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Every Look is a Threat"A Manufactured Risk Society Reading of Fear in George Packer's Betrayed

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"كلُّ نظرةٍ تهديد"قراءة في الخوف وفق نظرية مجتمع المخاطر المُصنَّعة في مسرحية جورج باكر المغدورون

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Abstract
This paper seeks to fill a gap in the Translation Studies concerning the feeling of fear which has not been adequately addressed in the study of dramatic texts that take the translators as their central characters. It proceeds from the assumption that manufactured risk society often results in a culture of fear that directly influences individual behaviors and established structures of society. An examination of this culture from the perspective of Ulrich Beck's manufactured risk society theory is followed by a delineation of aspects of life in post-2003 Iraq where fear is socially manufactured and psychologically embedded. Translators, as products of this society in George Packer's *Betrayed*, are presented in the third section, followed by a conclusion that stresses how translation as an act performed in manufactured risk society is inseparable from feeling of fear and anxiety. Beck's theory is proposed as being decisive in highlighting the translators' precarious positions in conflict-ridden zones and accounting for their conditioned responses to fears in environment haunted by fears.
Key words: Fear, Beck, manufactured risk society, George Packer, *Betrayed*.

يسعى هذا البحث إلى سدّ فجوة في دراسات الترجمة تتعلق بمشاعر الخوف، إذ لم يُعالج هذا الموضوع بما يكفي في الدراسات التي تتناول النّصوص الدّراميّة التي تجعل المترجمين شخصياتها المركزية. وينطلق البحث من افتراض أن مجتمع المخاطر المصنَّعة يفضي إلى ثقافة خوف تؤثر مباشرة في سلوك الأفراد والبُنى الراسخة للمجتمع. ويُعقب ذلك فحص لهذه الثَّقافة من منظور نظرية أولريش بيك حول "مجتمع المخاطر المصنّعة"، ثم عرض لجوانب الحياة في العراق بعد عام ٢٠٠٣ حيث يُصنع الخوف اجتماعياً ويُعزَّز نفسياً. أمّا المترجمون، بوصفهم نتاجاً لهذا المجتمع في مسرحيّة جورج باكر *المغدورون*، فيُقدَّمون في المبحث الثّالث، تليه خاتمة تؤكد على أنَّ فعل التّرجمة في مجتمعٍ قائمٍ على المخاطر المصنّعة يرتبط ارتباطًا وثيقًا بمشاعر الخوف والقلق. وتُعدّ نظرية بيك عاملًا حاسمًا في إضاءة الأوضاع الهشّة للمترجمين في مناطق النزاع، وفي تفسير استجاباتهم المشروطة لمظاهر الخوف في بيئات مسكونة بالخوف.كلمات مفتاحيَّة: الخوف، بيك، مجتمع المخاطرة المصنَّعة، جورج باكر، *المغدورون*.

1.'Be Careful': Manufactured Fears and Uncertainties in Modern Age

'The Century of Fear' is the title Albert Camus chose for the first part of his article "Neither Victims Nor Executioners"(1947), which points out the state of terror people were living due to the prevalence of murderous ideologies, rise of totalitarian systems, weaponization of nations and spillover of new forms of violence (p.141). Fear, according to Camus, implies "a world where murder is legitimate, and where human life is considered trifling" (Ibid). More horrible, as he stresses, is that changing this situation seems impossible "without risking [continuous] murder". As a result, human beings will "continue to live in terror" and produce the "present infernal world, where men are killed, threatened and deported, where war is prepared, where one cannot speak freely without being insulted or betrayed" (Ibid, p.142).Camus's article was written in 1947, immediately after WWII. A closer look at the decades leading to the 2000s sorrowfully reveals that humanity continues walking

