All these foundations and NGOs include specific budget allocations for T&I in international protection. To protect their anonymity, the agencies will be referred to henceforth as: Entity A, Entity B, Entity C, Entity D, Entity E and Entity F (not necessarily maintaining the same order in which they are listed above).

In February 2019, members of the Interglosia research group at the Universidad Pablo de Olavide (Spain) set about making the operationalisation of the construct, in order to outline the information we hoped to obtain in the interviews and having first collected data drawn from existing literature and from our first results in the CAR.

Then, a semi-structured interview was designed, on the basis of a qualitative research technique. The collected data were processed in a non-standardised way (Corbetta 2003).

The interview included 17 questions on interpreting, 17 on translation, 4 on training for interaction with translators and interpreters and 1 question about improvable aspects. But here we will focus only on information concerning deontology in interpreting.

9 people were interviewed and recorded with their permission in April 2019 (approximately 1 hour of recorded material for each entity): a head of training, a psychologist, a centre manager, a lawyer and head of a T&I service, a centre coordinator, two people in charge of the international protection programme, a social worker and the head of a legal department. In June 2019, all the interviews were transcribed and anonymised.

The results obtained were the product of a triangulation process (Denzin 1970), because the data used came from different sources and different times: existing research documents on the subject, the preliminary interview (CAR in 2018) and the interviews done at the other entities (2019).

6.2. Data Analysis

In this section, we will analyse the information we obtained about interpreting needs during interviews with managers from the refugee reception organizations which took part in the study. The data will be categorized to focus on those aspects of deontology addressed in previous sections of this article which should be taken into consideration when dealing with social entrepreneurship in this field.

6.2.1. Impartiality and neutrality

Apart from entity F, which has its own staff interpreters, entities usually hire interpreters on a job-by-job basis (unfortunately, without checking their T&I training), although often it is multilingual members of their own staff who communicate directly with users. Other *ad hoc* or volunteer interpreters are used only very rarely, in emergencies or for minority languages.

The principles of impartiality and neutrality may be affected by the fact that the organisation's own staff act as interpreters, and, as such, are inevitably biased in favour of the party to which they belong, as Inghilleri (2012) points out in judicial context of asylum adjudication, although according to our interviews, this usually only happens in routine day-to-day situations.

In our interviews, we also immediately noted something that is characteristic of this sector: that the interpreter's role cannot simply be that of a *conduit* (see 5. Deontology in interpreting for refugees). Much more involvement is expected, especially to clarify cultural differences.

Entity A: "If I translated it objectively, you wouldn't understand it because that's not the way it's done in Spain". "Or they say, 'Look, that concept hardly exists in the Ukraine, so [...] you'd better explain something else to him first, otherwise he won't understand'".

However, interpreter involvement is sometimes required more in some situations than in others:

Entity D: more impartiality is requested: "The interpreter's job is to interpret, but without judging what we have to ask the family. They shouldn't give opinions [...] We consider it a lack of respect".

Entity B: A strictly *conduit* role is demanded: "Staying neutral. We might sometimes see that as being even more important than speaking the language perfectly"; "It's very dangerous. Because a certain amount of empathy is needed, because people arrive in a situation where they need help, but that help should never turn into mediation".

Entity C: the role of the interpreter would be more one of an *advocate*. He openly acts as a party in the conversation: "If you tell a child, 'Look at me, I'm talking to you! ', but in that's child's culture lowering the head is a sign of respect. With little details like that, having an Arab interpreter helps a lot"; "The interpreter is very much a figure of mediation". In our opinion, even exceeding his functions: they mention situations of conflict between two beneficiaries in which the interpreter plays a direct role: "The interpreter hears it and responds before you do. He intervenes because he understands, and you don't know what's going on."; "Sometimes interpreters act a bit like spy figures. They pick up on things that we are never going to understand, and tell us". And, in some cases, beneficiaries addressed questions directly to the interpreter.

Entities A and E reported cases of interpreters allying themselves with beneficiaries, trying to persuade social workers to grant them aid, or arranging to meet later. There are also more extreme cases, like in Entity F, where they heard about interpreters asking for money in exchange for inventing a story to make sure the applicant would get international protection.

6.2.2. Fidelity

It is surprising that scarcely any of the organisations report having seen interpreters taking notes (either basic details, or notes for consecutive interpretation). The only exception is Entity D, where an interpreter was once seen writing something in a diary. Although information is usually given in short sentences, we believe this jeopardises the fidelity and integrity of the message's content, a basic requirement for a narrative on which the granting of refugee status may depend:

Entity D: "The 'Are you saying what I'm saying?' feeling. [...] We've all experienced that, when someone carries on talking for 15 minutes, but then the interpreter only talks for 2 minutes".

