Sarah Evans-Jordan

Being present in a good way

Interpreters' reflections on working in staff- and workplace interpreting in Norway

Master's thesis in Disability and Society

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Sammendrag

Undersøkelsen som denne oppgaven bygger på har til hensikt å belyse ordningen Tolk på arbeidsplass (TPA), hvor tegnspråklige døve arbeidstakere har rett til tolk på sine arbeidsplasser. Undersøkelsen består av kvalitative intervjuer med et utvalg av tolker som arbeider i ordningen. Problemstillingen har vært hvordan tolker opplever det å være tolk i disse sammenhenger, og det er tatt utgangspunkt i forskningsspørsmålet:

Hvordan påvirker faglige, etiske og praktiske aspekter ved tolking på arbeidsplass tolkens refleksjoner omkring spørsmål på språk og rolle?

I en tidligere evaluering av Tolk på arbeidsplass ordningen (ECON, 2004) ble det undersøkt i hvor stor grad de døve og hørende brukere mente at ordningen var hensiktsmessig og tilfredsstillende. I denne evalueringen ble ikke tolkenes erfaringer og synspunkter etterspurt. Vi mener at tolken sitter med mye verdifull kompetanse og mange ulike erfaringer som kan belyse ordningen ytterligere.

Datamaterialet består av kvalitative intervjuer med 12 tolker som jobber i ulike organisatoriske former for TPA. Intervjuene ble tatt opp og senere transkribert. Analyse av datamaterialet med utgangspunkt i *Grounded Theory* ga flere temaer som etter hvert ble analysert i mer dybde.

Ett gjennomgående hovedtema, *det å være tilstede på en god måte*, synes å binde sammen flere undertema, som særlig har å gjøre med språkbruk på arbeidsplassen, tolkens forventninger, og forhold til andre på arbeidsplassen. I tillegg blir tolkens handlingsrom (eller mangel derav) et tema, før vi går videre til å diskutere det å se og det å være sett. Til slutt deler vi tolkenes refleksjoner rundt arbeidsspråkene sine.

Avslutningsvis blir det skissert implikasjoner for videre forskning, fremtidig tolkeutdannelse, og utøvelse av en tolkeprofesjon i rask evolusjon.

Preface

My "first meeting" with the d/Deaf was watching on television as the 1988 Deaf President Now (DPN) movement at Gallaudet University unfolded. I don't think I had never met a d/Deaf person before, or been terribly aware of sign language at all. As a child watching the scenes of protest, I wondered why they sounded the way they did when they talked.

A few years later, when I was 16 years old, a d/Deaf family moved into my neighborhood. We became friends, and part of that meant learning their language. At the same time, what is now called the Robert G. Sanderson Community Center for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing, but known to us at that time simply as "The Deaf Center", was erected. I volunteered there, answering the phone (in practice, this meant answering the TTY) after school. This opened up a new world to me, with many new friends and many adoptive Deaf parents. I learned their language and culture mostly through immersion. Later, as a certified interpreter at the Utah Professional Level, my interpreting experience covered a variety of settings, and included many assignments in the education and health sectors, and extensive experience in workplace-, staff-, and dedicated interpreting.

I must admit that it was with some reservations that I approached my Master's studies at NTNU in the field of Disability and Society. For over half my life I had known the Deaf simply as people, not as disabled. They were my friends, my teachers, my clients, my colleagues, and my supervisors. The idea of writing a Master's thesis on a Deaf-related subject felt somehow traitorous in this context. I had qualms about the idea of perpetuating a categorization of the Deaf that I did not recognize as valid.

As my studies progressed, however, I came to recognize that the social model of disability espoused by the program and the goal of identifying and breaking down societal barriers that is its mission for its students could become tools for me. I learned that I could use this language, these concepts, and this theoretical framework for communicating about

d/Deafness with a wider audience, or a larger "congregation" than I could have if I had simply carried on using language fit only for preaching to the choir. It must be said, lamentably, that in our society a majority still view deafness as a disability. I wouldn't be a very good interpreter at all if I didn't realize that if you want someone to receive your message, you have to present it in a language the person understands. It is this that the Disability and Society program has allowed me to do, and my initial resignation has turned to recognition of the value of the tools I now hold in my hands.

Acknowledgements

And now, my deep gratitude and respect go to the interpreter respondents whose willingness to open up to me about their experience is humbling. The enthusiasm with which they approached participation in this study was overwhelming. You are the core of this thesis. I hope I have done you justice. *Tusen takk.*

To Camille (1978-2010), who started it all.

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1   Introduction

Let us look at human communication as a phenomenon. We imagine that two people are talking together. We don't know what they are talking about, but that's not important. Whether they agree or disagree is also not important. But the two people we imagine are essentially relating to each other; presenting facts, exchanging ideas, asking questions, offering opinions. We imagine that they are doing this relatively successfully, just the two of them. This is because regardless of factors like age, gender, and ethnicity, these two share a language to a degree sufficient to support the desired communication.

Now we imagine that we see two other people together. For this pair, things don't seem to be going as well. Again, we don't know the content of the conversation, but the parties might appear to be repeating things, more and more emphatically each time. Voices might raise and arms might flail, as the furrowed brow and head shaking of the partner continue. It is here we might begin to suspect that our parties do not share a common way of communicating.

In the case before us for consideration here, these two pairs of interlocutors might well find themselves in one of many workplace settings in Norway where hearing and d/Deaf work side by side. In some cases, d/Deaf and hearing share a language, but certainly not all. Many Norwegian d/Deaf people and their hearing colleagues make use of staff- or workplace interpreters to facilitate important workplace communication.

Norway's scheme for staff- and workplace interpreting for d/Deaf sign language users has existed for 15 years, yet the only substantial evaluation, and the only one for which documentation is readily available (ECON, 2004), is now a decade old. In addition, there is little evidence that interpreters took part in the evaluations as respondents, and thus, an important perspective into the functioning of the scheme has been missed. D/deaf and hearing interpreter-users were overwhelmingly positive to the scheme, but I wanted to hear what the interpreters thought.

The Welfare Act §10-7 f secures the right of the d/Deaf to interpretation in activities of daily living, including the workplace. Each d/Deaf individual is entitled to 90 hours of interpreting services per quarter. In 1999, a trial was made of a workplace-interpreting scheme whereby d/Deaf individuals who shared a workplace could elect to surrender their individual right to interpretation to a common pool. Three full-time equivalents (FTE) translated into one full-time interpreter. The aim was to be able to respond more quickly to spontaneous communication needs than could be achieved by calling the interpreter services and scheduling an interpreter. Additionally, interpreters that were employed by the business could be integrated into the group and familiarized with the organization, the individuals, and not least, the jargon of the workplace. This was supposed to have the effect of making communication smoother by removing the need to "train the interpreter" every time.

The trial scheme was evaluated internally by the then Department of Health and Social Services, found to be a success, and in 2001 was made permanent and approved for nationwide adoption. Since then, one evaluation (ECON, 2004) has been carried out. Feedback from both d/Deaf and hearing interpreter users was overwhelmingly positive and it was recommended that the scheme continue, albeit with some administrative adjustments. No feedback was sought from the interpreters themselves. The report discusses interpreters, but only in terms of their existence as resources. It is said that a few interpreters approached the evaluators and offered their observations, but there is no evidence of this in the report itself. Since 2004, no external evaluation of the scheme has been made.

This study is based on the premise that interpreters have a special vantage point, and therefore have access to unique and valuable insights into the interpreter-mediated communication. In a conversation where an interpreter's services are required, the interpreter is the only one with full access to both sides of the conversation. This, of course, gives them power and responsibility. At the same time, because of their specialized knowledge and training, they are in a much better position than the hearing and d/Deaf participants to be able to reflect on the communication taking place and their role in it, as well as on combinations of techniques and strategies that work or don't work in various situations. Indeed, it is their

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job to do so, and to refine their practice and elevate their profession with the knowledge and experience they develop. The practicing interpreter encounters daily challenges, be they of a practical, ethical, or professional nature. Their responsibility to themselves and to their field is to reflect upon these, learn from them, and let this learning inform their future practice. As interpreters are given an outlet and contemplate aloud these challenges, they and their colleagues can learn together, perhaps be directed toward solutions to some common challenges, and contribute to the further development and elevation of their profession through research and knowledge creation.

My original question was how interpreters experienced being a staff- or workplace interpreter. I wanted to know what kinds of challenges they faced and what kinds of triumphs they enjoyed. I wanted to know about the professional, the practical, and the ethical challenges that might be a part of their experience. I wanted to know what they thought about the TPA scheme, and how it was to be one of those responsible for its execution. Out of the rich data emerges, among many other things, the answer to the research question:

"How do professional, ethical, and practical aspects of interpreters' work in the TPA setting shape their reflections on issues of language and role?"

The purpose of the master's program in Disability and Society is to educate students to identify, challenge, and dismantle the potentially disabling physical and mental barriers that are built into our society, making society more freely accessible to all people. This is also the aspiration of this thesis.

1.1 Reader's guide

Chapters 1 and 2 introduce the reader to the topic of this thesis, and the definitions and abbreviations that will facilitate the discussion of it, respectively. In Chapter 3, understandings of d/Deafness are explored in a disability-theoretical way, followed by explorations of language and the role of interpreters. Thereafter, in Chapter 4, a brief history of the evolution of interpreting as a profession in Norway is given, before discussing the need

for an ethical framework for interpreter practice. We then present a short account of the beginnings of Norway's staff- and workplace interpreting scheme (TPA). Chapter 5 introduces the reader to the approach to data collection and analysis used in this study and Chapter 6 gives an account of the most important findings in the dataset. In Chapter 7 we summarize the discussion so far, discuss the study's limitations, and explore implications of the data for future study, practice, and education. Chapter 8 includes the works referenced in this thesis, and the appendices are found in Chapter 9.

2 Definitions and technical notes

Several terms shall be used in this paper, the intended meaning of which may not be completely intuitive. Most will of course be dealt with in more depth in later sections, but I give these explanations as a general guide to their usage in this thesis, that the reader may have the background necessary for approaching the text.

TPA. The subject of this study is the experience of interpreters whose work is organized in some way under a scheme called *Tolk på arbeidsplass*, literally, interpreter at the workplace. I have elected to maintain use of the Norwegian abbreviation, TPA. In the various contexts that will unfold themselves to the reader, it will become necessary to differentiate various versions of the scheme, which I will call staff interpreting and workplace interpreting. These terms and the reasons for their differentiation will be discussed in more detail later on.

NAV. The *Ny arbeids- og velferdsforvaltning* (New labor- and welfare administration), or NAV, is the government agency created in 2006 from the combination of the national social security administration (*Trygdeetaten*) and employment agency (*Aetat*), as well as some of the municipal social services. It is also responsible for the administration of the county interpreter services offices located around the country, as well as for the administration of the funding for TPA. Some interpreters in this study work directly for NAV though the interpreter services, and others are hired directly by various businesses or similar entities. In the case of the latter, NAV reimburses employers the costs of employing interpreters.

Norges døveforbund (NDF). The Norwegian Association of the Deaf. I will use the Norwegian abbreviation in this paper, especially to avoid confusion, as the abbreviation of the translated name would be the same as that of the National Association of the Deaf in the US.

Norsk tegnspråk (NTS). When discussed in the body of this paper, I will use either Norwegian Sign Language, or the Norwegian abbreviation, NTS.

D/deaf. It has become a common convention in the field of Deaf Studies to use a capital D when writing about deaf people who self-identify as members of a social and linguistic minority, and by extension, to children of whom it is natural that such an assumption might be made on their behalf (Lane, 2005). The lowercase d is, in such contexts, used to designate deaf adults who use primarily the language of the hearing majority and who "consider that they have a hearing impairment and do not self-identify as members of the Deaf-World" (Lane 2005, p. 291). Important to note is that these distinctions are not made on the basis of cause or onset of deafness, nor upon the shape of one's audiogram; identity and membership in a group are chosen, and are fluid over the course of a lifetime.

By d/Deaf we mean the members of both the aforementioned groups collectively. This term is generally synonymous with the usage of the phrase "deaf and hard-of-hearing," where the separate use of the words deaf and hard-of-hearing replaces the collective term hearing-impaired. This reclaiming of the terms serves to draw attention to what they are, rather than what they are not.

I have chosen to use in this document the orthographic convention d/Deaf as a collective description for the non-hearing client population to the interpreters in this study. I do this for the following reasons:

First, although the orthographic convention of using uppercase first letters to denote languages or ethnic groups does not exist in written Norwegian, this paper is being written in English, where the convention exists and is important in the contextualization of deafness within the fields of Deaf- and Disability Studies.

Second, as I would find out about my framing of TPA generally, it does not serve the topic or the population well to make the assumption that these terms are cognates. Additionally, because the Norwegian d/Deaf individuals whose interpreters serve as respondents here are

not known to me, nor are they the subjects of study, I have no knowledge regarding their individual cultural affiliation. It would therefore be overstepping my knowledge to refer to them, especially collectively, as deaf or as Deaf.

Third, the fact that sign language interpreters have been engaged at all indicates that we are dealing with a group of individuals who are all sign-language users. Beyond that fact, the homogeneity or heterogeneity of this group is not an issue.

Translations are the author's unless otherwise noted. Where Norwegian institutions or entities have adopted an English translation of their name and where this is known or commonly used, these have been used these for clarity and consistency.

This thesis examines a Norwegian phenomenon in a Norwegian context. Writing about it in English, my challenge has been to make this phenomenon accessible to an English-speaking readership while at the same time retaining an authenticity that allows the Norwegian reader to identify with the text. Where words or ideas lack simple cognates, I have paired and explained these.

I have made a decision in this thesis to paint a slightly indistinct picture of individual respondents. I have done this in order to maintain the highest degree of anonymity possible in such a small population of interpreters and their clients. I have also, rarely, obscured details in a story I was concerned might too easily have the potential to reveal the identity of a specific individual.

3   Theoretical foundations

In this chapter, the theoretical underpinnings of disability and deafness are examined, the topic of language is introduced, and the professionalization of the interpreter's role and the interpreter's ethical framework are discussed.

3.1   Disability-theoretical understandings of d/Deafness

This section describes the medical and the social models of disability.

3.1.1   The medical model of disability

The medical, or individual, model is a way of understanding disability in which difference or deviance is viewed as pathological, and in which impairment and its consequences are seen as residing in the individual affected. It arose during the time of industrialization, and Davis (2002, p. 3) links the "social process of disabling…to late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century notions of nationality, race, gender, criminality, sexual orientation, and so on." In a word, we started measuring everything, and we started describing what it was to be normal.

The Bell Curve Club: are you "in"?

Kermit (2006, p. 48) says the following on the pathologization of human variation:

> In an historical perspective, it is important to note that what in principle were mathematical representations of natural variations in populations, were quickly attributed an aspect of value. Even if being normal is simply a statistical expression for a distribution, falling outside the area where most people were found quickly became something that one perceived as undesired and problematic. To say that something was "abnormal" became, in other words, quickly the same as saying that something was undesired and suspect.