down the path of violence, murder, and injustice. In her introduction to Globalization, Political Violence, and Translation, Bielsa states: "violence, insecurity and fear have always been part of human history" (2009, p.1). However, she adds, that never before the 21st century have these problems emerged as a "profound entanglement of global processes and local conflicts" that resulted in various forms of dangers, ranging from "climate change to the transnational drug trade and terrorism"(Ibid). Globalization here plays a paradoxical role. While it helps to connect people worldwide, it also contributes to aggravating insecurity and destruction. In this sense, it is a 'negative globalization", which produces a "generalized vulnerability to dangers of non-calculable probability" (Zygmunt Bauman, as cited in Ibid, p.1). Closely connected with this negative globalization is what Mary Kaldor (1999) has called 'new wars', which is a new type of organized violence that culminates in the attack on the Two Trade Towers in September 2001. Kaldor notes that: "In the new wars, battles are rare, and violence is directed against civilians. Violations of humanitarian and human rights law are not a side effect of war but the central methodology of new wars". This war is also characterized by the proliferation of private paramilitaries, non-state actors, terrorist networks, and mercenary armies (as cited in Ibid, pp.3-4).One of the conspicuous consequences of this state of violence is fear which is a biologically basic emotion for survival as it alerts living species to the dangers in their surrounding environment (Liechty, 2006, p.1; Armfield, 2008, p.12; Ekman, 1992, Hunter, 2021, p.1). This centrality of fear in the development of human beings turns it into an interdisciplinary field of investigation (See Taylor-Gooby & Zinn, 2006). However, this very interdisciplinarity risks fragmentation as there is no general consensus on its definition (See Adolphs, 2013; LoBuea & Rakison, 2013). Taylor & Arnow (1988) suggests that this difficulty stems from the "inherent limitations of language, which can only approximate rather than fully capture subjective emotional experience", while Marks (1987) sees that this difficulty is intensified by the abundance of feelings associated with fear, like concern, worry, nervousness, disquiet, dread, edginess, anxiety, apprehension, terror, agitation, and alarm, which complicates the efforts to establish a clear explanation of its nature (As cited in Armfield, 2008, p.13)The Macquarie Dictionary (1991) defines fear as a "painful feeling of impending danger, evil, trouble, etc." The etymology of the word fear is the Old English term fær meaning sudden attack or danger. In keeping with such a definition, many authors include the element of danger as central to the elicitation of fear. Hoehn-Saric (1979), for example, epitomises this approach by defining fear as a "response to a realistic external threat that is potentially unpleasant and harmful" (p. 449). Similarly, Marks (1987) identifies fear as "an emotion produced by the perception of present or impending danger" (p. 3). Further, Izard (1991) believes that all fears have one thing in common: they are perceived as a threat to security or safety (As cited in Armfield, 2008. p.14). Furthermore, while the Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language defines fear as a "state of deep anxiety and turmoil, triggered by a real or imagined danger" (As cited in Nistour & Neagu, 2024, p.50), The Dictionary of Sociology defines it as a "feeling of anxiety, insecurity, diffuse disorder, both physical and mental, of waiting for an indeterminant danger" (As cited in Ibid, p.49). As anxiety is closely connected and usually paired with fear, it seems appropriate to define it. Anxiety, according to the Dictionary of Psychology, is a "vague affective state of restlessness, tension, worry and unmotivated, objectless fear that is psychologically uncomfortable" (Ibid Certainly, media, in modern times, plays an important role in managing how people perceive, consume, and reproduce fear as they keep on bombarding the viewers with fear-provoking audio-visual scenes of violence (Glassner, 2004; Furedi, 2002; Nistour & Neagu, 2024), and with "sensationalistic stories designed to increase ratings"(Glassner, 1999, p.xx). In fact, "violence as entertainment" industry reaches unprecedented extremes in the 2000s, turning fear into a saleable commodity (Liechty, 2006, p.2). 'Be careful', Furedi points out: "dominates [the] cultural imagination" and the scary stories we "continually transmit to one another indicate that society feels uncomfortable with itself" (2002, p.viii). Glassner (2004) calls this 'Fear Mongering' which can be defined as the attempt of public figures and various news outlets to exploit and amplify fears and sensational insecurities of people for their own benefit. In addition to media, state powers, politics, and culture exploit fear as a weapon of domination through surveillance, repression, and incarceration. In this way, fear becomes not incidental but structural: an institutionalized cultural product, and a central organizing principle embedded in modern societies (Skoll, 2010). Fear, in fact "does not just happen; it is socially constructed and then manipulated by those who seek to benefit" (As cited in Furedi, 2007, p.2)This situates fear within Ulrich Beck's manufactured risk society theory. In his foundational book Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity (1992), Beck claims that modern man's relationship with his society and environment has considerably changed due to the incessant intervention of science and technology. This gives rise to a new set of threats and hazards that are manufactured, manipulated, and reproduced by society rather than Nature (2006, pp.332-333). Beck argues that modern industry produces not only "goods" but also "bads", like pollution, radiation, climate change, wars, financial instability and associated perils, in addition to a range of social ills such as slump and