Entity D: "When it was translated into Spanish, I said, 'But half of it has been left out! '. That feeling that information is being lost, and you say, 'OK, what information has been lost?' Because the fact that a person has or hasn't passed through a country is a very important piece of information. [...] It's not the job of the person who is interpreting to judge what is or isn't important".

Entity E: "I've seen interpreters being chewed out at police stations. 'What do you mean he says yes!? He's just been talking for two hours; he must have told you something else!'".

Interestingly, Entity B preferred interpreters not to use notebooks, for fear of violating confidentiality. But if an interpreter is a professional, his/her deontology should guarantee that nothing will be disclosed.

Fidelity is a particularly highly-appreciated principle:

Entity C: "If I'm raising my voice and I'm angry, you have to convey that I'm angry. Because if you don't, your message isn't going to come across the same as mine".

Parallel conversations, where the other party is not told what is being said, are avoided as much as possible:

Entity E: "You ask 'How did you come to Spain?' And you see that the conversation starts off with 'Where are you from?' 'How long have you been here?'"; "If I see that: you tell me what's going on".

Entity C: "Maybe I'm in the conversation, and at the end the conversation is between those two. And I'm like, 'Hey, tell me what he said, will you?' And that's because in the end the interpreter becomes an educator, too. Because he already knows [...] what he has to say".

Entity A: "He puts in his own questions"; "Since she thought she already knew the answer, she just came straight out with what she thought. But she might not be saying what she's supposed to be saying".

6.2.3. Confidentiality and empathy

Fidelity ties in with trust in the interpreter, with the confidentiality he/she should observe and with the level of empathy (neither too little nor too much) he/she should express to create an atmosphere conducive to the communication that is vital in these situations:

Entity D: "It may sound stupid, but the feeling that's created at that moment is so very important and will affect whether or not they pass information on to us... We've seen situations where they've taken one look at the interpreter and walked straight out. [...] It might look like paranoia, but it's not. It's just that there's fear".

Entity D: "That information that I'm giving. However, many papers I sign [confidentiality clauses], they're scared that the information might be passed on somewhere".

Entity D: "I ask the interpreter to remember that, although it's their job to interpret, the person next to them is not a block of ice".

Entity E: "The first thing Chinese asylum seekers ask us is if the interpreter works for the Chinese government".

Entity E: "The user asks us: `Who is going to come and interpret?' And you say, 'the same person who came the other day'. `Ah! Isn't there anyone else?', [...] or 'I don't want to talk to that person'".

Entity E: "Technical staff also have their fears about the interpreter. 'I wonder if he's translating that correctly!'".

There are also many accounts of difficulties in handling the emotional strain caused by harrowing stories told by refugees:

Entity A: "Some interpreters have a mental block, or over-empathise".

Entity B: "Especially if they're from the same country, they can compare it with their own experience, and then [...] they start crying like the other person, or get distressed".

Entity E: "To the point of saying, 'Hold on, what he is telling is terrible".

Entity D: "If that interview is too much for you, it seems to me you haven't been trained properly for this. There are some issues where you can tell [...] that you've been trained for that in the courses you've done".

6.2.4. Professionalism

Finally, we make some references to deontological issues mentioned earlier, which form part an interpreter's general level of professionalism, like knowing one's own limitations and turning down jobs one is not qualified to do:

- Entity F: one interpreter continually asked users to repeat what they had said. It appeared to be a problem of understanding, but the interpreter did not report the reason.
- Entity E: "Sometimes, it's the interpreter who tells us, 'Don't call me for that person'".
- Entity D: "When you see someone can't handle it, I think the most correct thing is to say 'I'm not the right interpreter for this'".

Or basic errors like turning up poorly prepared:

- Entity A: "We had one interpreter who, the very first day she came, asked, 'This asylum thing, what is it?"".

Or not taking into account the sex or the ethnic origin of the interpreter:

- Entity B: "We had a case of a Turk, where the interpreter was Kurdish. So that was impossible".
- Entity E: "Another thing, maybe it's just my own perception, is that the Moroccan interpreter treats Sub-Saharan African minors differently from Moroccans".
- Entity F: "Interpreters who shake hands with Arab women, without knowing that's disapproved of in their culture".

7. Conclusions

Having noted the low level of interest in social entrepreneurship generally shown by our graduates in Spain, and especially in the field of T&I, attention should be drawn to the growing need for interpreting services in the refugee and international protection sector. The numbers of applicants arriving and demand for this type of service by reception organizations suggest career opportunities that are of logical interest to T&I students. Many such opportunities arise in the form of social entrepreneurship activities, since access to interpreting is a right which should be guaranteed, with budgets already allocated for that purpose at international and EU level.