Social problems are elusive beasts. The pinning down and defining of a condition or phenomenon is a sociologic game of Whac-a-mole[1]. The passage of time, shifting social values, and the vastness of human geography and culture mean that social problems are sketched out, redefined, and scribbled out entirely, only to be written down again later. Social

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[1] Arcade game

problems are necessarily what society considers, at that time, and in that place and context, problems. Lane (2002, p. 359; see also Rubington & Weinberg, 2003) considers the evolution of the conceptualization of disability as social problem:

> Not only is it hard to tell disabilities from normal variation, but today's disability may be tomorrow's normal variation and vice versa. Alcoholism has gone from moral flaw to disability. Homosexuality from moral flaw to disability to minority rights. Child abuse from moral flaw to disability. Mild mental retardation from normal human variation to disability. What then determines whether some form of human variation is a disability? The answer is—norms and the technologies of normalization.

Indeed, some individuals and groups were found to have a vested interest in the creation of these definitions. The eugenics movement that followed hot on the heels of this normalcy craze did its best to advocate for the eradication from the population of traits viewed as deviant from the norm. Individual difference, and, some would argue, normal human variation, was clearly undesirable. This quest for the perfecting of the human body only reinforced the view that it is the person that has a problem and that the problem needs fixing. The message to a person with a hearing impairment is that he is inherently broken, not whole, imperfect, or defective; essentially, that he is not good enough the way he is.

3.1.2 The social model of disability

The social model of disability distinguishes impairment, on the one hand, from its potential disabling effects on the other, much in the same way that biological sex can be differentiated from effects related to our treatment of gender. Instead of conceptualizing disability in terms of individual deficit, as the medical model does, the social model asserts that disability arises only in a context where having an impairment leads to some kind of disadvantage. The social model also illuminates the fact that it is often the "helpers" who end up doing the most harm, by perpetuating stereotypes and beliefs, for instance, that disabled is the same as unable; that "these poor souls" need us. "We are also led to believe that such persons need to be taken care of, and that the good ones of us will 'help those poor deaf people'" (Baker-Shenk, 1990, p. 67). These types of disparaging and belittling we-know-best-what-you-need attitudes only reinforce the stereotyping and stigma that pervade society's ideas about individuals with disabilities, and constitute nothing short of oppression (Shakespeare, 2006). Organizations and charities for (instead of organizations of) the disabled accomplish two less-than-admirable goals: they allow individuals who are so inclined to feel that they have done their

moral or civic duty, while at the same time absolving society of any complicity resulting from its own disabling structure. Lane (2005, p. 295) writes that, "disability, like ethnicity, is a social construct, not a fact of life."

Also important to keep in mind is the fickle nature of life and circumstance; a person does not have to be born with what society calls a disability for him to acquire one at some point during his life. Indeed, if a person lives long enough, he will almost certainly become disabled in some way. In addition, common conditions not typically considered disabilities could nevertheless put a person at a disadvantage in certain circumstances. In a course in the Disability and Society program at NTNU, the braille numbering of doors in public buildings is discussed as an accommodation for the blind, and lighting in those same public buildings is cited as an accommodation for the sighted (Disability and Society 3001)[2]. The reframing (see for example Bauman & Murray, 2009), questioning, and rethinking of disability in social contexts is one of the greatest tools society has for the building of understanding and the tearing down of fear and prejudice.

The author of this thesis proposes an understanding of disability, and more particularly of deafness, that acknowledges the vicissitudes of human thought and opinion and the difference between the objective physical state at one point in space and at one moment in time, and asserts that all placements of that condition anywhere along the spectrum between the medical and the social models of disability are non-neutral in that they necessarily involve the coloring attributions of value judgments, and are therefore all social constructs.

3.1.3 A veritable tightrope

Interpreters walk a veritable tightrope between the medical and the social model when it comes to framing deafness and functioning as an interpreter. They owe their existence, i.e., their profession and the funding of their positions, to the fact that deafness is classified in the

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[2] A real life example of the situational nature of disability: This author once, accompanying a blind colleague home from a professional conference at night and helping another sighted colleague to carry baggage into the darkened house, heard a request for the lights to be turned on, and the retort, "Ah! You light-dependent sighted people!" (Sandra Ruconich, personal communication, 21 July, 2002)

Welfare Act (§ 10) as a disability and that financial resources are made available to compensate for the financial burden of having a disability. At the same time, the current educational model encourages a more sociocultural view of deafness and emphasizes that the interpreter is the interpreter just as much for the signing-impaired hearing person as he is for the d/Deaf. They must constantly navigate between the oft-competing perceptions that hearing and d/Deaf have about themselves and each other and about the role of the interpreter.

3.2   Language

Attempts to define language or the populations who use (or who do not use) a specific version of it are, by their very nature, political acts (Nakamura, 2006). I shall certainly not undertake such an exercise here. For our purposes, it suffices to say that there is much more to human language than phonemes and morphemes. It is the medium through which human beings relate to one another.

Language is at once the justification for the interpreter's existence, the mode of manifestation of his person, and his primary tool. It is the first because if the partners in the communication shared a common language, his presence would be unnecessary. It is the second because until he is using it, his appearance in the scene is no more remarkable than any other participant's or observer's would be. It is the last in the same way that the carpenter is identified iconically by his hammer, and the surgeon, by his scalpel.

The sign language interpreter, compared with spoken language counterparts, has one more raison d'être: half of his clients have a hearing loss sufficient to make communication with non-signers difficult. Compared with spoken language interpreters, whose clients have the physiological potential to acquire the language in question and outgrow the use of the interpreter, the sign language interpreter can follow his clients from primary school well into adulthood. One should not imagine that a person's deafness prevents language learning. D/deaf people who have access to education commonly learn not only their own signed language, but also the written language(s) of the hearing majority where they live.

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Additionally, d/Deaf people from different countries who come into contact with each other often will learn each other's language, and d/Deaf who gather in their organizations' international congresses have negotiated a contact language (a lingua franca or pidgin), International Sign[3], which allows them to communicate directly with one another. D/deaf individuals in higher education, regardless of their national language(s), also acquire proficiency in written English.

Research on sign language began in the 1960s in the U.S. with William Stokoe's (1960) groundbreaking work in the linguistics of American Sign Language. This would become the key to the acknowledgement in our time of sign language as a whole and natural language, and would help to open the way for the professionalization of the interpreting occupation. Research into sign language interpreting followed the pattern for research into spoken-language interpretation and translation; researchers who examined the sign language interpreter's treatment of information did so with an understanding of the role of the interpreter as a neutral information conduit (Metzger, 1999). The ideal was equivalence of meaning and form in the greatest possible degree, and the avoidance of any trace of the interpreter's own influence or subjective appraisal upon the message, in the way a telephone line would transmit, but not alter, a message passed between two parties. The interpreter, however, is also a human being, and the brain, his or her most important tool; judgment, reasoning, and reflection are an important and unavoidable part of the job of the interpreter. For many decades, the incongruity of this unattainable quest for sterile neutrality and the interpreter's invisibility in the message would represent a great challenge to the field.

3.3   The role of interpreters

The role of the sign language interpreter in a global context can be said to be in a state of constant flux. Factors including social and religious perceptions of deafness, governments' ideological and economical priorities, the Deaf community's self-perception, as well as its level of self-advocacy all influence the scope of the interpreter's role. Because of this, it is difficult to give an historical perspective of the interpreter's role on a global level.

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[3] See Supalla & Webb (1995), see also Firth (1996).

Interpreters for the d/Deaf, in much of the western world, at least, were, until the middle of the last century, typically family members or neighbors of d/Deaf individuals, or teachers or clergy under whose tutelage such an individual found himself. The role of the interpreter was that of expediter of whatever business was at hand. They were helpers of their handicapped [sic] neighbors, pressed into service as a transient need arose, and released to their daily lives at the conclusion of the performance of the favor. Now, in many places in the world, interpreting has achieved professional status, part of which means they have common ethical guidelines that make their practice, at least regionally, more predictable to their clientele. They are increasingly understood to be linguistic intermediaries, whose service is bounded by the duties that are natural to ascribe to an interpreter, i.e., they are not helpers, personal assistants, or caregivers.

3.4   The need for a Code of Ethics

One of the defining characteristics of any professional is adherence to a code of ethical conduct, known alternately known as codes of ethics, ethical guidelines, professional guidelines, etc. These terms are essentially interchangeable and all denote this internal set of rules of practice. Two easily recognizable examples of concepts in these codes are the doctor's Hippocratic Oath and the lawyer's lawyer-client privilege.

3.4.1   Trust

Inherent to professionalization is society's entrusting authority over the execution of a set of functions to a certain group of individuals. The prerequisites for this transfer of trust have been discussed above. Harald Grimen (2008b, p. 197), a central figure in the establishment of profession studies as a research field, summarized and described the action of trust this way:

If A shows B trust, it is usually the case that:

1. A entrusts something—X—to B's care for a certain time.
2. A transfers—always de facto and sometimes de jure—judgment-based decision-making power over X to B.
3. X is important to A.

4. A expects that:

    a. B will not do anything that damages A's interests,

    b. B is competent to safeguard X in keeping with A's interests, and

    c. B possesses appropriate means to safeguard X.

5. A does not take precautions to protect himself against B's possible misuse of X.

(2008b, p. 197)

For our purposes, we should imagine that B is an interpreter, or by extension, the interpreting community, and that A can represent the parties, individually and collectively, for whom interpretation is being carried out. We can further imagine that X is a message of some description; whether trivial or of great significance, it is considered worthy of being communicated. In our context, where the parties to the communication do not share a common language, both must surrender their message, their intent, and their aim, to the interpreter. The interpreter receives from A decision-making power over the message for the period of its transmission. A has the expectations that the interpreter will not act in a way that jeopardizes A's interests, that the interpreter is competent to deliver the message X in the way A intends, and that the interpreter possesses the means, in our case, e.g., intellectual, professional, and ethical grounding necessary to transmit the message in an ethically defensible way, that is, to the intended recipient, in the intended way. The parties A show trust to the interpreter when they, without requiring more than a basic understanding of the interpreter's confidentiality agreement, reveal sensitive information during an interpreted interaction.

The d/Deaf community and society have jointly delegated to interpreters the social mandate to be linguistic intermediaries. They have done this formally through legislation and tacitly by making use of their services. They gave qualified individuals the authority to carry out the duties of their fledgling profession. Along with this came power; power over the language, the message, and ultimately, the participants.

3.4.2   Power

Because there is an "epistemic asymmetry" (Grimen 2008b, p. 200) inherent in the interpreter-mediated conversation, this last point will always represent a risk. In our case, the

difference in knowledge base between professional and client is one primarily of language fluency and interpretation expertise, rather than the typical example of a sick person seeking a doctor's medical advice. Nevertheless, the client is as dependent upon the interpreter for successful communication as the patient is upon the doctor for the return of health. In both cases, trust must be placed in fallible human beings who have the potential for making mistakes. As the possessor of specialized knowledge, the practitioner enters a relationship of power relative to the client, or more properly, the client enters into a relationship of vulnerability relative to the professional. Clients are therefore inherently vulnerable to potential misuse of power, and are dependent not only upon the professional's skillfulness, but also upon his willingness to admit any mistakes made.

Another point Grimen makes about professions is that there is an internal autonomy inherent in them. Essentially, they are the authorities on doing their job. By virtue of this specialized knowledge they possess, there can be no outsider with the expertise to oversee their practice. If we compare doctors and interpreters again, we quickly see that one would "have to be a doctor" in order to be qualified to instruct another doctor in matters of practice. In an interpreter-mediated interaction, it is the interpreter, rather than his clients, who has the education and training necessary to facilitate and optimize the communication.

Both epistemic asymmetry and internal autonomy contribute to professionals' power relative to their clients. At the same time, power is not always a bad thing; it is precisely this type of power that we desire in our professionals when it comes to a service that we lay persons (read: experts in something else) need. We want them to have more knowledge about the removal of an inflamed appendix than we have, or for them to be better at using sign language than we are. We just want to be able to trust that they're doing their best for us.

3.4.3 Vulnerability

The Oxford Dictionary of English lists as a definition for vulnerable, "exposed to the possibility of being attacked or harmed" (*Oxford Dictionary of English* 2005, p. 1977). This vulnerability is situational. For example, passing into and out of relationships of power is as

simple as the parent making a visit to the doctor. He passes from authority figure to patient and from powerful to vulnerable and back again. Whether he becomes a victim of attack or harm or the abuse of power while in this vulnerable state has everything to do with the personal and professional ethics of his doctor. We cannot rightly attribute to the man's own resilience or strength of character his outcome when he is so clearly in a relationship in which there is an imbalance of power.

3.4.4 Ethics

In classical definitions of the concept of profession, a professional moral code was considered a defining trait. It was to hold the personal interests of the professional in check. The execution of professional duties should not be self-serving (Koehn, 1994). "Collegial organizations—with the understanding that people are not angels—need…internal rules to keep themselves in check, if they are to perform assignments on behalf of others" (Grimen, 2008a, pp. 144-145).

The risk associated with this power and vulnerability finds its amelioration in the Code of Professional Conduct. It gives standards inwardly to the professional community, and outwardly, it serves as a set of assurances to the public of the well-meaning nature of the practitioners, collectively speaking. It also, among the interpreting community in Norway, is designed to give the public insight into what the professionals wish to communicate to the lay community about their role and standards of practice[4] (Tolkeforbundet, 2011).

Even though codes of ethics develop more or less in parallel with the profession they govern, established definitions of and limitations on the interpreter's role can in certain situations seem inexpedient, and interpreters have often consciously acted in ways they themselves believe to be contrary to their own code of ethics. Wadensjö (1993/2002, 1998), Metzger (1999), and Roy (1993/2002, 2000) were among those who refuted the myths of "neutrality" and "invisibility" and casted a light upon the fact that interpreters, despite the aforementioned

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[4] *Tolkeforbundet* (The Interpreter Association) does not, however, serve as an appellate authority for the resolution of complaints against interpreters. See Grimen (2008a, p. 145).

ideals (espoused as recently as in Hauser, Finch & Hauser, 2008), acted as active participants in interpreted situations. Berge and Ragnheiður (2003) report on the actions classroom interpreters take and call for a new discussion of the role of the interpreter based on sociocultural theory. Leneham and Napier (2003) also address the question of role, and assert that the then-extant codes of ethical conduct were not flexible enough to respond to the changing role of the interpreter. Tate and Turner (1997/2002) and Kermit (2004, 2001) delve into the same mismatch between theoretical, ethical and practical demands as they search for the ethics of the new generation of interpreters. Kermit examines in particular the historical ethical grounding that has formed the context in which Norwegian interpreters have worked and evolved as a profession, and calls for a more nuanced, robust, and courageous discussion of ethical theories and their place in the interpreter's professional code. The Report on the State of Interpreting (NAV, 2008), presented in cooperation with the Department of Work and Inclusion, describes the development of the profession and notes that the discussion about the role and ethics of the interpreter has not come to an end. And while the interpreter education program in Trondheim has long built upon a sociocultural model of language and communication based on cognitive-linguistic theories (Erlenkamp et al., 2011), it is easy to find experienced interpreters who fall back on the conduit method in certain situations. The degree to which interpreters view these conflicting ideals as ethical paradoxes, and how they deal with individual situations as they arise, is an important question with relevance for the further development of the interpreter education programs, to the evaluation and development of codes of professional conduct, and to quality assurance in the practical arena.