unemployment. In this way, risk becomes the central organizing principle of contemporary society (1992, p. 36). Risk may be defined as a "systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernization itself" (Ibid., p.21). It refers to the "probability of damage, injury, illness, death, or other misfortunates associated with a hazard. Hazards are generally defined as threats to people and what they value" (Furedi, 2002, p.17; Bialostok, 2015, pp.562-563; For more information about the development of the concept of risk and its theoretical positions, see Denney, 2005, pp.9-12; 13-40). Noteworthy is the title Beck chooses for the opening section of his book: 'Living on the Volcano of Civilization', where the 'volcano' metaphor is expressive of a modern technological civilization that rests precariously on catastrophic man-made hazards. Besides, Furedi notes that even the language people use reflects an "unprecedented preoccupation with risk" (2002, p.vii). He cites a study examining the use of 'at risk' in UK newspapers and reports that the term "had increased almost nine-fold between 1994 and 2000" (Ibid).The perception of being at risk encourages the emergence of what is aptly called 'fearful subjectivity'. According to Beck: "The movement set in motion by the risk society…is expressed in the statement I am afraid!" Hence, the "commonality of anxiety takes the place of the commonality of need"(1992, p.80). In the process, fear has become something which shapes and makes our identities. To be 'at risk' clearly assigns to the individual a passive and dependent role. Increasingly, someone defined as being at risk is seen to exist in a permanent condition of vulnerability, and this informs the way that he makes sense of the threats he faces. As a metaphor, vulnerability expresses the idea that communities lack the emotional and psychological resources necessary to deal with change, to make choices, or to deal with adversity (Furedi, 2007, p.7).In Social theory of fear: Terror, torture, and death in a post-capitalist world, Skoll neatly illustrates the general characteristics of Beck's manufactured risks: They are global, free-floating, unpredictable, and often incalculable. They are usually tied to the logic of progress and development and are widely commodified and politicized as they are fueling industries of insurance, safety, and made into tools of coercion and manipulation. Moreover, they threaten systemic and irreversible harm, pervade private and public spaces, and shape collective anxieties. These modern risks are not accidental. They are structurally produced through political, technological, and economic structures (2010, pp.2-3). Having established this theoretical framework, the next section turns to post-2003 Iraq, where the dismantling of institutions, sectarian fragmentation, and infrastructural collapse vividly illustrate how manufactured risks are lived and localized within a specific place and historical context. By situating Iraq within this global riskscape, one can trace how Beck's risk society theory translates into concrete conditions of insecurity and fear. The next section seeks to answer the following question: To what extent did man-made decisions and policies prior to and after 2003 contribute to creating risks that were not natural but manufactured?

