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Exploring the practice of collaboration between participants through the lens of educational settings – A study on Swiss German sign language interpreters working in higher education

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Abstract

For the field of interpreting a paradigm shift towards "triad working" in order to be able to deliver effective interpretations Turner (2005, p. 52) is suggested. To investigate collaboration among participants in interpreted events this paper chooses educational settings as a lens. Literature characterises interpreting in classrooms as challenging (Lang, 2002, p. 269; Roy, 2000, p. 44; Schick, 2004, p. 83; Seal, 1998, p. 1) and that deaf students are solely able to access education when sign language interpreters (SLIs) collaborate with participants (Harrington, 2001, p. 75). Further, research on how SLIs can work more effectively in educational setting seems to be lacking (Harrington, 2005, p. 169; Slettebakk Berge & Ytterhus, 2015, p. 23; Smith, 2015, p. 275; Winston, 2015, p. 131).

Therefore, this study describes practices SLIs report adopting when seeking to work in a collaborating triad with other primary participants (i.e.: hearing teachers, and deaf students). It focuses on higher education (i.e.: upper secondary or tertiary level, and continuous education) and pursues a qualitative, descriptive approach. Two focus group sessions in German Switzerland, with five SLIs each, were conducted to gather data. Following a designed topic guide, interpreters were asked to share their experiences and views on interpreting in educational settings. The discussions were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed. In a content analysis relevant content was categorised, discussed, and linked back to literature. This led to a description of what practices SLIs in German Switzerland report when seeking to operate in a collaborating triad in educational settings.

The study reveals a rather defensive practice which possibly can be traced back to perceiving interpreters as conduits and to corresponding frameworks. This "defensive interpreter model" as Turner and Best (2017, p. 117) call it, might get in the way of a flexible approach when SLIs try to live up to all of the individual situations reality has in store. Additionally, the dynamic between lacking enlightenment on SL interpreting, unclear responsibilities, and missing guidelines for SLIs in classrooms and omitting exchanges among participants and colleagues seem to hinder the development of triadic collaboration.

Keywords: Deaf students access to higher education, SL interpretation in educational settings, collaboration among participants, triadic developments

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Tamara Bangerter

Declaration

I declare that the thesis embodies the results of my own work and has been composed by myself. Where appropriate within the thesis I have made full acknowledgement of the work and ideas of others. I understand that as an examination candidate I am required to abide by the Regulations of the University of Applied Sciences and to conform to its discipline and ethical policy.

Word count: ~ 21'200 plus references

Abbreviations

BGD	:	Berufsvereinigung der Gebärdensprachdolmetscher Deutschschweiz (Professional association of sign language interpreters German Switzerland)
CRPD	:	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
DSGS	:	Deutschschweizerische Gebärdensprache (Swiss German Sign Language)
IP	:	Interview partner
SL	:	Sign language
SLI	:	Sign language interpreter
UN	:	United Nations
VET	:	Vocational education/training

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"Knowledge is power"
(Francis Bacon, 1598)

1 Introduction

Educational settings are one of many possible working fields of sign language interpreters (SLIs). For this paper, educational settings are chosen as a possible lens for investigating collaboration among participants. In educational settings, SLIs would be given the chance to develop relationships with participants, as assignments take place during a longer period of time (Roy, 2000, p. 53). As negative experiences within educational environments presumably could have a major impact on a person's wellbeing it might be worth examining this field in detail. Literature from around the last thirty years suggests recognizing SLIs as active participants in an interpreted event (Metzger, 2000, pp. 23, 134; Roy, 1993/2002, p. 253; Wadensjö, 1993/2002, p. 368). In the field of sign language (SL) interpretation, another paradigm-shift towards a collaborating triad among clients and SLIs, and away from the long time prevailing conduit model, can be observed (Turner, 2005, p. 52). Investigating what Swiss German SLIs do when seeking to operate as a collaborating triad with deaf[1] and hearing clients in educational settings might therefore provide some insights in prevailing practice. As this paper has a limited frame, it focuses on the three *primary participants* (deaf students, hearing teachers, and hearing SLIs). *Non-primary participants* (e.g.: SLI-teams, class mates, parents, school administration, agencies, etc.) are mainly excluded. Further the analysis embodies participants in upper secondary, tertiary level

[1] A distinction often found in literature is that between 'deaf' and 'Deaf', where 'deaf' refers to the medical diagnosis and 'Deaf' to the cultural and linguistic identity of SL users (Morgan & Woll, 2002, p. xx). In order not to apply a more fine-grained distinction, the author of this paper uses the term 'deaf individuals' to refer to all non-hearing persons.

and in continuous education. Educational settings with deaf students below those levels are excluded, as interpreting on those respected levels might require different practices than working with young adults or grown-ups (Schick & Williams, 2004, p. 187).