Before we continue, it is important to highlight a point made by Kermit (2001) about the sorts of theoretical underpinnings that have historically shaped our practice. And here it is fair to generalize a bit away from an exclusively Norwegian context and assert that the following is a very natural evolution of the interpreting enterprise: Kermit explains that the pre-professional time was marked by a utilitarian ethic, and that the period of early professionalization was marked by an deontological ethic. The difference between these can be illustrated in the question of whether or not the end justifies the means. In the former, a white lie can be justified if the effect of it is a "desirable outcome"; in the latter, no type of lie can be justifiable without all lies being justifiable. Deontological ethics also force us to confront the issue of who gets to decide what is a desirable outcome, and thus, what actions

can be justified. As our discussion of the findings will often be couched in ethical reflections, it is important that these terms be somewhat familiar.

On the subject of the code of professional conduct, he points out that the quintessential interpreting scenario around which the ethical guidelines have been framed is one between two resourceful, adult parties who are equals in every way and who approach each other in a relationship of mutual understanding and respect. Given this picture of an interpreted conversation, it is easy to imagine that the rule-bound deontological ethics would be quite sufficient. This is what many interpreters refer to as a "show up, interpret, leave" appointment. This is hardly a complete picture of interpreting generally, however, due to the myriad factors that make us individuals, and that lead to situations where we are frequently in relationships where there is an imbalance of power, knowledge, status, etc. We will see that this imbalance will also figure heavily in the choices interpreters make.

My interpretation of Kermit is that he does not throw the baby out with the bathwater. Utilitarianism and deontology are not necessarily failed ethical perspectives. Instead, he calls for interpreters to have not only a broader and deeper theoretical ethical understanding, which will give them more ethical tools in their toolbox, but also for them to have, as a profession, the kind of discussion and reflection about their practice that institutionalizes what I will call a meta-utilitarianism. That is, to have enough practice with and trust in one's tools that one knows which one to use for the task at hand, being conscious of and able to justify one's interpreter-ethical choices. Although he optimistically puts strict utilitarianism and strict deontology squarely in the past for Norway's interpreter force, it is clear from the data that although the population studied acts to a large extent according to this new ethical paradigm, many of them still have qualms about doing so.

For the reader, it should be remembered that the d/Deaf and hearing interpreter users served by the interpreters in this study all span the entire spectrum of knowledge, power, and position. It is not the case that d/Deaf are always in positions subordinate to their hearing counterparts, though many are, and there is an abundance of historical and cultural evidence

that makes this assumption unfortunately natural; many of the d/Deaf individuals represented here (and in Norway in general) have higher education and are employed in responsible positions in their respective organizations. Our study treats interpreting in settings where both these "groups" are represented, and we will see that this influences interpreters' choices in important ways.

4   The development of the interpreting profession in Norway

From familiar early beginnings as the purview first mainly of family members, and later of teachers, and then of ministers, who interpreted on a volunteer basis and mostly in their free time, Norway's embryonic interpreting profession began to take shape.

4.1   The need for professional interpreters

A profession, as opposed to an occupation[5], emerges as it takes on characteristics including the following: professions are self-regulating, have a professional organization, possess specialized knowledge and a have system for transmitting this knowledge, have a code of ethical conduct, as well as a monopoly on political authorization to practice the profession, a social mandate, and a public trust that makes it possible to carry out this mandate (Grimen, 2008a, 2008b). Woll, et al. (1999) chronicle the emergence of the interpreting profession in Norway firsthand.

In this case, the impetus for professionalization would come not within the group of practitioners, but from earnest dialog between the Norwegian Association of the Deaf (NDF) and various responsible parties in the government. Indeed, it can be argued that the practitioners did not at this stage self-identify even as an occupation; teachers and priests were first and foremost teachers and priests, and among the laity, interpreter was not something one was, but interpreting was something one did, as a service to the community, when it was possible. The arrangement then practiced was deemed no longer satisfactory (see Sander, 1999; Raanes, 1999); the need for qualified interpreting services as a means to accessing the social benefits for which they were eligible led to the demand that the right of the d/Deaf to interpreting services become a matter of law. From the NDF in 1973 come thoughts of giving interpreters professional status, an effort surely to establish and legitimize

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[5] I have decided to use the word "occupation" as a differentiator to "profession" in my translation of the Norwegian literature on the subject. Though often used synonymously in spoken English, the Oxford Dictionary of English (2005) defines them thus: a profession is "a paid occupation, esp. one that involves prolonged training and a formal qualification" from the Latin *profitere* "to declare publicly [one's skill]." An occupation is "a job or profession" or "a way of spending time." The Latin *occupare* lends its root to several words having to do with the disposition of time.

their existence, and as early as 1975 we find resolutions from the NDF with language equating this right to interpretation to a human right (Sander, 1999). The government agreed, and in the ensuing years, the NDF would represent the d/Deaf in negotiations with the government to secure the legal right to interpretation and to establish the first programs for interpreter education.

4.2   Creating the first Interpreters

In contrast to the more typical, and more organic, way that professional status is usually achieved, no system of education yet existed, no professional organization had yet been formed, and no common ethics had yet been adopted that could legitimize those individuals who interpreted as members and practitioners of a profession, and thereby justify their compensation with state funds. Instead, the NDF, with the government's sanction, were tasked with creating, from those early volunteers, professional Interpreters, that is to say, with recruiting, educating, and credentialing individuals who would be judged qualified, and were willing, to carry the brand new protected title of Interpreter for the deaf and to execute the social mandate that was waiting to be delegated to them. This would be, of course, in contrast to the status quo of individuals who helped out without remuneration when they had time. The NDF created a curriculum, teaching materials, testing standards, and recruited a teaching staff. These efforts resulted in a five-week (2+3) course offered only to those already proficient in sign language (in reality, individuals like those mentioned above). Between the two seminars, they were to return home for six months, during which time they were to study the theory from the reading list and to take on interpreting assignments of different types with the aim of improving their interpreting skills. In 1978, the 14 members of the first graduating class passed their examinations, received their credentials, and created the first professional organization (Sander, 1999). Courses following this pattern would turn out many more interpreters after that first class. Now they had the specialized knowledge, a system for transmitting this knowledge, and an organization. They were ready to take upon themselves the mandate.

Interpreters and their profession became more established over the years due to a game of legal leapfrog, wherein the capacity to educate was developed in response to the expansion of

the rights of the d/Deaf and the increasing need for interpreting services. From this five-week course, interpreter education was gradually expanded to a one-year course in Oslo by 1989, to a two-year course approved in 1994 and implemented the next year, and finally to a three-year bachelor program in place by 2003. The volume of students doubled and tripled during this time in response to the establishment of parallel programs in Trondheim and in Bergen (see Erlenkamp, Amundsen, Berge, Grande, Mjøen, & Raanes, 2011; G. Amundsen, K. Skedsmo & T. Weiby, personal communication, 28 April 2014). The latter, with sign language instruction in the first year, allowed for recruitment from a much broader pool of applicants, making the current interpreter population much more heterogeneous in terms of their pre-existing ties (or lack thereof) to the d/Deaf community than was previously the case.

4.2.1   The exotic interpreter

The process of gaining a social mandate and political authority to carry it out has been completed. Despite this, interpreters in Norway are still seen as inhabiting an "exotic" profession (G. Amundsen, personal communication, Autumn 2009), as opposed to professions with more generally accepted prestige, such as surgeon, scientist, or astronaut. Interpreters in Norway still fight courtesy stigma that they encounter because of their career choice (Goffman 1963).

Stigma, according to Erving Goffman (1963), is the social discrediting of difference. Courtesy stigma occurs when stigma is attached or attributed to a wise person; an individual who, though himself not a bearer of the stigmatizing trait, is a family member or friend of such a person, or indeed a professional who works with stigmatized individuals or groups. Because of their relationship, he has become privy to special understanding concerning the stigmatized and is accepted by them. In these situations, stigma is transferred to non-stigmatized individuals, whom Goffman calls normals, by virtue of their connections (Ibid. pp. 42-44). Our society views deafness as a discreditable difference, and interpreters are therefore vulnerable to courtesy stigma.

People unfamiliar with the d/Deaf might wonder why interpreters have chosen this career, why they would want to work with "those people", or perhaps think them good or kind for doing so. Government's early understanding of the need for interpreters was incomplete: they likened interpreters to those whose duty it was to be a personal support assistant to a person with an illness or disability (Sander, 1999). Over the years, especially with ever-sharpened educational requirements and professional standards, interpreters earned the right to protest that they are not simply travelling companions; that they have, for example, a bachelor's degree in interpreting. The fact remains, however, that they are virtually compelled to proclaim it: society's current understanding of deafness means that there is still misunderstanding and stigma attached to being d/Deaf, and, by association, to interpreters. Yet it is not simply stigma, but also status that can be contagious. Interpreters understand that their prestige, or lack of it, is inherently linked with that of the d/Deaf community. We see an illustration of this phenomenon from one interpreter: following a public meeting early in 2011 on the subject of who controls Norwegian Sign Language, Hanne Randi Nylund (Nylund, 2011), writer of an article about the meeting published in the Interpreter Association newspaper, Tolkeavisa, contemplates hopefully whether the increased focus on NTS on a higher political plane will rub off on the interpreting profession as well. She asks, "Perhaps this will raise our status as well? Will we escape being seen as caregivers, and come to be seen as simply an interpreter of language?"

4.3   Workplace interpreting scheme (TPA)

In this section we contextualize the d/Deaf and their interpreters in the workforce.

4.3.1   D/deaf at work, past and present

"In the olden days," d/Deaf people in Norway were often relegated to the so-called S-jobs: *skredder* (tailor), *skomaker* (shoemaker), and *snekker* (carpenter). This was not because the d/Deaf were not capable of doing other things, but because the society was not aware that they were. Charlotte Baker-Shenk and J. G. Kyle (1990, p. 67) write that our "culture implies that deafness or any 'handicap' makes one less than a full, whole person. This leads us to assume ignorance and/or childlike thinking and incompetence on the part of the deaf person." This idea continues to dominate society's thoughts about d/Deaf people. A research project

carried out by SINTEF Health Research in 2004 on behalf of Norway's National Association of the Hearing-Impaired based its research hypotheses on the idea that having reduced hearing was in and of itself reason to assume, among other things, poor mental health and increased sick leave (Eide & Gundersen, 2004).

The SINTEF report "The hearing-impaired and work: A study of correlations between hearing impairment, levels of psychosocial functioning, and participation in the workforce" painted a bleak picture of hearing-impaired people's mental health and connection with the workforce. Among the findings culled from the data were that the hearing-impaired have more mental problems, lower quality of life, lower participation in the workforce, and lower levels of completed education than the non-hearing-impaired. They also have a greater chance of having a low-status job, physically demanding work, lower job satisfaction, and lower income than the non-hearing-impaired. There are two big problems with the generalization of this SINTEF study to the research question posed in the current study. First, the data were taken from the Study of Health in Nord-Trøndelag (HUNT) and from the hearing examination that was conducted in 1995, parallel with HUNT 2. The data that form the research material for the study were collected from 1984 to 1986. The report from 2004 can thus hardly be said to paint an accurate picture of the issue, even at the time of its publication. Second, it is impossible to differentiate from the data provided in the study those individuals who identify themselves as hearing-impaired from those who self-identify as Deaf. However, there are currently fewer than 100 sign language interpreter users in the county of Nord-Trøndelag (NAV Hjelpemiddelsentral, personal communication, Spring 2012), something that would indicate that most of the 7125 respondents in the SINTEF study fall outside the category that the current study examines.

Despite the facts that the aforementioned data are out of date and that they describe a population that does not correspond with the population of d/Deaf we deal with here, the report nevertheless contains some generalizable points. Herland (2008), Helland (2010), Blix (2010), and Moe (2010) all illustrate poor working conditions for d/Deaf people, and all these write about ostensibly bilingual workplaces, i.e., workplaces where TPA has been instituted. Among other things, they report that the d/Deaf feel overlooked or ignored by the

management, and that the d/Deaf are subject to differential or discriminatory treatment compared with their hearing colleagues. This corresponds in the highest degree with known historical conditions and gives some credibility to the SINTEF report.

The welfare state operates best when as many as possible contribute to the common good. The workplace interpreting scheme is a part of a greater initiative that aims to support individuals with various impairments, among them also the d/Deaf, in obtaining work and/or remaining in the workforce. Norwegian law secures the right of the d/Deaf to interpretation in the activities of daily living, including the workplace (see Lov om Folketrygd [Welfare Act] § 10-7 f, g Rundskriv). It states that hearing-impaired individuals are entitled to economic support for hearing aids and for *interpreting help* (Lov om folketrygd § 10-7 b), f), emphasis added). This interpreting help applies both to activities of daily living and to occupation in the workforce (Lov om folketrygd § 10-5, -6). Each hearing-impaired individual has a right to 90 hours of interpreting help per quarter. This, however, has proven impractical in practice; many times, no interpreter is available when one is needed. In addition, immediate needs are practically impossible to satisfy. Communication between d/Deaf and hearing at the workplace is therefore far from spontaneous. This, of course, has an impact on the workplace environment and job satisfaction. TPA grew out of Chapter 10 of the Welfare Act, regarding benefits for the compensation of costs associated with the improvement of employability and functioning in daily life.

4.3.2   TPA is born

In 1999, the Workplace Interpreting Trial Scheme was created. In workplaces where several d/Deaf were employed, individuals could voluntarily surrender their own 90 hours to a common pool, and the company could hire a full-time interpreter; the interpreter's and the clients' workplace would be one and the same, and the National Insurance Administration would cover the costs of interpretation services. Roughly three full-time equivalents (three d/Deaf in 100% employment, six at 50%, etc., or some combination thereof) equaled one full-time interpreter.

This trial was, according to the then Department for Social and Health Affairs' own evaluation, so successful that the scheme was made permanent and rolled out nationwide in 2001. Feedback from the scheme's individual and institutional users three years later was overwhelmingly positive (ECON, 2004). Participants in the scheme made much more use of interpreting services than they had before, flexibility in the workplace was increased, and integration of d/Deaf and hearing employees improved. The scheme continues to this day, albeit with some administrative adjustments along the way, the last of which was in 2008.

In recent years, the question of doing away with the TPA scheme has been raised, but there exists very little documented evaluation of the evolution of the scheme and of possible challenges that users (both d/Deaf and hearing) and interpreters might face. The National Insurance Administration asked ECON Analyse to analyze the scheme, and in 2004 the report was published. This report is the most complete documentation and evaluation of the scheme to date. It gives a good introduction to the history behind TPA, and summarizes several fundamental documents that prove difficult to obtain. It concludes that all parties express great satisfaction with the scheme, and that the only changes recommended are of the administrative, and not the practical type. Interestingly, the report alludes to the fact that during the evaluation that led to the nationwide adoption of the scheme, hearing and d/Deaf users were asked their opinion, but interpreters were not. Some of the interpreters contacted the evaluating department on their own and gave feedback. This illustrates two important points: first, that we are not asking enough questions; too little knowledge is produced relevant to interpreters' experience, and second, that interpreters are enthusiastic participants in such knowledge-building studies and have a desire to be heard.