2.Caught in Whirls of Fear in post-2003 Iraq: A Nation Spiraling Downwards

Modern history of Iraq, especially since the seizure of power by Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party in 1968 drew wide attention in local and international media and academia. The unique nature of this history might be the reason behind this attention as it is a history that was immersed in "bullets and blood" and descended into a "Darwinian struggle for power" (Anderson and Stanfield, 2004, p.49). Countless studies on this period come to the following conclusion: during the thirty-five years between 1968 to the toppling of Saddam's regime in 2003, Iraqi people endure various forms of coercion, oppression, intimidation and control. Commenting on this period, Gairdner remarks that: "Iraq was already under stress by 2003, with limited capacity to cope with the security, political, economic and humanitarian consequences of the invasion [and] had experienced an extended period of decline"(2012, p.3). He cites the "Iran-Iraq war (1980-88), the first Gulf war (1990-91), the 13 years of isolation under UN sanctions (1990-2003), and poor governance and public resource use under the Saddam regime (1979-2003)" as the main reasons for this decline (Ibid). In the same period, the party relied extensively on propaganda, ideological indoctrination, sectarian exclusion, pervasive surveillance, and systematic terror exercised through its security apparatus, alongside the manipulation of historical narratives, to discipline the population and dismantle autonomous social structures (see Rohde, 2010, p.11; Ghena, 2016, p.55).This same bleak vision of a society in decline is further emphasized by Sommer-Houdeville (16 March 2009) who describes Iraqi society as wounded and traumatized. The eight-year conflict, for example, wounded and traumatized it by entrenching coercion and embedding militarization into everyday life. Moreover, the twelve years of sanctions left indelible marks on its social fabric. These wounds manifested in corruption, crime, child labor, illiteracy, and the mass emigration of Iraq's educated middle class. The 2003 invasion of Iraq delivered the last blow to the social cohesion as violence became rampant and sectarianization became institutionalized. Succinctly, each one of these stages stripped away layers of cohesion, leaving scars of division, loss, and disintegration.One of foundational texts that exposes the terrifying and violent nature of Saddam's regime is Republic of Fear by

Kana'an Makiya (1989) in which he argues that Saddam's Baʿthist Iraq was not simply authoritarian but a state built on fear itself. Fear, as a matter of fact, had become constitutive of the Iraqi body politic. The Ba'th developed the politics of fear into an art form, one that ultimately served the purpose of legitimizing their rule by making large numbers of people complicit in the violence of the regime (Makiya, 1989, p.xi). Fear, indeed, became the "likely outcome of the unbridled growth of the means of violence"(Ibid, p.xii) Chapter Two of Republic of Fear, titled "A World of Fear", with its four subsections: "The First Spectacle, A New Kind of Fear, Cruelty and Power, and The Penultimate Spectacle" is of notable relevance in dissecting the feeling of fear as it explores how violence, secrecy, and cruelty were deliberately institutionalized, making terror the organizing principle of political and social life. This was done mainly by giving free rein to the security apparatuses; staging public violence as spectacles to force compliance; everyday complicity by drawing ordinary Iraqis into networks of informers, forced loyalty rituals, and public denunciations (see pp.46-73).This leads to the normalization of fear which became structural, not accidental: it was a daily expectation woven into ordinary life. Endless public displays of brutality institutionalized fear itself, redefining the bond between citizen and state as one sustained by terror. Makiya aptly describes Saddam's Iraq as a "chamber of horrors" and a "Kafkaesque world [where] politics was conducted through terror, and fear became the glue binding society to the state (1989, p.xi)Ali (2021), echoing Makiya, shows that fear under Saddam was built into daily life through surveillance, torture, and collective punishment. However, it shifter after 2003 to sectarian militias and insurgents, leaving Iraqis trapped between occupation forces, reprisals, and criminal violence. Cruelty, once normalized by Saddam's public punishments, reappeared in post-2003 Iraq through kidnappings, assassinations, and displays of mutilated bodies; consequently, keeping fear alive in new forms.The collapse of Saddam's regime in 2003 produced not only a profound power vacuum but also accelerated the fragmentation of both state and society along narrow ethno-sectarian lines. Competing centers of authority emerged without any shared framework for the political process (Gairdner, 2012, p.2). This power vacuum was filled by sectarian militias, insurgents, and criminal gangs, turning violence into the primary mode of political competition. Besides, the occupation's policies, like dismantling most of the country's institutional structures, unintentionally deepened divisions and legitimized violent actors (Ali, 2021). The result was escalating violence and instability which imposed immense human, social, political, and economic costs. Millions were displaced internally, while hundreds of thousands emigrated abroad (Al-Yasiri & Al-Yasiri, 2022, pp.6-7). In As Iraqis See It, Messing describes the frightening reality of Iraq after 2003. He explains that daily life felt like a complete collapse, with constant violence and crime from insurgents, militias, terrorists, soldiers, police, mercenaries, gangs, and kidnappers. The blog Inside Iraq shows how this nonstop brutality damaged nearly every part of society: social life, the economy, professions, and even personal safety (as cited in Adelman, 2008, p.184).In conclusion, post-2003 Iraq vividly illustrates Ulrich Beck's concept of a manufactured risk society, where dangers stem from political decisions, wars, and foreign interventions rather than natural causes. The invasion, collapse of political systems, spread of violence and rise of militias produced systemic risks that fragmented institutions, normalized insecurity, and embedded fear into everyday life.George Packer's Betrayed dramatizes these dynamics through the precarious position of Iraqi translators, whose role as intermediaries exposed them to accusations of betrayal and left them vulnerable in a society defined by suspicion and uncertainty. In this way, the play embodies Beck's insight that manufactured risks are enduring, socially produced, and deeply woven into lived experience. The following section aims at answering the following question: How does Beck's theory of 'manufactured risk society' illuminate the translators' hazardous position in Betrayed?