Fleetwood (2000, pp. 165-171) provides a nice overview of literature and research on SLI in educational settings and states: "Signed language interpreting in educational settings is a relatively young phenomenon." (Fleetwood, 2000, p. 181). Haug and Vega Lechermann (2006, p. 202) and Turner (2005, p. 52), among others, highlight the lack of research on interpreting in educational settings. In order to allow deaf students to access information in educational settings, the literature in particular mentions *collaboration* should be examined within the context of educational interpreting (Davis, 2005, p. 134; Marschark, Sapere, Convertino, & Seewangen, 2005, pp. 65, 74, 76). Harrington (2001, p. 86) illustrates: "The demands of an ideal world for D/deaf students in higher education would be that we provide them with guaranteed support that would not hamper their ability to learn".

Research on SL interpreting in German Switzerland can be described as rare and in particular investigations into interpreting in educational settings might be even more sparse. Therefore, the aim of the study presented here is to a) document practices SLIs from German Switzerland adopt when seeking to operate as a collaborating triad with other primary participants in educational settings and b) identify topics that might influence their practices. The study centers in German Switzerland as it is where the author of this paper comes from.[2] Research on interpreting in German Switzerland, on educational settings in particular, is sparse and this is where this paper steps in willing to serve as a starting point for further research to follow.

[2] Author's background: The author is a sign language interpreter from Switzerland who works mainly in German Switzerland and is an L2 user of sign language.

The thesis is organised is as follows: In this chapter the context is marked out which this study takes place, the need for this research is demonstrated, and the objectives of this study are outlined. In the following chapter (2) the *Theoretical Background* is presented which leads to the theoretical framework within which this analysis is embedded. Each outcome of theoretical parts amount to the background of the *research question (RQ)*. In Chapter 3 the *Research Methodology* which was applied in order to answer the RQ is explained in detail. The results of the analysis are presented, discussed and linked back to literature in Chapter 4 *Results and Discussion*. The main arguments are drawn together in the last chapter (5) *Conclusion and Outlook* where also limits and further research areas are listed. The structure of this paper is illustrated in Figure 1.