In 2010, Rycon published *Opp med henda! Kommunikasjon på tospråklige arbeidsplasser* [*Hands up! Communication in bilingual workplaces*] (Stadshaug & Foote, 2010). This is a book that functions well as a users' guide, especially for new employees of bilingual workplaces who do not have prior knowledge of or experience with d/Deaf people and interpreting. Without necessarily contributing to the scientific corpus, the book gives the layperson a quite readable introduction to topics like deafness, sign language, interpreting,

and TPA, and at the same time, gives the researcher a starting point with regards to what interpreters tell others about their job.

The concept of workplace interpreting is not particularly unusual. In the United States, where the provision of interpreting services is mandated by laws such as the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), but not organized as a nationally-funded duty of the social services, universities and colleges, public agencies, and private companies alike make use of "staff interpreters" when several d/Deaf sign language users work alongside hearing people who do not know (enough) sign language. In addition, some countries use a scheme that resembles Norway's, e.g., Belgium, Sweden, and the UK (L. Leeson, personal communication, 11 November 2013). What makes the TPA scheme special is both that it has become an official part of the Norwegian social services, and that it is currently understood and administrated in varying ways by the relevant bodies.

D/deaf people have, in recent years, been successful in challenging society's prejudices, taking higher education, and entering into high(er)-status positions. Today, with an individual right to interpretation, it is theoretically easier for each individual to choose the occupation in which he or she thrives best. In Norway today, one can find d/Deaf teachers, researchers, counselors, archivists, nurses, and more. The newest scientific work in the field comes from the U.S in the form of Deaf Professionals and Designated Interpreters: A New Paradigm (Hauser, Finch & Hauser, 2008). The book treats a very special type of workplace interpreting, namely, d/Deaf individuals in professional positions who have "their own" interpreters, and their work situations and challenges. Though differences between the client groups are significant, many of the topics treated are also quite relevant in our context. Among these are the issues of friends vs. colleagues, dress code, gender, and social customs and practices. Aside from this, there is virtually no literature pertaining precisely to this subject matter. This, of course, emphasizes the need for studies such as the current one. The TPA scheme also supports working in a signing environment. It is easy to suppose that the TPA scheme contributes to making the workforce a more attractive place for d/Deaf sign language users, that they thrive better and remain in the workforce, thereby contributing to the common good. To date, however, there has been no systematic examination of d/Deaf

people's employment patterns before and after the introduction of TPA. In addition, the articles mentioned above illustrate the fact that the rules often function differently in reality than they are meant to.

5   Method and material

This chapter presents the approach to data analysis used in this study, as well as the sample and data collection.

5.1   Method

The original approach to data analysis for this project was based on Giorgi's interpretation of Husserlian phenomenology, with a nod to Van Manen's hermeneutical phenomenology based on my background as an interpreter in various types of workplaces. Phenomenology is of course in its purest form a philosophy that addresses the structure of consciousness and the subjective experience. Giorgi's adaptation of this philosophy to application in the field of psychology was the model I used as a jumping off point for further application in the field of disability and society.

Presented with the existence of something called the TPA scheme, I approached this study with the assumption that "functioning as a workplace interpreter" was a discrete phenomenon, in the same way that "experiencing learning" or "experiencing jealousy" are, even though the former may seem to be a more complex type of experience than the latter two. This is the point at which one must adapt the model to bridge the gap between psychology and the social sciences, for while psychological studies are well poised to address discrete feelings or mental processes in isolation, the aim of the social sciences is first achieved when these are studied within the context of interaction.

With data collection underway, it was soon suspect that what I was attempting to examine was not, as I had thought, one discrete phenomenon. It was in fact two phenomena, at the very least. This was due to the fact that the combination of the way the interpreting services were configured and the variety of workplaces that were served were so heterogeneous as to make the analysis of these data under the umbrella of phenomenology quite impossible. I briefly considered grouping the various settings together and analyzing them as two phenomena, but this was not the solution: I could no longer be sure before embarking upon

the journey just what it was I was looking to discover along the way. I had to acknowledge, and then set aside my own background (my culture, my geography, my laws, my professional practice) in various types of workplace interpreting and approach this dataset as if what I was examining were a new and unknown entity. Only by examining it with new eyes could I be at all certain of doing justice to the thing, whatever it would turn out to be. In the end, a social constructivist grounded theory like the one espoused by Charmaz (see Charmaz, 2005, 2006, as cited in Creswell, 2007) was the right method to use for data analysis. It lends itself well to topics that have not been explored previously (whether at all, or by the investigator), as it does not require the researcher to formulate hypotheses beforehand, but allows discovery to lead the analysis. Though a less systematic version of grounded theory than Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998; as cited in Creswell, 2007), and Creswell (2007), for that matter, advocate, it is the one best suited to application to the present dataset, precisely because it is more flexible than Strauss and Corbin's process, which requires implementation of the model already during the study's design. Creswell (Creswell, 2007, p.65) says the following about Charmaz' approach to grounded theory:

> Constructivist grounded theory, according to Charmaz (2006), lies squarely within the interpretive approach to qualitative research with flexible guidelines, a focus on theory developed that depends on the researcher's view, learning about the experience within embedded, hidden networks, situations, and relationships, and making visible hierarchies of power, communication, and opportunity.

Social constructivism requires researchers to "recognize that their own background shapes their interpretation, and [that] they 'position themselves' in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their own personal, cultural, and historical perspectives" (Creswell, 2007, p. 21). This investigator could, then, acknowledge simultaneously her own background in the Deaf community and interpreting, and the foreignness of experience and dissimilarity that this study had already revealed.

5.2   Data collection and analysis

In conducting the interviews, I followed a semi-structured interview guide. This was fine-tuned along the way as the body of data emerged. This interview form provided enough structure so that I could be sure nothing was forgotten, as well as a comfortable jumping off

point for respondents to speak freely about the things that were important to them. Each of the respondents consented to our conversation being video recorded. The interviews were subsequently transcribed, whereby care was taken that data of a visual nature should also be recorded. Data were coded as themes emerged and analyzed according to the patterns that revealed themselves.

5.3 Sample

The respondents in this study consist of ten women and two men, which generally reflects the gender breakdown[6] of interpreters in the geographic population to which these interpreters belong (L. Heany Røsvik, personal communication, 25 April 2014). At the time they were interviewed they were aged between 28 and 50 years (mean=34, median=31.5).

Between them, they serve three workplaces that participate in some way in the TPA scheme. These workplaces include a county interpreting services office, where interpreters are based and from which they travel itinerantly to their various appointments. In addition to serving blue collar d/Deaf workers in a number of ordinary workplaces, these interpreters also serve a population of individuals who are trying to enter or return to the work force, and who, due to health problems of one kind or another, immigrant background (and therefore non-native language ability), or disadvantaged educational background, rely upon Social Services vocational rehabilitation or back-to-work programs.

The other two workplaces are more characterized by a higher concentration of d/Deaf, which I sometimes describe as "d/Deaf-dense", and a higher saturation of interpreters, essentially,

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[6] NAV had, when this study was designed, a list of officially approved interpreters on its website from whence I took the numbers originally used in my assertion. This list has now been removed. According to Heany Røsvik, president of the Interpreter Association, an exact number, let alone gender breakdown, is difficult to get: it would mean identifying and contacting individually all of the public and private institutions currently employing interpreters, but even then, there is a sizable group of freelance interpreters, not all of whom have a current service agreement with the interpreting services. The current numbers are based on membership in the Interpreter Association. This in itself is problematic for a couple of reasons, the main one being that membership is not compulsory and may, therefore, not reflect the reality of the gender breakdown among interpreters in Norway. Nevertheless, Heany Røsvik has also observed a preponderance of women in the interpreter services. It is hardly the case that a great number of male interpreters are simply "hiding."

that the interpreter's workplace and the client's workplace are one and the same, and the interpreters are present in the workplace even when not interpreting. We might even call them "embedded interpreters." These interpreters serve a population of individuals who have on average more time in the educational system. More have acquired professional titles or academic degrees. These interpreter-users are more often service providers than service receivers.

Half of the study participants belong to this first itinerant group, the other half to the latter group of embedded interpreters.

All told, these respondents have 61 years of interpreting experience behind them; 41 years working in the field we examine here. Among them are seasoned interpreters as well as some who are essentially fresh out of school. Some have ties to the d/Deaf community that influenced their career choice; for others, the decision was more happenstance. Thus, most of the various stages of development of interpreter recruitment and education in Norway, as well as most of the institutions responsible for it, are represented (Erlenkamp, et al., 2011; Woll, 1999).

In every case, the interpreters speak with fervor and dedication about their work and show an ability to reflect upon their own practice and the evolution of their profession. They seem eager to contribute to knowledge building within their profession.

6   Findings

The key findings described in this work center around the two professional pillars of language and of role. It could be tempting to divide this thesis cleanly into sections, and to analyze these two concepts separately, but it would never work. Indeed, language and role are the fundamental existential questions of the interpreter. Without language, the question of role would be superfluous, without role, the question of language would be moot. They are so inextricably intertwined that they must be discussed in concert, moving between them as seems natural.

6.1   Being present in a good way

> But I feel like we are- we're people, of course, and it's an important role that I have- I'm a fellow human being. That thing about being present in a good way…I've struggled with that. It's probably the thing I think most about. […] There are a lot of emotions bound up in this idea, and how- how am I present in a good way?

From an experienced female interpreter, this phrase, "being present in a good way", struck me the first time I heard it, indeed, in the very first interview in this study. As the hermeneutic process of data collection continued and as data analysis began to reveal the first themes, this idea of being present in a good way seemed to emerge as the common thread that bound them all together. It seems that this overarching goal or ideal might contain the key to many of the ethical conundrums discussed in the data, and might serve as the practical reiteration of Kermit's call for a more nuanced ethical practice. It is presented here first in order to frame and stitch together all that follows.

6.2   The TPA crutch: audism perpetuated?

The ECON report (2004) contained only one criticism of the practical execution of the TPA scheme:

> Users have very little negative to say about the scheme. One point that is emphasized, however, is that the scheme can be a "crutch" for the hearing. Easy access to interpreters contributes to hearing colleagues, who know some sign language, depending on interpretation instead of using what they know. Hearing individuals who do not know sign language can, because of the scheme, elect not to learn sign language. (2004, p. 29)

This red flag was raised a decade ago through interviews with interpreter-users in the d/Deaf-dense workplaces that were part of ECON's evaluation of the TPA scheme. It also concisely represents the principal reservation to the scheme cited by interpreters in this study who work in d/Deaf-dense arenas. Audism is a term that denotes discrimination on the basis of hearing loss, and especially favors an approach to deafness that includes remediation and normalization. See Harrington & Jacobi (2009). The "interpreter crutch" in these workplaces may paradoxically perpetuate audism. Before we delve too much into why this is the case, it is important to talk about the way interpreters in this study conceptualize, and the expectations they have about their work and their workplaces. Our discussion centers on the question of bilingualism.

6.2.1 Bilingual workplaces?

Although the term "bilingual workplace" is in frequent use among the interpreting community in Norway, its application is far from intuitive. The Oxford Dictionary of English (2005, p. 163) defines bilingual as it applies in three different contexts:

- (of a person) speaking two languages fluently: a bilingual secretary.
- (of a text or an activity) written or conducted in two languages: bilingual dictionaries | bilingual education.
- (of a country, city, or other community) using two languages, esp. officially: the town is virtually bilingual in Dutch and German.

Accepting that, among linguists, bilingualism is as complicated to define as language fluency, and using the definitions above as starting points, let us examine the ways in which a workplace might be considered bilingual. We start with a publication that underpins the Norwegian application of the term. Stadshaug and Foote (2010) define as "bilingual" workplaces those where individuals with different languages work together. Their publication, entitled *Opp med henda! : kommunikasjon på tospråklige arbeidsplasser* [*Hands Up! : Communication in Bilingual Workplaces*], intends to give practical communication advice to non-signers who work alongside d/Deaf people. The authors hail from the interpreting staff at a company called Rycon AS, one of the most d/Deaf-dense workplaces in Norway, and one where d/Deaf individuals are employed at various levels in the institutional hierarchy.

In 2004, at the time the ECON report was published, Rycon was the biggest employer of interpreters in the TPA scheme and served the greatest number of d/Deaf interpreter users. Nine full-time interpreters served a total of 98 d/Deaf users in four organizations (with 53 working at Rycon and 45 working at three cooperating organizations) (ECON 2004, p. 15). With such significant numbers of NTS users, it is perhaps not unnatural to liken a workplace to a community and accept Stadshaug and Foote's description of such workplaces as bilingual, regardless of whether or not we reckon with levels of Norwegian fluency among the d/Deaf and NTS fluency among the hearing.

However, the further one goes from Rycon, metaphorically speaking, the less likely it becomes that the numbers of d/Deaf are sufficient to warrant such a label. Placement in a back-to-work program is an intervention designed to help an individual, and therefore it is reasonably to be assumed that the NAV itinerants who participate in this study are almost exclusively serving one d/Deaf person at a time. Applying the term bilingual, then, is a misnomer. This does not negate the value of the book as a "first aid course" for hearing people in how to interact with the d/Deaf. On the contrary: the less bilingual a workplace is, the more help is to be derived from it.

Despite the difficulty in doing so from a linguistic point of view, there is perhaps a social reason to support the use of the term bilingual in these settings. If there is general acceptance for the definition from Stadshaug and Foote among the hearing and d/Deaf populations served, it could lead to greater acceptance of and cooperation with the d/Deaf employee. If the first label he receives is a linguistic one, rather than a medical one, it might be more possible for the d/Deaf person to be seen first for what he has, rather than for what he lacks.

The closest thing to a truly bilingual workplace in this study, i.e., a workplace populated by bilingual individuals, was a d/Deaf services division with a goal of all employees having sign language competence. Levels of signing skill among hearing coworkers vary, of course, and respondents attribute this variation to factors including degree of interaction with signers and

personal motivation. In contrast to their social services counterparts, interpreters in this type of setting were much more likely to report being the beneficiaries of a rich signing environment and to talk about the benefit to their own signing skills that their workplace afforded them. At the same time, this group was also quicker to express frustration and ambivalence. I had an initial expectation that d/Deaf-dense workplaces would be the most satisfying; that the signing environment would lead to positive working relationships and robust language skills. It can indeed be all of those things, but it can also, on occasion, be the breeding ground for discontent.

Those who work in an environment with a stated goal of employee bilingualism recognize that their employment there is somewhat paradoxical. In spite of the theoretical jeopardy to their jobs that true bilingualism in the workplace might represent, they are categorically positive to hearing employees taking more initiative when it comes to signing.

6.2.2   Expectations are everything

In relation to interpreters' lived experience in the practice of their profession, a paradox emerges from the data: While interpreters in settings that most closely approximate a bilingual environment wrestle with hearing coworkers' unwillingness to sign, their colleagues in the social services, working in a markedly more monolingual environment, are busy praising every effort and cheering every attempt.

More than one interpreter relates tales of unmet expectations in the supposedly signing environment. Hearing signing members of staff show reluctance to "lift up their hands" in many situations: some show an indifference to cultural rules and do not sign when d/Deaf members of staff are present or choose not to step to the front of the group when making a comment, instead letting the interpreter convey the content of the communication.