3."Every Look is a Threat": Terrorscape of Translation in George Packer's BetrayedIn his introduction to Betrayed (2008), Packer exposes the genesis of writing his play. He states that the original idea was to write about "that tiny minority of mostly young men and women" who risked their lives by working with the American forces after 2003. This tiny minority are the translators and interpreters who were not easy to meet as they were forced to live in hiding: One of them…would talk to [Packer] only in Kurdistan… two others insisted on taking a room in the bleak, nearly empty Palestine Hotel… some would meet only in the Green Zone…some could speak only by telephone because there simply was no safe way to be together (2008, p.vii).Over the course of the interviews Packer conducted with the thirty or forty translators, a "single overwhelming story emerged", and it is worth quoting in full:They were all leading precarious, furtive lives, using assumed names, limiting their contact to a handful of trusted people, creating elaborate lies about their history and employment, afraid every time the phone rang or someone knocked on the door (Ibid.) Because translators were often branded as 'traitors,' 'double agents,' 'backstabbers,' and 'collaborators with the enemy,' (Ghena, 2016, p.54), every one of those translators has plausible reason that he would be killed at any moment. Any slight mistake by them, "like being

seen by the wrong person at the Green Zone gate, uttering a few words of English in public, an embassy badge discovered at a police checkpoint" would mostly result in killing them (p.viii)What aggravates the situation is the hazardous in-between space the translators occupies. They are neither fully accepted by their fellow Iraqis nor by their American employers. They are trusted by neither party, and as a result, they were "hunted and helpless", and became "pariahs and outcasts in their own society" (p.xi). Translators, excluded from political and social systems, exist in a precarious "zone of indifference" where violence against them carries no real consequences. They embody Agamben's homo sacer, i.e.; lives stripped of protection, arising from the blurred boundary between bare biological life and political life (1998, p.83)The play opens with a meeting between Adnan and Laith in "A dark, spare hotel room in Baghdad, furnished in the soulless fashion of the Baathist era"(p.7). The choice of hotel as setting is signifcant as they embody transience—threshold spaces defined by constant arrivals and departures. They are unstable, in-between sites that mirror Iraq's own condition after the Baathist regime's collapse: a nation suspended in uncertainty, stripped of stability, and rendered "dark, spare, and soulless"(Ghani, 2024, p.136). Immediately, the dialogue is interspersed with references to security issues, checking, weapons, bombs, unsafety, presence of American tanks and food shortage.Adnan was more specific in uncovering the dangers Iraqis were facing. He talked about the difficulty of moving between the city districts owing to the spatial division and the widespread atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust among its population. He referred to the fighting between the Americans and Al-Qaeda, the public beheading of a teacher, and the spread of 'alaasa' who are "informers who sit all day in the street and watch for people they consider the enemy. It means 'the ones who chew'"(p.8)He highlights another hazard that profoundly wounds the social fabric of Iraqi society. Many Iraqi preferred not to use their real names or change their names to avoid killing and reprisals as society became divided along sectarian lines: "But these days the first thing everyone wants to know is 'Are you Sunni or Shia?' And if you give the wrong answer—(He makes a slashing gesture across his throat.) (p.9). 