Society in general and the organisations involved need to be aware that this job should be entrusted to professionals (something that does not always happen). It is also necessary for future graduates to receive proper training in this particular field of community Interpreting. This training should include the generally overlooked aspect of deontology, not only providing lists of deontological principles but also exposing future interpreters and potential social entrepreneurs to real cases and roleplays with debate over what to do in such situations along the lines of the examples mentioned in Sections 4 and 5.

The reality of how deontological issues are handled in professional interpreting scenarios is reflected not only in the existing literature mentioned in this article, but also in our own experience of interviews conducted with refugee reception organisations in the province of Seville, the capital of Andalusia and one of the principal points of entry into Europe for asylum-seekers.

Clearly, professional practice is often not so "ethical", and it is very necessary to create more comprehensive training programmes, incorporating modules dedicated to deontology. Future professionals would thus learn to anticipate situations which may arise in real interpretation sessions

with asylum-seekers, where deontology cannot always be a simple list of criteria to follow and, depending on the situation, demarcations may become blurred.

In real cases, basic, generally agreed principles of professional ethics like neutrality, impartiality, fidelity, trust in the interpreter, confidentiality, empathy, emotional control, knowing one's own limits, appropriate prior preparation, consideration of the interpreter's and asylum seeker's sex and ethnic origins, etc., may become ambiguous, and the training of future professionals must equip them with the tools needed to address this reality as ethically as possible.

While any social entrepreneurship initiative by definition requires particular attention to be paid to ethical aspects, we think that entrepreneurship in the international protection sector, dealing with vulnerable people whose futures hang in the balance, demands even greater rigour in the awareness and implementation of the corresponding deontology, understood in this case as referring to professional ethics.

8. References

ACNUR 2018: Datos básicos [online]. http://www.acnur.org/es/datos-basicos.html (accessed 23 April 2019).

AIIC 2018: Code of professional ethics [online]. https://aiic.net/page/6724 (accessed 30 April 2019).

Álvarez-Álvarez, Susana 2018: *La empleabilidad de los egresados en Traducción e interpretación: ¿Mito o realidad?* Universidad de Valladolid. [online]. http://uvadoc.uva.es/handle/10324/34542 (accessed 16 January 2019)

Baker, Mona/Maier, Carol 2011: Ethics in Interpreter & Translator Training, Critical Perspectives. In *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 5(1), 1-14.

Bentham, Jeremy 1834: *Deontology: or, The science of morality.* London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Browne, Green, and Longman.

Burad, Viviana 2008: Ética y procedimiento profesional para intérpretes de lengua de señas. Mendoza: Univ. Nacional de Cuyo.

CEAR 2018: Informe 2018: Las personas refugiadas en España y Europa. Resumen ejecutivo [online]. https://www.cear.es/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Resumen-Ejecutivo-Informe-CEAR-2018.pdf (accessed 23 April 2019).

Corbetta, Piergiorgio 2003: Social Research: Theory Methods and Techniques. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Dees, J. Gregory 2001: *The meaning of "social entrepreneurship"*, [online]. https://entrepreneurship.duke.edu/news-item/the-meaning-of-social-entrepreneurship/ (accessed 18 December 2019).

Denzin, Norman K. 1970: Sociological Methods. A Sourcebook. Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Company.

Dirección General de Migraciones 2017: Sistema de acogida e integración para solicitantes y beneficiarios de protección internacional [online]. http://extranjeros.mitramiss.gob.es/es/Subvenciones/anos_anteriores/area_integracion/2016/sociosanitaria_cetis/manuales_comunes_gestion/documentos/Manual_de_Gestion_Sistema_acogida 2016.pdf (accessed 16 January 2019).

Donovan, Clare 2011: Ethics in the Teaching of Conference Interpreting. In *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 5(1), 109-128, Special Issue: *Ethics and the Curriculum: Critical Perspectives*.

Escuela de Negocios 2015: *Emprendimiento social: compromiso e innovación* [online]. https://br.escueladenegociosydireccion.com/business/asesoria/emprendimiento-social-compromiso-e-innovacion/ (accessed 11 April 2019).

Galán-Mañas, Anabel 2017: Programa para la mejora de la empleabilidad de los egresados en Traducción e Interpretación. Un estudio de caso. In *Conexão Letras* 17, 153-171.

García López, Rafaela/ Sales Ciges, Auxiliadora/ Moliner García, Odet/ Ferrández Barrueco, Reina 2009: La formación ética profesional desde la perspectiva del profesorado universitario. In *Teoría de la Educación. Revista Interuniver*sitaria 21, 199-221.

González, Julia/Wagenaar, Robert (coord.) (2009): *Tuning Educational Structures in Europe. La contribución de las universidades al proceso de Bolonia. Una introducción.* Bilbao: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Deusto.

Hale, Sandra 2010: La interpretación comunitaria. La interpretación en los sectores jurídico, sanitario y social. Granada: Editorial Comares.