Sometimes the culture of audism can also affect the interpreters directly. Lunch breaks and coffee breaks, for example, which should be "down time" for the interpreter and give

everybody in this ostensibly bilingual workplace a chance to interact independently with the conversation partner of their own choice, can easily become segregated into two groups: hearing people choosing not to sign; and interpreters and d/Deaf. A d/Deaf person may try to "infiltrate" a hearing table, but when the hearing people disregard the presence of the d/Deaf person by not signing, an interpreter will often feel obliged to move tables to interpret. The consequences are that hearing people are allowed to perpetuate the culture of separateness and to not exercise and improve their signing skills; that d/Deaf people have access to only indirect relationship building or that they, out of guilt, perhaps, release the interpreter from their "duty", aware that they are choosing to miss out on social interaction with their "peers"; and that interpreters, out of their sense of duty, forego their own down time and their own desired social interaction. Situations such as those listed above create unmet expectations and resentment in this interpreter population.

As to coworkers' workplace language use, interpreters in the back-to-work programs celebrate every effort their hearing clients make to communicate independently with their d/Deaf colleagues. They give tips about the importance of eye contact, facilitating speech reading through emphasizing clear and natural speech, and about consciously incorporating gesture into their conversation, encouraging them to "be Italian". Occasionally, stories arise from this group about hearing individuals deciding independently to learn sign language. One interpreter even credits the sporadic presence of the interpreter under this scheme as a possible benefit, or catalyst, questioning whether the impetus to learn would have been sufficient had the interpreter been present the whole time. Among social services interpreters, the expectation that all the hearing staff will learn NTS is simply not present. It is rather a matter of making do in the absence of the interpreter, and to that end, the interpreter is happy to give these practical tips.

6.3   Identity crisis?

The data indicate that it is most often outsiders to the TPA scheme that worry about the perceived difficulty of managing the interpreter's many hats. Consider the following from an interpreter with nearly 10 years' experience in TPA, who says that she has many, and flexible roles in her workplace:

But it's very clear to me when I'm in an interpreting situation, you greet each other differently, I would say. So I define myself mainly as a colleague maybe, and then I have the interpreter role.

How easy is it to differentiate between them?

In my experience, others have a much bigger problem with that difference than I do. Very rarely is it an issue for me. This has become a kind of myth, or a topic that gets brought up when we have seminars or trainings about TPA. I remember in the beginning anyway, about seven or eight years ago, role was always a topic…How do we handle role? What can we say, and what *can't* we say, and how difficult is it to be a colleague and an interpreter at the same time? But I notice that after eight years I've almost never been in a situation where that's been a question for me. For me it's not- I haven't experienced so much trouble with that. It's mostly people from the outside who wonder about that. And I try to be aware of that, for example, when I'm sitting and eating lunch […] that I can say, I read that on Facebook yesterday, or, she told me that in the hall today. I add something like that to communicate to others that I'm not referring to something I interpreted.

I read it or saw it or heard it in another setting […] I notice that I do that quite often. And those who know me well recognize when I do that (laughs a little). But I feel like it's something safe, because then everyone can be sure that I'm not referring to interpreting, but I- Even though it's very clear for me, I add that to be sure that the other person feels secure.

And that creates perhaps a security for both parties?

Yes, I think so. It's about the trust you get as an interpreter. You get to know a lot of things, and so it's very important that no one experiences any kind of breach of that trust. It's to maintain that trust that you make it clear for everyone that- Or it can be that there are discussions where I notice that, I can't participate in this discussion. That can happen. […] Then I just eat my lunch and I don't need to say so much. […] Everyone knows about the role, so there isn't anyone who asks me if I know about the topic, because everyone sees at I know something different, I can't participate in this conversation. And if I am asked, it's enough to say that this is something I can't comment on. One simple sentence. And then the conversation just continues without interruption. So I feel like it's something that everyone knows and everyone accepts. And it's really not that often that it even gets to that point. As a rule it's easy to keep a good balance. It's rare that I need to say that that's not something I can talk with you about.

6.3.1 Professional interpreters and professional interpreter users

Both the ECON report and this study find that interpreters have a clear understanding of when they are colleagues and when they are interpreters. NB: the ECON report examines only the situation of interpreters in the original TPA scheme.

Problems associated with the fact that users and interpreters are colleagues are not often discussed among the employees. It is not regarded as a problem. The general impression is that the interpreters are very professional and conscious of this; they are first and foremost interpreters, then colleagues. Users in the businesses participating in our case study have the option to use outside interpreters for employee review meetings and other sensitive conversations. (2004, p. 28)

In at least one of the relevant businesses, this practice of using an outside interpreter for employee review meetings, though still possible, has become less and less common. D/deaf employees tend not to request them. One respondent attributes this to the relationship of trust that has been built up over time:

> I've had some discussions with the d/Deaf about that too…because in the cooperation agreement that we have with the social services in relation to our employment here, it says of course that the d/Deaf have the option to request an outside interpreter if they desire, for example in conjunction with employee reviews and such things, because it can be too sensitive, because we occupy both roles, and we have of course TPA seminars with other workplaces in Norway as well, and there it has been a topic again and again and again, that dilemma of being both an interpreter and a colleague.… For us it has never been a problem, as far as I know, and the d/Deaf have never—perhaps in the very beginning, but that was before my time—requested an outside interpreter for employee reviews, but they don't do that now. They want to use us. I think it's about us being professional interpreters and them being professional users. I like to say that they are professional users.

It can nevertheless take time to negotiate one's place and establish a balance between the roles of interpreter and colleague.

> Finding one's place as interpreter can be a big challenge, especially if you're new, as I am, and don't have a lot of experience to draw upon.… Sometimes you're supposed to stand around and talk about the weather like any other colleague, at other times you've got to be much more neutral and just interpret. At the same time, [clients of the business] can't tell by looking at me whether I'm an interpreter or whether I'm [an agent of the business].… A d/Deaf [client] said that they saw the interpreters as their own colleagues. And I thought that was very nice. Because I think about it like work colleagues, just with different job descriptions. There's a very clear difference there, but thinking about it like that makes it much easier.

Despite integration in the workplace and assuming at least a cursory understanding on the part of coworkers of the confidentiality with which interpreters treat the information to which they become privy, coworkers still see the interpreters as people. These people are strange entities not naturally occurring in the environment that sometimes belong and sometimes do not. The same respondent demonstrates an awareness of the "outsider-ness" of the interpreter in relation to the others.

> Sometimes colleagues can have the need to speak privately amongst themselves, but then I'm there, because I'm sitting in the room available in case I'm needed. Then it's like, 'oh, the interpreter's here, and we rather needed to talk about something.' But…if there's not a

current interpreting need, then we just go out…and are called in again […] if there's a need.

Eventually, though, a balance is struck and the parties become secure in their relationships, as demonstrated by another, more experienced interpreter's statement, "I know where my place is."

All in all, TPA solves the problem of being outside the group and outside the information. The scheme is "very good," according to a respondent, who elaborates thus:

[It is very good] both for the interpreters and for the clients, I would say. It's predictable…for the interpreters, and you have the chance to do a good job. You have the chance to build up trust, and you have the chance to understand what it is that's happening, and then you can do a good job interpreting.

6.3.2   Are you my colleague?

The question of workplace boundaries between colleague and interpreter seems not to come up much at all for the interpreters working for NAV. One respondent frames the question of whether interpreters are colleagues with their clients beautifully:

Think about humor, for example…. Humor can loosen up the atmosphere a bit. And if people laugh together, I think that that creates a sort of bond. If you've laughed with someone once, well, then you've created a different kind of relationship. … It doesn't have to be an especially funny joke or anything, but just that you chuckle a bit at the same thing, and make eye contact, and then you've got something in common. And I…I really think that that contributes to one's feeling…how shall I say it? In place, I guess, or— I think that it's important when we interpret at the same places, perhaps over many, many years— We are not employed there, we are not colleagues, but we are present there anyway, almost every day. What are we? We start to know the others around the table. We know what your wife's name is, what your grandchild is called, where you were born and raised, what you did last weekend. We know all of that.

In the end, all of this bonding and intimate knowledge proves insufficient to meet the definition of colleagues. The same respondent answers the very question posed above, "What are we?" thus:

We meet as a kind of colleague. Or rather, the way we greet each other is the same way one would meet a colleague. And YOUR colleague is the d/Deaf person…and the two of you have a relationship without me, but I am here as a part of your relationship to your d/Deaf colleague.

This respondent was categorically the most liberal with the definition, and yet in the end, it proved to be a "strong sense of collegial belonging" with those at the interpreter services that gave the latter the title of colleague. Incidentally, another respondent began by labeling the same type of individuals as *"mine kolleger til låns,"* 'my colleagues on loan,' but quickly modified the description to "more like a collaborative partner, really," before repeating the argument:

> But there can be people...at these places where I've been for a whole year, sometimes nearly every day— for an hour, or sometimes more— So you get to know each other. But I'm not employed there, so they become 'colleagues' in a way (laughs). It's so difficult— they know my name, and I know theirs, but it's not— And they're more collaborative partners, but very often partners I appreciate very much, and that I can— yeah... And hopefully they appreciate me and my work too.

A much more comfortable name for those hearing and d/Deaf with whom the interpreter interacts in a service-oriented way is *samarbeidspartner*, 'collaborative partner.' This term is quickly and widely used by members of this group to describe people who fall outside the colleague circle. The d/Deaf are described as such "very close" partners "in the highest degree" and hearing supervisors and peers are accorded this designation as well. Other employees of the social services who work in the same building where the interpreter services are now housed have come sometimes to be regarded as colleagues based on proximity and frequency of contact; "…we're all in the cafeteria and see each other." Other respondents, however, describe these as collaboration partners.

6.3.3   Home is where you hang your hat

Colleagues, according to respondents, are those with whom one shares a workplace, even if everyone is out interpreting all day, those with whom you discuss professional dilemmas, those with whom most time is spent. In the itinerant life of the social services interpreter, home is where you go in between appointments, and family are those who are there to say hello.

The general feeling was that one's colleagues are first and foremost the interpreters and interpreting staff at the social services, then other interpreters, and then other social services workers. The degree to which the latter are considered colleagues has changed a bit due to a

relatively recent move of the interpreting services, and several respondents make remarks about becoming more integrated there. Many deliberately emphasize their role as agents of the social services, whether it be for the strategic streamlining of the interpreting task, as in the case of one interpreter who, entering a social services caseworker's office behind the d/Deaf person, flashes their ID badge to establish a sort of collegiality with the caseworker which the interpreter means can help things to move along more efficiently; or because doing so serves to further legitimize their professional existence.

6.4   Agents of action

Perhaps the most surprising theme to emerge from the data was the degree of approbation accorded the active intervention of the interpreter in the interpreter-mediated communication. This is a practice overwhelmingly associated with work in the social services setting, and consists largely of *samordning*, which denotes active coordination of various aspects of the situation.

Whilst respondents in d/Deaf-dense workplaces describe their clients as "professional interpreter users," their colleagues in the social services often find themselves working with inexperienced interpreter users, be they d/Deaf or hearing. A male interpreter who has many years' experience interpreting in workplace settings, also before the TPA scheme was introduced, remarks:

> Of course, the d/Deaf haven't had any education in how to use an interpreter. When people get a wheelchair here at the Assistive Technology Center, they don't just take home a book of instructions, they get a whole weekend course…in how to use…you get a course in your technical aid! But d/Deaf people don't get a single class about how to use an interpreter. And an interpreter is a living person—it's really very complicated (laughs a little). … Some users should have had a course. Because it's…an interpreted situation is a joint effort. You have to work together. And a lot of people don't know how to work together [in this way]."

They frequently express a desire for administrative backup in situations where clients are new to interpreter-mediated communication. They experience discomfort when they recognize a need for training but feel it outside their role as interpreter to provide such training. A female interpreter with over 10 years' experience says, "Ideally I wish there were another person

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there who could give this d/Deaf client the instruction we ended up doing. Well, not instruction, really, but some tips and tricks and advice and what we believe works." Here we see echoes of the tug-of-war between utilitarianism and deontology, but rightly so. Often there is too much information to give and arranging to do (especially at the beginning of a new job placement, for example) for the interpreter to do while wearing the interpreter hat. In order for the parties to the communication to develop a good understanding of what the interpreter's job and role entail, it is positive if this advising and arranging can be done beforehand, by another person.

6.4.1   Duty to inform or advise

Others recognize that giving such tips constitutes a stretching of the traditional boundaries, but consider it, for various reasons, important to do so. One example is the d/Deaf person - caseworker meeting where the interpreter, owing to prior experience in similar situations, is the only one who knows how to proceed in a given situation. In order to justify the giving of a tip, the interpreter depends on the duality of role arising from the interpreter services being housed under the social services. This other hat that the interpreter wears, literally a name badge identifying them as social services employee, seems to give them permission to draw upon their insider knowledge in the exercise of their duty, as agents of the social services, to allocate resources properly, and practically requires them to point the parties in the right direction, thus saving two or three extra meetings and the accompanying interpreting resources. "We have almost a sort of duty to do that," says this experienced interpreter, referencing the duty to inform or advise to which social servants are bound by law (see Forvaltningsloven).

The organization includes "advising interpreters," who have taken on a slightly different role; in anticipation of a new interpreting commitment, this interpreter acts as the liaison between the workplace and the interpreting services, helping to coordinate and advise on service provision. They are not part of the team that will be providing services. Nevertheless, the practical needs are often best dealt with as they arise, as a veteran interpreter illustrates:

> There was one workplace where it was the client's first day on the job…. I was there for an hour [and interpreted his job duties]…. *'My hour is up, have a good one! Good luck! The interpreter's out of here!' 'But what do we do when you, interpreter, when you just leave?*

> *What do we do now?'* Hmm. Now I've got to be a bit flexible. I think I'd better stay another ten minutes. I think that's the smart thing to do. Give them some more information. *'Come on over here,'* I say to two hearing people that were at the workplace alongside the new d/Deaf person. *'Come on! Time for sign language class! … Be a little Italian now! Be a little Italian!'* (laughs a little) Yeah, so we had a bit of fun. I gave them the "top ten signs"—the sign for the thing that's supposed to be cut, the sign for to cut, the sign for excellent…goodbye, great, eat, upstairs…. *'Okay, so long!'* Help them help themselves. Break the ice, you know?

This type of "common sense…TPA-action," once considered out of bounds, is now "QUITE permitted," as the same respondent makes clear:

> The way we didn't do things before, maybe… Or maybe we did do it that way then, too— It's entirely possible that we perhaps- But it's become a little more institutionalized that we can do it that way now. It's more *allowed*, you know? In the past it really depended on the person—perhaps I did it that way in 1997…just because I saw [the need] and thought- I used common sense and thought it was smart to do it that way. […] But now it's institutionalized and it's *very much allowed* to do that today. It *should* be done. It's *more correct*. You know? It's the kind of thing that's been discussed for years, and now we've figured out what's right…when you're navigating in that kind of territory.

6.4.2 Tied hands

Interpreters in embedded placements tended to steer the interpreted situation less than their NAV colleagues. Most of the time this was due to the competence and experience of the parties to the communication. Sometimes, though, interpreters experienced frustration with what they experienced as an inability to right a perceived wrong. The threshold for intervention among this population is very high.