'Adnan' is not the translator's real name. It is assumed by him to protect himself while moving in the city. This menacing atmosphere was deepened by Laith's unearthing of his inner fears. He says: "Sometimes I feel like we're standing in line for a ticket, waiting to die" (p.10)Adnan also recalls the drastic change that Iraqi society witnessed on the 9th of April, 2003, with the collapse of Saddam's totalitarian regime. He remembered clearly the man who was cursing Saddam in the middle of the street. This man was ill dressed and of poor looking. He was waving a photo of Saddam, calling him a dog because he was the reason for destroying his life. He angrily says: [Saddam] sent me to fight the Iranian and see what they did to me! (He holds up his shirt to show a wound.) For what? For you? Now I'm old, my life is finished. I spit on you, I step on your face! May the American catch you and cut you into a thousand pieces! May they destroy your sons and their sons forever! (p.12).The sense of exasperation expressed by this man is further consolidated by another scene which undoubtedly accuses Saddam's reckless and repressive policies of devastating Iraqi society. In this scene, two Iraqis: "a dazed-looking Old Man in a tattered Jacket, a pushy woman in a black abaya, are standing in line…waving pieces of papers"(p.14). The man wants to know what happened to his four sons who disappeared during Saddam's rule while the women wanted electricity, water, and a job for her son (pp.15-16)Commenting on the split in Iraqi public opinion about whether the Allied Forces presence in Iraq is a liberation or occupation, Adnan poignantly sheds light on the stifling atmosphere during Saddam's reign. He avers: "My experience is the experience of all the Iraqis of my generation who looked into the future and saw nothing, only darkness. We were living in this great prison. I know what this did to people in their minds"(p.27). Surely, he is alluding to the psychological toll Iraqi society endured as a result of Saddam's repressive policies.However, by choosing to work as translators, Adnan and many Iraqis were cast into deeper alienation. Distrusted by fellow Iraqis as traitors and never fully trusted by Americans, they were left exposed and defenseless. Laith, for instance, was denied proper body armor and sent on patrols through his own unsafe neighborhood. Moreover, the translators' limited access in the Green Zone symbolized their marginal, insecure, and impermanent status. It was not surprising then that they started getting threats and eventually some of them were killed. In fact, "Every look [becomes] a threat", as Intisar terrifyingly affirms (p.47).The nature of this threat is fully captured by Adnan. It simply means that the translator is dead both ways, whether he continues working with American or he stops working with them. He resembles this situation to a circle in which the translator stays because "there is no way out"(p.70). Because "the threat is always there…because there is always the possibility that things will go wrong", the translators become obsessed with fears of being killed, kidnapped or assailed. The impact of living in this climate of fear is horrendous. Adnan says: "This threat will paralyze you, you don't think logically, in the end you can't think at all and you will do nothing, just stay at home waiting for them to come"(p.70). The situation becomes worse as the constant fear and danger experienced by the translator is extended to the members of his family who are also targeted by