Handi, Hassan 2010: La traducción y la interpretación contra la exclusión social en el marco de la protección internacional: una experiencia personal. Madrid: Centro Virtual Cervantes.

Hicheri, Leila 2008: *Traducción e interpretación en instituciones públicas*. en IV Congreso de Esletra. El español, lengua de traducción [online] https://cvc.cervantes.es/lengua/esletra/pdf/04/027 hicheri.pdf (accessed 25 April 2019)

- Horizon 2020 2014: Reto 6, Europa en un mundo cambiante: Sociedades inclusivas, innovadoras y reflexivas [online]. http://eshorizonte2020.cdti.es/index.asp?MP=87&MS=715&MN=1 (accessed 16 January 2019).
- Inghilleri, Moira 2012: Interpreting Justice: Ethics, Politics and Language. New York: Routledge.
- Jones, Roderick 2016: *Professional Ethics in Interpreter Training* [online]. https://www.emcinterpreting.org/application/files/2015/2301/5715/RoderickJones-ProfessionalEthics.pdf (accessed 18 December 2019).
- Kahane, Eduardo 2009: *The AIIC resolution on interpreters in war and conflict zones* [online]. https://aiic.net/page/3196/the-aiic-resolution-on-interpreters-in-war-and-conflict-zones/lang/1 (accessed 25 April 2019).
- Kalina, Sylvia 2015: Ethical challenges in different interpreting settings. In MonTI Special Issue 2, 63-86.
- Lázaro, Raquel 2008: Dilemas éticos del traductor / intérprete en los servicios públicos. Universidad de Granada [on-line]. http://www.translationactivism.com/articles/Raquel Lazaro.pdf (accessed 06 May 2019).
- León Pinilla, Ruth/ Jordà Mathiasen, Eivor/ Prado Gascó, Vicente 2016: La interpretación en el contexto de los refugiados: valoración por los agentes implicados. In *Sendebar* 27, 25-49.
- Mair, Johanna/Martí, Ignasi 2006: Social entrepreneurship research: A source of explanation, prediction and delight. In *Journal of World Business* 41(1), 36-44.
- Martín Cavanna, Javier 2013: Cuatro apuntes sobre el emprendimiento social [online]. https://www.compromisoem-presarial.com/innovacion_social/emprendedores-sociales/2013/04/cuatro-apuntes-sobre-el-emprendimiento-social/ (accessed 11 April 2019).
- Martin, Roger L./Osberg, Sally 2007: Social entrepreneurship: the case for definition. In *Stanford Social Innovation Review* 5(2), 28-39.
- Martín-Ruel, Estela/González Rojas, Carolina in press: El servicio de interpretación en la acogida de solicitantes de protección internacional: el caso del CAR en Andalucía. In Vigier Moreno, Francisco (ed.), Comunicación interlingüística e intercultural en contextos de asilo y refugio. Granada: Comares, Interlingua.
- Monzó Nebot, Esther 2005: Investigar con los profesionales: colaboraciones de investigación acción. In Monzó, Esther/Borja, Anabel (eds.), *La traducción y la interpretación en las relaciones jurídicas internacionales*. Castellón de la Plana: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 153-169.
- Moreira, Patricia/Urriolagoitia, Lourdes 2011: El emprendimiento social. In *Revista Española del Tercer Sector* 17, 17-40.
- Niska, Helge 2002: Community interpreter training. Past, present, future. In Garzone, Giuliana/Viezzi, Maurizzio (Eds.), *Interpreting in the 21st century*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 133-158.
- Palacio Alonso, Elena 2018: Ser y estar en la profesión: la enseñanza en grado de los aspectos deontológicos de la traducción y la interpretación. In *Clina: an Interdisciplinary Journal of Translation, Interpreting and Intercultural Communication* 4(2), 47-63.
- RITAP 2011: Libro blanco de la traducción y la interpretación institucional. Ministerio de asuntos exteriores y de cooperación [online]. http://www.ritap.es/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/libro_blanco_traduccion_vfinal_es.pdf (accessed 22 March 2019).
- Sanz-Moreno, Raquel 2017: Dilemas éticos en interpretación sanitaria. El médico entra en el aula. In *Panace* 18(46), 114-122.
- Tipton, Rebecca/Furmanek, Orgieda 2016: *Dialogue Interpreting: A Guide to Interpreting in Public Services and the Community*. London/New York: Routledge.
- UNESCO, International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century 1999: Learning: the Treasure within: Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century. Paris: Unesco Pub.
- UNHCR 2017: Handbook for Interpreters in Asylum Procedures. Viena: UNHCR Austria.
- UNHCR 1995: *Metodología y técnicas para entrevistar a solicitantes de la condición de refugiado. Módulo de capacitación* [online]. https://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain/opendocpdf.pdf?reldoc=y&docid=50ac91d82 (accessed 23 April 2018).