Meetings where all participants, both d/Deaf and hearing, have good signing skills, are carried out in spoken Norwegian anyway and interpreted into NTS, thus changing the dynamic of the meeting, the group, and altering the tenor of the professional interaction that should in theory be happening from the standpoint of direct interaction among equals. All this contributes to a marked disparity between the ideal and the real. For here, in a workplace where d/Deaf individuals hold positions of responsibility worthy of respect, true equality becomes illusory; the game is still being played on hearing terms, disregarding cultural norms and communication practices. Hearing still carries a higher status and is more favored than deafness even in this ostensibly d/Deaf-friendly organization. The angst produced by this paradox weighs on these "wise" interpreters (Goffman, 1963), and they lament the tacit

institutional perpetuation of the model "d/Deaf as not-quite-equal", while working, seemingly fruitlessly, to level the playing field for their d/Deaf colleagues. For further discussion of institutionalized perpetuation of difference, see Minow (1990).

A remedy, if there were one to be had, would involve changes on institutional, cultural, and practical levels. The question, of course, is whether any direct action on the part of interpreters is the thing best suited to effecting lasting results.

6.4.3 Pushing boundaries

The example presented here is the quintessential pushing of the boundaries. An extreme example, perhaps, but one that illustrates very clearly the kind of interpreting choices these professionals confront. The reader will see in vivid relief that cultural and linguistic differences are present in this account in multiple layers, and lead the interpreter to the impasse that required what some might term drastic interpreter action:

A male interpreter with long experience interpreting for non-native signers of NTS told of a situation in which a d/Deaf immigrant to Norway was a member of a course on Norwegian life and culture. Despite requests for clarification, the hearing instructor failed to explain abstract concepts in a way the person could understand, so the interpreter chose to disregard the insufficient explanation and use the time to bridge the gap himself, supplementing cultural knowledge in a visual way until the d/Deaf person had the same access to understanding of the concept as the other course members. Here, expedience (utilitarian ethics) trumped protocol (deontological ethics), but it could hardly be argued that this d/Deaf client would be in a position to explain to the instructor his predicament or that the interpreter should take the time during the middle of the class period to enlighten the instructor regarding the visual and more concrete mode of learning requisite to the d/Deaf immigrant learner. This story exemplifies the ethical tug-of-war that Norwegian interpreters experience as their profession evolves.

The extent to which these kinds of interpreter-initiated actions are acceptable is open for debate, though judgments must be tempered by an understanding of the cultural framework in which the practice has developed. Is the liberation of the social services interpreter simply a justification for the continuation of the helper model, but this time on the level of the state? Or does it serve as a user-friendly cultural bridge (rather than a political platform), taking into account the needs of hearing users who never imagined they might become a consumer of interpreting services? What is clear is that the historical narratives that form the backdrop of this debate differ significantly. Norway is a land in which NTS has official-language status (St.mld. nr.35, 2008); where the d/Deaf have a legal right to interpretation in matters of health, education, and daily life (Lov om folketrygd § 10-7 f); and where d/Deaf children have a legal right to education in and through sign language (Opplæringsloven §§ 2-6 and 3-9). Parents of d/Deaf children have the right to 40 weeks' instruction in NTS (Lov om folketrygd § 9-13). The institutionalization of these moral rights is a matter of course in a society dedicated to preserving participation by leveling the playing field. Owing at least in part to the liberal lens through which Norwegians, embodied by their politics, view their d/Deaf countrymen, there has never been a need to band together in protest[7] on the same scale as that of Gallaudet in 1988, and thus, Norwegian d/Deaf have yet to have their own Deaf President Now moment. There simply does not exist in the collective d/Deaf consciousness a body of wrongs against which must be fought in the same way as there was in Washington in 1988: the democratic process serves them well enough; official-language status, for instance, was achieved on the back of a proposal to the parliament by the Norwegian Association of the Deaf. Even in the United States, a land of relatively liberated Deaf people, where interpreters are allies and the Deaf advocate for themselves, there are individuals who, for reasons other than deafness, are not able to the same degree as others of looking after their own interests, and who benefit from unofficial but necessary advocacy interventions of their interpreters on their behalf. The respondents cited above serve just such a population.

D/deaf who are part of the population of self-advocates find themselves less often clients of the social services TPA group, and more often employees of d/Deaf-dense workplaces, where

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[7] A notable exception to this might be the ongoing struggle against closure of schools for the d/Deaf.

they are served by resident- or dedicated interpreters, depending on the setting. They often have more education, as well as more experience working with interpreters. These deaf are the "professional interpreter users". The settings in which they work pose a different set of challenges to their interpreters. Most notably, the fact that the expectation of self reliance is the *status quo* and the fact that the threshold for protest is as high as it is combine to create dilemmas for interpreters serving this group, as we have discussed previously (see especially section 6.2.2 and 6.4.2).

6.5   Seeing and being seen

The data is positively littered with references to seeing and to being seen. Sometimes it refers to the struggle to avoid the spotlight despite the fact that the interpreter is the one waving her hands about. Other times, it touches on a sometimes-uncomfortable identification with a client.

6.5.1   The interpreter's vantage point

Interpreters are "on the front lines" of communication processes in various settings every day. They gather information and intuition about what works, as well as what doesn't, and because they are the only ones who have full access to both sides of the conversation, they have a unique and valuable vantage point. As members of a profession in rapid evolution, they are enthusiastic contributors to the body of knowledge that will come to guide their practice into the future. Unfortunately, their expertise is not always acknowledged by members of other professions.

6.5.2   Foreign body reaction

Interpreters in d/Deaf-dense settings who work shoulder to shoulder with the d/Deaf for whom they also interpret have established working relationships with experienced interpreter users, hearing and d/Deaf, whom they have come to know rather well in the working context. This is not true for interpreters in NAV's TPA group, who have a much higher client turnover. Though they may stay with one setting for a year or more, they are most often present for less than an hour at a time, except in the start phase for a particular assignment. A

young, newer male interpreter speculates on the reasons why some potential clients may hesitate to avail themselves of interpreting services in the first place, and says:

> Perhaps it can be a bit scary to order interpreting services, because it affects- or, a person could think, "there's a new person coming in just because of me"...how will the others react to someone coming in who doesn't work here?

He clearly refers here to the foreignness of the interpreter and attributes to this a potential reason why the "threshold for ordering [an interpreter] is very high." He is not the only respondent to discuss the interpreter in terms of being a "foreign body", something, like a splinter of wood in a finger, which is not natural to the environment and which has the potential to distract or to cause discomfort. He continues, and here explains the principal benefits of the TPA scheme for both hearing and d/Deaf coworkers as well as for the interpreter:

> We become familiar with the workplace. We're going to be there for 12 weeks, or maybe 2 years, or maybe we'll be here permanently. It's important to establish a good working relationship from the very beginning…. Because we're a team of three regular interpreters, it's easy- after two weeks it's become easy to sit around the lunch table- the interpreter is a familiar person, it's not someone new every time, and the interpreter knows the jargon, knows the language [of the workplace] and knows a little […] of the information one doesn't have [access to], except for by being there over a longer period of time.

Proximity over time is the key to successful workplace interpreting in this example. In the initial phase of a new interpreting assignment of this type, the interpreter is learning the job right alongside the d/Deaf client whose presence in a particular workplace justifies the interpreter's presence there as well. Everyone becomes acquainted with everyone else, with the jargon, and with the job. And with that, the foundations for effective communication for the deaf and hearing clients, as well as a satisfying work experience for the interpreter, are laid. By then the novelty of the interpreter has had a chance to wear off, and his presence in the environment is perceived as more natural. The experienced female respondent who shares the following story illustrates the potential awkwardness of an outsider in the situation, at the same time offering a countermeasure:

> As an interpreter I have a role that also involves making myself available and approachable as an interpreter, so that I'm not a foreign element that comes in and puts a stop to the social communication. I think one should be encouraging- encourage communication. One shouldn't be controlling, though, and create communication that wouldn't be there if I weren't there. But it is a stranger coming in.

The same sentiment is picked up by another female colleague, who describes the discomfort of feeling she is "in the way" and struggling with her own deontological instincts in the social aspect of the situation:

> Oh, the role is challenging! And it's much more challenging in the workplace than it is in the schools. In the workplace, I think it's important that the user- the d/Deaf interpreter-user, feels secure with me, but it is also very important that the hearing people are secure too. Perhaps there's a workplace where we interpret a lot over a certain period of time...you're standing right in the middle of their job often a bit in the way, so I think that being present in a good way...that it's okay that I am there. So when a hearing coworker came over and asked me how I was, that was challenging! So I think it's important that I answer, and often, if the d/Deaf person turns around, that gives me an opportunity to get them into the conversation.

For interpreters in this type of setting, visibility is much more pronounced the more they try to "blend into the wallpaper". Paradoxically, the more they participate (within obvious constraints), the less visible they become.

6.5.3 The new invisibility

"The interpreter should, through his interpretation services, enable his clients to safeguard their own interests as if the language barrier were not there" (Olsen, Mjøen, Rønning & Kermit, 2010, p. 35). When this is not the case, for whatever reason, the presence of the interpreter is felt acutely. Interpreters, for their part, are acutely aware of the correlation between interpretation and perception.

They exhibit a strong desire to provide an accurate representation of the d/Deaf person to the hearing party, for better or for worse. Interpreters struggle with how this representation should be carried out. In situations where parties are professional equals, the interpreter might lack the knowledge and background information necessary to properly represent the d/Deaf person to the hearing counterpart, as in the account of this seasoned female interpreter, one of the most experienced in our group: "I don't know enough about this topic to communicate your expertise." On the other hand, proper representation is also a problem when the d/Deaf person lacks the intellectual or educational sophistication of the hearing party. "I can't speak broken Norwegian," said one interpreter in the study. Another reports interpreting in full Norwegian sentences, and then drawing the hearing person's attention to visual cues from the

d/Deaf person that may help inform their perception of the individual, by saying, for example, "Do you see…?"

Interpreters who work in settings characterized by a markedly asymmetric power structure between d/Deaf and hearing parties commented more frequently on the personal discomfort that this courtesy stigma caused. Sensitivity to this kind of stigma-by-association is demonstrated by a young interpreter in the statement, "The words are coming out of *my* mouth." A veteran reports, "The supervisor can turn around and look at us [the interpreters] funny…."

The new invisibility is reasoned participation that counteracts the foreign body effect.

6.6   Language proficiency

Several of the findings touched on language-related topics. We address a selection of them here.

6.6.1   Positive effects on language proficiency

The central aspect of the TPA concept is that proximity breeds familiarity, which in turn makes communication in the workplace more spontaneous and natural. In light of this, it is not surprising that most of the respondents in this study do not report language as being their primary challenge. Rather, TPA supports interpreters' language competence through regular contact with the individuals, concepts, and jargon that characterize a particular workplace, things that ordinarily present obstacles in an itinerant setting.

Interpreters report that they rely on established tools for developing and maintaining their vocabulary. They consult with clients and with colleagues in the team regarding technical signs, and make use of an online database of Norwegian signs (minetegn.no).

Because of the way the social services have chosen to organize the specialty groups, all kinds of workplaces (d/Deaf-dense and otherwise) benefit from small teams of interpreters who work closely with each other, the d/Deaf client(s), and the workplace generally. This kind of teamwork facilitates consistency and uniformity in language use. The ECON report (2004, p. 27) pointed out that this benefits hearing and d/Deaf clients. The present study demonstrates that this also increases interpreters' well-being, both in terms of job satisfaction and mental well-being due to the reduced stress that comes with familiarity and predictability in the job setting. With small teams of interpreters familiar with the setting, there is no need to "train the interpreter" each time interpreted communication takes place. Training the interpreter consists of frequent asides from the d/Deaf and hearing parties in the form of sign feeding and explanatory fillers. This can be time-consuming relative to the scope of the intended communication, interrupts flow and spontaneity, and may influence parties' perceptions of one another and of their interaction. When interpreters are "at home" in the workplace, the more efficient exchange of information puts the parties to the interpreted communication on a more level playing field.

Interpreters who are resident in their workplaces share that presence and proximity are important to them in terms of language fluency. One says that in the technical signing environment she becomes "more conscious of [her] own language."

6.6.2 The thrill of the chase, and interpreting as a rollercoaster ride

Interpreters working in all the settings sampled said that the linguistic challenges in their work were the source of intense job satisfaction.

Whether it was bridging the visual and conceptual gap for an immigrant learning both NTS and Norwegian life and culture, or putting d/Deaf professionals on the same level playing field as their hearing counterparts, the thrill of getting an interpretation just right was clearly present in the respondents' recollections.

A young female interpreter shares the following triumph:

> I'm pretty new still, so it doesn't take much for me to be satisfied! (Laughs.) But there was one situation that I keep coming back to, where I thought, THAT was good! Because I worked hard to make it good.
>
> They have a regular meeting there, and the pace [of this meeting] varies a lot. Sometimes it's is nice and even, and everyone has the chance to make their notes, and other times things go superfast, in addition to which there are four other people standing there talking about something completely different at the same time.
>
> But that day I had control the whole time over what was being said; if there was something I omitted, it was unimportant, or small side comments, but other than that I kept up and interpreted everything else that was said in the situation, even though there were a lot of people talking.

There were in this workplace lots of names for people and things, technical jargon and things an interpreter has to have practiced and memorized beforehand. This interpreter works hard and practices in order to master the technical language used in this workplace, and she reaps the rewards:

> And when all those technical names came up, I knew them! (Laughs) I got them all out! So that was a good situation where I was able to interpret all the information, it was very clear what was being talked about, I recognized all the [...] names right away, in addition to my client having time to write any notes they wanted to make. So I was really happy after that. [...] For the rest of the day, I just thought, wow, that was good!

Her commitment to self-study and practicing paid off in personal satisfaction, not to mention good service to her client. Another female interpreter with long experience tells this story:

> There were six or seven hearing people and one d/Deaf person. [...] It was an interview situation. So there are lots of questions, and you're supposed to answer. So it's important what you do with the interpretation, because there are several words and expressions- Norwegian words and expressions used. [...] At that point the d/Deaf person chooses to use their voice when they answer [...] and then there are some expressions that come up that are very Norwegian, and I was able to sign them, and at the same time pair them with- well, I don't remember the order exactly, but I was able to express it word for word in Norwegian and then pair it with sign language.... So when the person was supposed to answer, they could choose what to use, because then they had the opportunity to use exactly the same words and structures as were used when the question was posed. And that, rather than that it should be very conceptual and a completely different version of the expression...and when the participants are equals, THAT'S when I think, YES! That went so well! [...] And when you get feedback from both the d/Deaf and the hearing that it went really well, and everybody's happy, and just, wow! wow! What an applicant! You know? And without- I did NOT give anything extra, but I was able to match you all so that you meet as equals [...] There's something about the interpretation that makes it so that

you've hit the mark. I have neither added anything nor left anything out, but I've hit the nail on the head. And that...that's fantastic.

In this situation, the interpreter's technical choices allowed an interview committee to see a d/Deaf applicant, without the interpreter "getting in the way". She becomes more invisible, in a way, because her skill and her choices let the parties interact and perceive each other as equals, almost as if she weren't there.