threats (Juvinall, 2013, p.206)Immediately after releasing this pent-up frustration, Adnan recounts the story of Ahmed's, his brother, kidnapping. In a phone call, the kidnapper menacingly says: "How do you want us to kill him? Shall we cut him to pieces and fed him to the dogs?"(p.71). Though Ahmed survived, the incident left Adnan deeply scarred. The memory lingers, and each time he looks at the phone, that haunting voice feels unforgettable(p.72)Scene eighteen narrates what happens following Intisar's brutal killing and Laith's given the sack from the embassy. Laith bitterly states that he feels as if "somebody died and [he] was attending the funeral, but the body in the casket was [his]"(p.90). It's not simply a matter of losing a job. Now it is a matter of life and death: "Without my job I didn't know what to do. I fell in between heaven and hell. The American didn't want me and the Iraqis didn't want me. Where will I go?(p.90).Although Adnan kept his job, he was consumed by fear. The pressure drained his spirit and left him trapped in a state of constant dread. He says with deep grief: When I go outside I am very tense, I am on my toes watching around and being afraid. When I am inside the embassy I am tense, I am on my toes, watching around, afraid that I will be got. I tell myself, my turn is coming, my turn is coming (p.91).Laith's situation is no better as he found few days after being discharged a piece of paper lying by his house door. It says: "We will cut off the heads and throw them in the garbage." Then, he discovered "the upper severed half of a small dog. He picks it up and examines it, then reads the note again and looks around in terror"(p.92)It is clear that what the translators experience in Betrayed embodies Beck's "manufactured risk society," where danger is not accidental but produced by war, systemic violence and broken institutions. Caught between U.S. forces and Iraqi violence-plagued society in the years immediately following 2003, those translators live with constant suspicion, social stigma, and continuous threats. Fear becomes their daily reality. Reprisal, abandonment, and mistrust shadow every word they translate. Post-2003 Iraq overblew the general sense of insecurity: militias, sectarian violence, and the collapse of state authority spread fear beyond the old regime, embedding it into everyday life. For translators, the act of translation itself becomes a life-threatening choice and a risky profession. Because of this, they developed conditioned responses to fear triggers such as hypervigilance, hiding, withdrawal, chronic stress and emigration. In this way, their vulnerability is systemic, irreversible, and inseparable from the climate of fear that defines modern risk societies.

4.Conclusion: "Fear is the mind-killer. Fear is the little-death that brings total obliteration"(Herbert, 1965, p.6). Recent research shows that fear and anxiety are pervasive in Iraq, rooted in decades of war, displacement, sectarian strife, and economic hardship. Rates of depression, anxiety, and PTSD far exceed global norms, with conflict-related trauma continuing to shape everyday life. These conditions are not merely medical but woven into Iraq's social fabric, reflecting the legacies of war, authoritarian rule, and instability. Studies highlight how fear is not only an individual condition but a structural feature of society, influencing politics, culture, and daily existence. The Baʿthist legacy and post-2003 turmoil underscore how collective fear and trauma remain central to Iraqis' daily lives (See Ahmed, 2024).Translators in Betrayed are not simply anxious figures; they embody the dynamics of Beck's risk society, where fear is socially manufactured and deeply embedded in everyday life. The play dramatizes this reality, casting translators as emblematic of modern vulnerability in a world shaped by systemic risks.Translation cannot be divorced from the translator's lived experience. Fear and anxiety are not peripheral but central to understanding how translation functions in high-stakes contexts. Within Beck's framework, translators navigate risks that are not "natural" but produced by human systems of war, politics, and globalization as their work is influenced by internal and external power actors.In this light, translation emerges as both a psychological and sociological phenomenon, inseparable from the pervasive climate of fear. It is an act forged in risks and dangers, real and imagined, where language becomes both a bridge and a burden in societies haunted by fear. Translators embody the manufactured dangers of globalization: indispensable for communication yet exposed to suspicion, violence, and trauma. Post-2003 Iraq exemplifies this condition. It is a "fearscape" where Beck's manufactured risks saturate daily life with anxiety and uncertainty.

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