Seamless communication leads to better outcomes for the parties to the communication, and contributes to combatting stigma. Stigma represents, at its core, our discomfort with difference. Most interpreters have experienced the agony of fumbling for words during a voiced rendition of our client's signing, particularly when the client is new to us or especially difficult for us to read, for whatever reason. We feel the hearing client's eyes shifting between the d/Deaf person and the interpreter, sure he or she is wondering which one of us is the one "talking nonsense". Our mistakes may strengthen or reinforce parties' perceptions of the difference that exists between them, and in some situations, introduce a perception of inequality or difference where indeed none exists. However, when interpreters, despite a challenging interpreted situation, help people with difference meet each other as equals and see each other as people first, it helps to combat stigma by breaking down the perception of difference and building understanding, acceptance, and respect. Consider the following example from a young female interpreter:

> I have a real feeling as an interpreter for how easy it is for communication to break down, how easy it is for the other colleagues to get a bit of a negative or an incorrect impression of the d/Deaf coworker, and much of that responsibility rests on my shoulders. Getting the interpretation right, doing a good job can contribute to creating good conditions, good relationships for the coworker with his or her colleagues. But if I do a bad job, that will influence the whole situation here. It can create negative experiences for the others.

She goes on to tell of an experience that illustrates this concern:

> So the person wants to tell a story about [a household device] that didn't work, and uses signs...well, the sign language wasn't the clearest, which meant that I fumbled quite a bit trying to voice this story, so it sounds a bit like this: Yeah, and then someone from the...hmm, eh...oh yes, someone was supposed to come from the [service department]...sorry, wait a second...no: I just need some clarification here...

> This is turning into a lot of work to interpret a simple story! It ended well, though. The man who sat and listened to the story was very understanding and he sat and waited patiently until we were finished, and then he responded and continued the conversation. But I was left with a lot of ambivalent feelings afterword: on the one hand, I really wanted to pat myself on the back and say, good job! Because you didn't give up when it was hard. And we all worked together, and you did it, and it was very difficult, but you made it work, and we all worked well together. At the same time you're walking around full of doubt: Oh, was that just a mess there? Am I the only one that thought that that turned out well? Or did they think so, too? Was I a hindrance to communication, or did I make communication possible? ... That little doubt, I feel like it always hangs over me.

This story illustrates not only the rollercoaster ride that an interpreting assignment can represent, but also, and more importantly, the angst that interpreters carry with regard to their role in others' perceptions of their d/Deaf clients.

6.6.3   Interpreter language

Statistically speaking, it would be challenging to make a case for the inclusion of this next point. Only two interpreters mentioned it at all (17% of study participants, 33% of interpreters in their group). In addition, the study's design meant that possible follow-up questions went unasked, questions that perhaps could have teased out a more complete picture of the phenomenon discussed. Nevertheless, it is included here because of its potential implications, and the author's certainty, due to conversations with other local interpreter colleagues before the present study began, that this is not as isolated as it might appear from the sample.

This is an example of when the rule warning against the fallacy of composition and generalizing from small samples gives the defense for the use of the data, despite their infrequent appearance in the present data set: assuming that an absence of evidence in a small sample proves the absence of the thing in the population is as fallacious as claiming that a strong presence of evidence in a small sample necessarily means that this is reflective of a much larger population (Kelley, 1998). These data and their presence in the dataset can have alternative explanations in a sample, such as geographic isolation, regional differences in culture and practice, and administrative decentralization, especially relevant to the present topic, TPA. Regardless of what future inquiry may reveal, it is, in the very least, important to mention the finding here.

The old adage, "speaking a language is one thing; interpreting is quite another!" would seem to have been turned on its head. The interpreters name a phenomenon they call "interpreter language" or "interpreter sign language", as contrasted with the language of the d/Deaf. This is, according to the respondents, not a contact language used to transliterate spoken Norwegian to signed Norwegian or a corpus of jargon specific to their workplace, but rather, a phenomenon that arises when an interpreter feels comfortable using signs as part of his or her job, but has significant difficulty expressing his or her own thoughts and feelings. Counterintuitive though it seems, these interpreters purport that "interpreting in a language is one thing, but speaking it is quite another!"

If this is true for interpreters, it is a clear cause for concern among interpreter educators, the profession itself, and the d/Deaf community. Is there, meanwhile, another way of understanding this? Could it rather come from the effects of their professional practice, obliged, as they are, to put their own ideas, feelings, and opinions aside as they facilitate the transmission of those of their clients, hearing and d/Deaf? Could it, as Professor Lorraine Leeson wonders, simply be that "they become so professionally proficient in presenting the views of others and, ethically, must take a back seat, not offer their own opinion, etc., that it is a real challenge to make the shift back to putting one's own views forward? (L. Leeson, personal communication, 11 November 2013) She goes on to suggest that this might be "about negotiating their position as agents in discourse versus mediators of discourse."

Both of these respondents work in the embedded form of TPA. Here we see them reflecting on the benefits they associate with their employment situation, relative to other options, and its effects upon their own sign language abilities. The first, a seasoned interpreter with over 10 years in the field, questions whether she would be as good an interpreter without the benefits of the rich signing environment she experiences from TPA, especially as it compares with freelancing, in which interpreting sector she has previously worked:

> I think I wouldn't have had the same type of challenges to my language. I would have just
> had interpreting challenges, and that means that- I think in that situation I would have

just developed this kind of interpreter language where I can't speak it myself- sign language.

And I was almost going in that direction, and I know how hard it is to come in and start to use sign language myself again, because you're not used to formulating your own thoughts in sign language...as a freelance interpreter. Not in Norway, anyway. Many, many interpreters don't have a single d/Deaf friend, and distanced themselves quite strongly from many of their d/Deaf friends from their time at college after they became interpreters, because of course, you can't be friends with people you're going to interpret for later. Maybe I'll end up interpreting for them at the doctor's office.... And that's really prevalent in many places in the interpreting community in Norway....

So I think- I'm very happy that I'm in TPA and not somewhere else. Because then I wouldn't have had any d/Deaf colleagues, I wouldn't have had anybody to use sign language with myself on a daily basis. As myself, I mean.

Here is found direct support for Leeson's supposition that it is the interpreter's constant prioritization of her clients' utterances over her own and the professional dispassion that the interpreter is required to display that leads to her difficulty when it comes to expressing herself. The interpreter describes her own experience transitioning from the freelance sector to TPA as laborious, but then goes on to offer an explanation, a contextualization for the phenomenon. She describes an interpreting culture that has actively distanced itself from the d/Deaf, the culture allegedly attributing this distancing to professionalism. Her conclusion is that she is glad to be in an active signing environment where she can further develop her skills.

The second, another experienced female interpreter, when asked at the end of our interview if there was anything more she especially wanted to share, said the following:

Yes, again, I think it's very nice that we have an office here...that we are a part of the environment here, especially to be in this department. Here, everybody knows sign language. We have our meetings in sign language, of course, and ... we're all equals[8], then, linguistically speaking. And that is a very good thing. Because then we're in the middle of an environment centered on the field of sign language, and frankly, I think that that is both important and reassuring in terms of our development- the development of our own sign language skills.

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[8] Here, the respondent uses the Norwegian word *likestilt*. A simple translation into English gives, most often, "equal". Yet "to *be* equals" implies that it is a characteristic residing in the individual that makes him equal, or not, to another. The Norwegian term, influenced by the German *stellen*, is much more active: it means "to set as equals, to consider in the same way, or to give equal standing" (Bokmålsordboka, 2007, p. 597). In this way, it gives a sense that it is not the perceived, but the perceiver who makes a decision to think about or act towards, in our case a person or group, in a certain way. Compare the medical and social models of disability.

> *Do you experience that your sign language skills improve in this environment?*

> Yes. Having the opportunity to use sign language outside of interpreting, I think that is a healthy thing. There are many interpreters who say that they have an interpreter sign language, because they use sign language *only* when they interpret, not privately or outside the interpreted setting.

> *Interpreter-sign-language...compared with...?*

> Discussing things in sign language, for example. Talking with other colleagues about something that doesn't have anything to do with interpreting.

Here again, the idea that some interpreters use sign language exclusively for interpreting, and not in situations where they are speaking for themselves, is held up as the origin of this interpreter sign language, and likewise, the interpreter's participation in TPA is credited with facilitating the avoidance of what can only be interpreted, in both the examples cited, as an outcome these respondents consider undesirable.

Thus, Leeson's assertion is borne out by the evidence in the present dataset; that the phenomenon of interpreter language must stem from an ingrained, and absolutely necessary, professional practice, namely, downplaying one's own position in a conversation in favor of one's clients and actively withholding one's own thoughts and opinions about whatever topic is at hand. It would indeed appear that interpreters experience at least a linguistic challenge when shifting between the professional role of interpreter and the personal role of conversation partner.

On the heels of this discussion comes one that focuses on the latter role, that of conversation partner "as oneself", i.e., outside the role of interpreter. On this point, the respondents are quite clear regarding their assessment of the cause of any difficulties arising in this role: some interpreters simply are not choosing to have these personal conversations. They are not using sign language "as themselves" on anything approaching a regular basis; they are not practicing, not developing their secondary interpreting language. A clue toward the explanation is found in the tales of artificial distancing mentioned by the first interpreter:

some interpreters claim they cannot, as a general rule, socialize with the d/Deaf because they might have to interpret for them in the future, in the same way a psychiatrist might choose not to socialize in the same groups as her patients or a doctor not initiating a romantic relationship with a patient. This is not current orthodoxy, but its significant presence in the oral history is enlightening. In fact, it is difficult to relegate this to "the oral history", as current interpreting students, though not taught to do this by their instructors, are well aware of the concept.

On this subject, the author can see that there might be occasions when, out of respect for a particular client in a particularly sensitive situation, an interpreter might choose to abstain from participation in a particular social function. The author rejects the notion that this abstention should be a general rule among the population of generalist interpreters for the following reasons: First, the occasions where abstention is warranted are far exceeded by the occasions where participation is harmless. Second, abstention harms the interpreting profession by cutting practitioners off from their best language models in an artificial, nearly-always-unnecessary way. Third, the trust to which proponents of abstention might appeal is hardly to be achieved by its non-cultivation. Trust is established when a d/Deaf person is given the chance to experience the interpreter's integrity first-hand, e.g., "This evening I saw at the d/Deaf club the interpreter who was at my doctor's appointment this morning. I was afraid he might say something about it, but he didn't! Not a word." The extent to which a cultural shift is needed, and in which population(s) it is needed, is a matter requiring urgent attention.

The author suggests that the root of this practice lies in a collective experience of courtesy stigma. This is a natural phenomenon in a population of interpreters increasingly without blood ties to the d/Deaf community, and whose native culture stigmatizes deafness. Nevertheless, collective distancing from the language and the culture of the d/Deaf is tantamount to an affirmation and a reinforcement of the hearing majority's stigmatization of the d/Deaf. Dennis Cokely (2005, pp. 10-12), writing about a turning point in the relationship between interpreters and the US d/Deaf population, and interpreters' (dis)regard for American Sign Language (ASL), notes that during that the early 1970s, "an increasing

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number of RID[9] members were certified who were unable to sign using the language of the Community, but who could sign using English-like signs." He goes on to say that "the popular appeal of Manual Codes for English served to reinforce *for those unacquainted with the Community* the historic pathological views of the Community and its language as deficient, deviant, and defective" [emphasis added], and ultimately to pose the question, "Would interpreters/transliterators accept the Community by embracing its language or would they inadvertently further oppress the Community by rejecting its language?" It is, of course, not being asserted here that this mindset or the (in)actions to which it leads are something common to all members of the interpreter population. At the same time, it remains an issue that all interpreters must consider. The implications of this phenomenon for the quality of interpretation, for the d/Deaf community, and for NTS are not insignificant and should be investigated further.

Cokely notes above that the pathological views were reinforced in people who were not acquainted with the Community. As an interpreting community, we would do well to consider how acquainted we are with the Community, if it is true that our behavior toward them serves to further isolate and stigmatize.

This phenomenon also has the potential to affect language learners, especially schoolchildren and d/Deaf immigrants who are learning NTS (see Vermeerbergen, M., Van Herreweghe, M., Smessaert, I. & De Weerdt, D., 2012; Peterson & Monikowski, 2010; Marschark, Sapere, Convertino & Seewagen, 2005; Quinto-Pozos, 2005). The ethical ramifications of non-native language modeling should be considered, and interpreters and their educators should explore the question of what exactly the service is they have been commissioned to provide.

There are limitations to what we can say on the topic of interpreter language. There are a number of things that cannot be inferred from the data at hand. One thing that is not clear from the data is exactly what this interpreter language really is or what it looks like, how it

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[9] Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf

differs from "sign language" *sans* prefix, from NTS, from the language of the d/Deaf. What can be inferred is that there is something about the expressive signed language of some interpreters that makes it distinct enough to these other forms to warrant naming it. It can also be inferred that it is the interpreter that makes it distinct, hence, interpreter-sign-language. What is unknown, and what can only be speculated upon, is whether interpreter language is perhaps a halting, non-native appearing, less fluid variety of NTS; whether it is signed Norwegian; whether it lacks use of native idioms, modern jargon and slang, inside jokes and references, or appropriate non-manual markers; or whether perhaps it just takes a minute to shift gears, giving the appearance of having to search for words. It is of course possible that none of these hypotheses is correct, and that the true explanation is another entirely.

Also unknown are the reflections on the subject made by the interpreters themselves who it is asserted report having developed interpreter language. This cannot be elucidated further in this document, but the true nature of interpreter language, its possible implications, and interpreters' reflections on the phenomenon are certainly questions worthy of exploration.

In conclusion, the interpreters' discussion of interpreter sign language really consists of two things: the neutral remarking on the existence of a phenomenon, and their strong opinions about the cause of and remedy for it.

7 Implications for research, education, and practice

In this concluding chapter, the study's limitations are first presented, and thereafter, recommendations for the field are offered. These recommendations are rooted in the statements of the participants in this study and framed by the theoretical groundwork we have laid.

7.1 Limitations

Though our sample size was considerable for the type of study being carried out, generalization to the population of all interpreters in Norway is precluded. We must also consider that the individuals who elect to participate in a research project may or may not be representative of the population they represent, and that the stories they share with the investigator are subjectively selected, and thus, the data gathered may not represent the whole picture. Without assuming complete representation, we may nevertheless discover important themes that may be identified, described, and further explored. Relatedly, the geographic distribution means that trends identified may only with less certainty be supposed to exist in other parts of the interpreter population. This is due to the separate development that can evolve in small, relatively isolated groups over time. Additionally, the same decentralized administration of the TPA scheme that produced the pilot program in which half our sample works makes it difficult to compare the experience of these interpreters with that of their counterparts whose work is organized differently.

7.2 The way forward

The current study confirms the positive findings from past evaluations of the original form of TPA. The current forms of TPA studied here, including the pilot project as practiced by NAV, seem to produce positive results for workplace communication as seen by the interpreter practitioners interviewed here. The scheme should be continued, and interpreters should be involved as respondents in future evaluations of the scheme.

A disability-theoretical understanding of deafness and stigma should be given a place of prominence in the education of new interpreters. Students should be able to discuss bias, the

reframing of deafness, and concepts such as cultural capital and Deaf Gain, as well as the importance of their own bilingualism and biculturalism on interpreting outcomes. Interpreter education programs should develop and cultivate a strong working relationship with the d/Deaf community, negotiating common goals for teamwork between the interpreting- and the d/Deaf community, and establish relationships of mentoring, community participation, and language modeling. In this way, the d/Deaf community can contribute to interpreters' development of fluency in their working language and culture. Interpreter education programs should stress participation in the community to the greatest possible degree, and make a certain level of participation a mandatory part of coursework.

A system of mandatory continuing education for practicing interpreters should be instituted, where such topics and discussions can reach all practitioners on an ongoing basis.

The discussion of ethical frameworks should continue; finessing, refining, and rethinking these entirely should become part of the interpreting culture. In the further development and refinement of codes of professional conduct, consideration should be made to involve members of the d/Deaf community or their representatives. Interpreters in all settings must feel like they have a secure forum for the discussion of sensitive topics and an avenue for attempting to effect change in situations they feel are untenable. A code of professional conduct should be comprised of a set of principle-based guidelines that create a framework for successful, reflected practice. It must be robust enough to be ethically defensible in all its points, and flexible enough to allow for the consideration of which ethical principles weigh heaviest in a given interpreted situation. "Competing commandments" can then be evaluated in light of the relevant overarching goals for communication, professionalism, and respect.

More study is needed into the phenomenon of interpreter language, its nature, causes, implications, and remedies.

Perhaps in the exploration of interpreters' management of issues of language and of role, we have, in spite of ourselves, come forward to a phenomenological snapshot of what it means to be a staff- or workplace interpreter. Perhaps it is an existence of juggling identities; managing the human element in the performance of our work; reconsidering ethical perspectives; balancing trust, power, and restraint; and questioning practice and dogma.

If interpreters don't break the stigma barrier, who will? They may not be the key to full social equality for the d/Deaf in Norway, but they certainly hold it in their hands, for they control the communication.

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9   Appendices

9.1   Appendix A: Project approval

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

NSD

Harald Hårfagres gate 29
N-5007 Bergen
Norway
Tel: +47-55 58 21 17
Fax: +47-55 58 96 50
nsd@nsd.uib.no
www.nsd.uib.no
Org.nr. 985 321 884

Borgunn Ytterhus
Institutt for sosialt arbeid og helsevitenskap
NTNU
7491 TRONDHEIM

Vår dato: 13.06.2012   Vår ref:30788 / 3 / MAS   Deres dato: Deres ref:

TILBAKEMELDING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 05.06.2012. All nødvendig informasjon om prosjektet forelå i sin helhet 12.06.2012. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

30788	Tolk på arbeidsplass: En fenomenologisk studie av tolkens erfaring
Behandlingsansvarlig	NTNU, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig	Borgunn Ytterhus
Student	Sarah Beth Evans-Jordan

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.
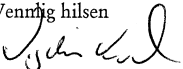
Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.
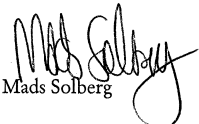
Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/prosjektoversikt.jsp.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 01.05.2013, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen

Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Mads Solberg

Mads Solberg tlf: 55 58 89 28
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering
Kopi: Sarah Beth Evans-Jordan, Buengvegen 43 B, 7099 FLATÅSEN

Avdelingskontorer / District Offices:
OSLO: NSD. Universitetet i Oslo, Postboks 1055 Blindern, 0316 Oslo. Tel: +47-22 85 52 11. nsd@uio.no
TRONDHEIM: NSD. Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet, 7491 Trondheim. Tel: +47-73 59 19 07. kyrre.svarva@svt.ntnu.no
TROMSØ: NSD. SVF, Universitetet i Tromsø, 9037 Tromsø. Tel: +47-77 64 43 36. nsdmaa@sv.uit.no

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9.2   Appendix B: Recruitment letter—employer

◉ NTNU

Fakultet for samfunnsvitenskap og teknologiledelse
Institutt for sosialt arbeid og helsevitenskap

Vår dato	Vår referanse
13.06.2012	
Deres dato	Deres referanse

Til arbeidsgiver:

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet

" Tolk på arbeidsplass: en fenomenologisk studie av tolkens erfaring"

Bakgrunn og hensikt

Dette er et spørsmål til dine ansatte om å delta i en forskningsstudie. Formålet med prosjektet er å beskrive erfaringer til tolker som jobber under ordningen Tolk på arbeidsplass (TPA) (Lov om folketrygd § 10-7 f, Rundskriv). Prosjektet skal rette fokus mot tolkens perspektiv på fordeler og ulemper, eventuelle konflikter og etiske spørsmål, evt. sammenlignet med annen tolkeerfaring de har som ikke går inn i ordningen. Prosjektet vil gi en større forståelse for hvordan tolker opplever yrket sitt som det utføres under ordningen og dermed bidra til økt kunnskap om hvordan ordningen Tolk på arbeidsplass oppleves av én av partene som deltar i den. Det er NTNU, Institutt for sosialt arbeid og helsevitenskap som er ansvarlig for dette prosjektet. Resultatene fra prosjektet vil bli publisert i en masteroppgave. Du er valgt ut som kontaktperson fordi du er avdelingsleder/enhetsleder som har ansvar for tolkene. Studien er meldt inn til personvernombudet for forskning ved Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelige datatjeneste (NSD).

Hva innebærer studien?

Jeg vil gjerne at du deler ut vedlagte brev til tolker som tilfredsstiller følgende utvalgskriterier: Vedkommende må ha jobbet som tolk i minst ett år, hvorav minst seks måneder skal ha blitt som tolk på arbeidsplass. Det er ønskelig med både nyere og mer erfarne tolker, så vel som både kvinnelige og mannlige tolker. Tolkene som takker ja til deltakelsen i denne studien, vil bli intervjuet om sine erfaringer med TPA. Det vil bli gjort lyd- og billedopptak dersom tolken samtykker til dette. Studien avsluttes 1. mai 2013. Innen den datoen blir alle personopplysninger (lyd- og billedopptak) slettet.

Mulige fordeler og ulemper

Mange ressurser må samles for at velferdsstaten skal klare å tilfredsstille de oppgavene den har påtatt seg. I dette tilfelle handler det om penger, infrastruktur, og ikke minst, om tolkene selv. For å sikre riktig ressursbruk og for å kunne ta gode og gjennomtenkte avgjørelser som vil går ut over velferden til individer og grupper, særlig når disse kan regnes som sårbare (Evans-Jordan, 2010), er det viktig med studier fra ulike perspektiver. Det er viktig at individer som har erfaring med denne ordningen får mulighet til å ytre seg og til å bli med på å bygge opp kunnskapen som ligger til grunn på avgjørelser som måtte tas. Dette er et relativt nytt fagfelt, og det finnes en sterk bevissthet blant medlemmene om at kunnskap må bygges opp (se f.eks. Berge, 2003, Woll, 1999). De som deltar i denne studien får muligheten til å sette ord på opplevelser de har hatt og spørsmål som har reist seg og til å reflektere over dem, samtidig som de får muligheten til å bidra med deres erfaring til kunnskapsbasen som kan da ligge til grunn for utviklingen av både fagfeltet og av lovverk som påvirker deres arbeid.

◉ NTNU

Fakultet for samfunnsvitenskap og teknologiledelse
Institutt for sosialt arbeid og helsevitenskap

Vår dato   Vår referanse
13.06.2012
Deres dato   Deres referanse

Hva vil en eventuell deltakelse bety for tolkene?
Studien har ingen direkte konsekvenser for tolkene som deltar. Men ved å dele sine erfaringer og kunnskaper, vil de være med på å bygge opp kunnskap om tolkers betydning og tolkers arbeidsvilkår som på sikt vil kunne være med å fremme kommunikasjonsmulighetene for tegnspråklige i arbeidslivet og fungere som en tilbakemelding til myndighetene om hvorvidt TPA ordningen fungerer i henhold til ambisjonene.

Frivillig deltakelse
Det er frivillig å delta i studien. Tolkene kan når som helst og uten å oppgi noen grunn trekke sitt samtykke til å delta i studien. Dette vil ikke få konsekvenser for dem. Dersom en ønsker å delta, undertegner vedkommende samtykkeerklæringen på siste side. Om en nå sier ja til å delta, kan man senere trekke tilbake sitt samtykke uten å måtte begrunne dette. Dersom de senere ønsker å trekke seg eller har spørsmål til studien, kan de kontakte:

Sarah Beth Evans-Jordan
Institutt for sosialt arbeid og helsevitenskap (ISH)
Dragvoll, Bygg 11—Nivå 5
7491 Trondheim

evansjor@stud.ntnu.no
98651856 (mob.)

eller

Borgunn Ytterhus
Institutt for sosialt arbeid og helsevitenskap (ISH)
Dragvoll, Bygg 11—Nivå 5
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9.3 Appendix C: Recruitment letter—interpreter

◉ NTNU

Fakultet for samfunnsvitenskap og teknologiledelse
Institutt for sosialt arbeid og helsevitenskap

Vår dato	Vår referanse
13.06.2012	
Deres dato	Deres referanse

Til tolk ved:

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet

"Tolk på arbeidsplass: en fenomenologisk studie av tolkens erfaring"

Bakgrunn og hensikt
Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i en forskningsstudie for å beskrive erfaringer til tolker som jobber under ordningen Tolk på arbeidsplass (TPA). Du er valgt ut til å forespørres fordi du har erfaring som kan bidra til økt forståelse av tolkens opplevelse av yrket sitt under TPA ordningen. Det er NTNU, Institutt for sosialt arbeid og helsevitenskap som er ansvarlig for dette prosjektet. Resultatene fra prosjektet vil bli publisert i en masteroppgave. Studien er innmeldt til Personvernombudet for forskning ved Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelige datatjeneste (NSD).

Hva innebærer studien?
Hvis du takker ja til deltakelsen i denne studien, vil du bli intervjuet om din erfaring med TPA. Intervju antas å vare i cirka en time. Det vil bli gjort lyd- og billedopptak dersom du tillater det.

Mulige fordeler og ulemper
Mange ressurser må samles for at velferdsstaten skal klare å tilfredsstille de oppgavene den har påtatt seg. I dette tilfelle handler det om penger, infrastruktur, og ikke minst, om tolkene selv. For å sikre riktig ressursbruk og for å kunne ta gode og gjennomtenkte avgjørelser som vil går ut over velferden til individer og grupper, særlig når disse kan regnes som sårbare (Evans-Jordan, 2010), er det viktig med studier fra ulike perspektiver. Det er viktig at individer som har erfaring med denne ordningen får mulighet til å ytre seg og til å bli med på å bygge opp kunnskapen som ligger til grunn på avgjørelser som måtte tas. Dette er et relativt nytt fagfelt, og det finnes en sterk bevissthet blant medlemmene om at kunnskap må bygges opp (se f.eks. Berge, 2003, Woll, 1999). De som deltar i denne studien får muligheten til å sette ord på opplevelser de har hatt og spørsmål som har reist seg og til å reflektere over dem, samtidig som de får muligheten til å bidra med deres erfaring til kunnskapsbasen som kan da ligge til grunn for utviklingen av både fagfeltet og av lovverk som påvirker deres arbeid.

Hva vil en eventuell deltakelse bety for deg?
Studien har ingen direkte konsekvenser for deg som deltaker. Men ved å dele dine erfaringer og kunnskaper, vil du være med på å bygge opp kunnskap om tolks betydning og tolkers arbeidsvilkår som på sikt vil kunne være med å fremme kommunikasjonsmulighetene for tegnspråklige i arbeidslivet og fungere som en tilbakemelding til myndighetene om hvorvidt TPA ordningen fungerer i henhold til ambisjonene.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?
Informasjonen som registreres om deg skal kun brukes slik som beskrevet i hensikten med studien. Alle opplysningene vil bli behandlet uten navn og fødselsnummer eller andre direkte gjenkjennende

◎ NTNU

Fakultet for samfunnsvitenskap og teknologiledelse
Institutt for sosialt arbeid og helsevitenskap

Vår dato   Vår referanse
13.06.2012
Deres dato   Deres referanse

opplysninger. En kode knytter deg til dine opplysninger gjennom en navneliste. Under studien, blir personlig informasjon om deg behandlet i samsvar med Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjenestes retningslinjer. Personalia, samt intervjuopptak, blir oppbevart låst og utilgjengelig for alle utenom meg og veilederen min. Både jeg og veilederen min er belagt taushetsplikt. Alle opplysninger om deg i den ferdige oppgaven blir avidentifisert. Studien avsluttes 1. mai 2013. Innen den datoen blir alle personopplysninger (lyd- og billedopptak om deg) slettet.

Frivillig deltakelse
Det er frivillig å delta i studien. Du kan når som helst og uten å oppgi noen grunn trekke ditt samtykke til å delta i studien. Dette vil ikke få konsekvenser for deg. Dersom du ønsker å delta, undertegner du samtykkeerklæringen på siste side. Om du nå sier ja til å delta, kan du senere trekke tilbake ditt samtykke uten å måtte begrunne dette. Dersom du senere ønsker å trekke deg eller har spørsmål til studien, kan du kontakte:

Sarah Beth Evans-Jordan
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Dragvoll, Bygg 11—Nivå 5
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evansjor@stud.ntnu.no
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Borgunn Ytterhus
Institutt for sosialt arbeid og helsevitenskap (ISH)
Dragvoll, Bygg 11—Nivå 5
7491 Trondheim

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9.4   Appendix D: Interview Guide

Bakgrunnsinformasjon

Navn:

Alder:

Hvor mange år har du jobbet som tolk?

Bare TPA? Andre settinger/tolkestillingstyper?

Utdanning: Hvor? Når ble du ferdig?

Hvordan ble det til at du ble tolk?

Apne spørsmål som kan brukes semistrukturert ved behov

Infrastruktur

Hvordan organiseres TPA ved din arbeidsplass?

Hvordan ville du beskrive ordningen Tolk på arbeidsplass?

Hva karakteriserer jobben til tolk på arbeidsplass, i din erfaring?

Utøvende (Tips til meg selv: Please describe for me a situation in which you experienced learning.)

Beskriv en typisk arbeidsdag som tolk på arbeidsplass.

Beskriv en konkret situasjon der du synes at tolkejobben fungerte godt. (Faglig? etisk? praktisk?)

Beskriv en konkret situasjon der du synes at tolkejobben ble vanskelig. (Faglig? etisk? praktisk?)

Utdypende

Hva skal til for at du synes at du gjør en god jobb?

Hvilke utfordringer møter du som tolk på arbeidsplass?

Hvor søker du støtte til faglige/etiske/praktiske spørsmål i jobben? (Beskriv en situasjon hvor du har søkt støtte til f/e/p spørsmål i jobben.)

Hvordan er kommunikasjon/relasjoner mellom døve og hørende brukerne?

Hvem opplever du er dine egne "kollegaer"? Folk på arbeidsplassen? Andre tolker?

Hvordan beskriver du din rolle?

Hvordan ville du beskrive jobben din til noen som ikke viste noe om døve og tolking?

Hva er forskjellen mellom TPA og annen tolking?

Oppsummering

Hva vil du aller mest at jeg skal vite om TPA?

Er det noe annet du kan tenke å tilføye?

Mange takk for at du ville delta. Du må selvfølgelig ta kontakt hvis du tenker på noe annet som vi har glemt å ta opp i dag.

Reserve

Hva er det beste/verste med jobben din?