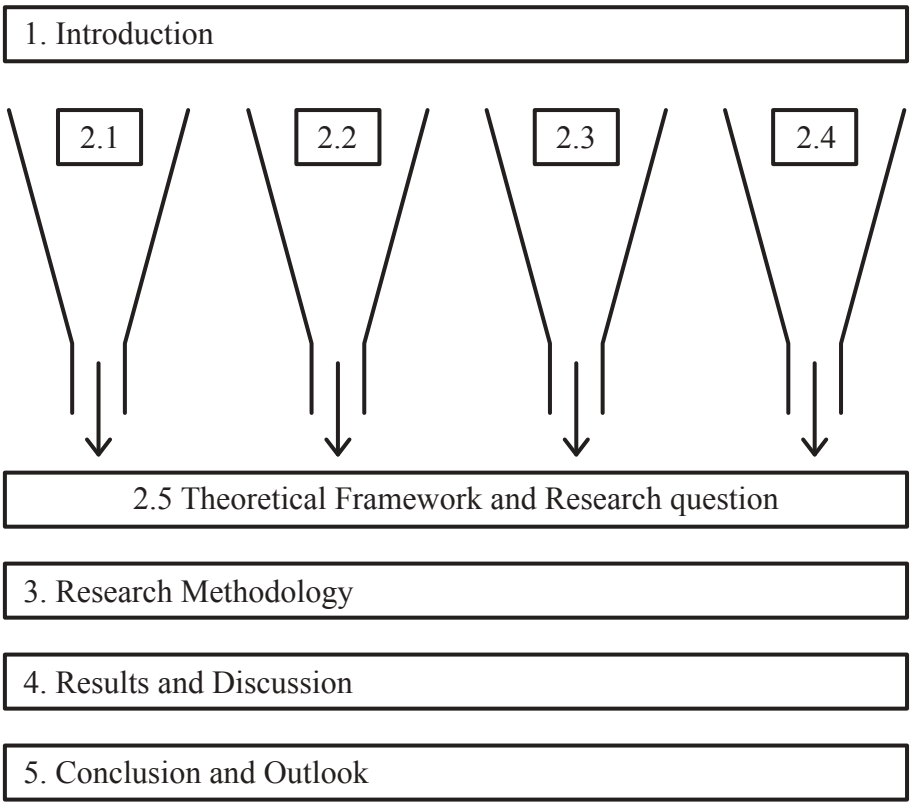


Figure 1: Thesis structure

2 Theoretical background

In the following four sections, significant literature is presented and critically illuminated. First, *SL interpretation in general* will be addressed in order to present a brief overview of different interpreter models, practices and frameworks. In Section 2.2 *SL and SL interpreting in Switzerland* is introduced in order to provide context about the situation there. Section 2.3 aims for providing an overview of challenges and specialities when *interpreting within the field of education* and illustrates some facts about collaboration among participants. Where in Section 2.4 finally some hints about *interpreting in educational settings within the Swiss context* are outlined. Crucial contents of each section will be summarised in Section 2.5 and serve as *theoretical framework* of the study.

2.1 Sign language interpreting

Interpreted events, as one specific area within the field of communication, and the most common interpreter models that have been introduced so far, will be briefly presented here. Subsequently, practices and frameworks will be addressed in order to seek out more about collaborating triads in interpreting events.

2.1.1 Perceptions and models of SLIs

When communicating, not uncommonly misapprehensions arise. Even if sharing the same language, counterparts might receive messages in a different way than they were intended. Wadensjö (2013, pp. 185, 187), among others, documents that communication *per se* is complex. If communication between two persons is described as challenging then it might get even more complicated when interpreters are involved. Interpreters are requested if at least two parties want to communicate but do not have a common language (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 19; Metzger, 2000, p. 19; Roy, 2000, p. 41). Within the field of so called 'community interpreting', clients can call for interpretation for various events (e.g.: business meetings, medical appointments, education, etc.). This means SLIs are faced with a wide range of settings and each one might differ from the one before, as there are many influencing factors (e.g.: participants, topics, etc.) (Turner, 2005, p. 29).

A standard presumption is, that the job of an interpreter is to simply render messages from one language to another, however interpreting seems to include more, as every participant might have different expectations and different needs in what

manner an interpretation should happen (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 49). One wishing for an active interpreter assisting them managing their meeting or lecture and others not wanting any interruptions by interpreters at all. Roy (2000, p. 31) highlights, to state SLIs are 'just interpreting' is only helpful when talking with lay persons, however might not be satisfying participants involved in interpreting events (Roy, 2000, p. 31), as there are so many layers adding to an event.

With the attempt to regulate interpreters' action, different models were introduced: *Helper*, *Machine (Conduit)*, *Communication Facilitator*, and *Bilingual-Bicultural Facilitator* (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, pp. 25-29; Metzger, 2000, p. 22; Roy, 1993/2002, pp. 349-351). As the name of the first reveals, it describes the task of an interpreters as *helping* deaf individuals to communicate. To gain distance from the helper model and stress that deaf individuals do not rely on help from hearing people (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 26) the *Machine (Conduit) model* followed (Hale, 2007, p. 127). There SLIs were requested to not interact with the participants besides the interpreted contents and not to answer questions addressed to the SLIs (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, pp. 19, 31, 32). Rather SLIs should be invisible and avoid any human action. Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. 19) note:

> Tradtionally interpreters have been taught that they should not influence the communication process and, to minimise their impact, they should maintain an impersonal, professional distance (in line with the so called 'machine'-model); that is, have a low presentation of self. Interpreters are taught not to interact with the interlocutor other than to interpret the meaning of their utterance.

Only if the interpretation fits the needs of the participants, can it be described as effective (Harrington, 2000, p. 219; Seal, 1998, p. 7). As the above-mentioned models did not seem to support a practice which would aim for covering participants' needs (i.e.: are not effective), the *Facilitator Model* and later the *Bilingual-Bicultural Model* was introduced (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 29). None of these four models seemed to be satisfactory, as they all got removed and substituted by new ideas because the prevailing one did not seem to live up to the real circumstances that SLIs were facing when working (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 29). Roy (1993/2002, p. 347) stresses: "… no one really knows where to draw the line on the involvement of the interpreter.".

2.1.2 Frameworks for practice and their limits

If the SLIs' 'role' is difficult to define, frameworks that list what SLIs should or should not do, might be questioned as well. Tate and Turner (2001, pp. 53, 65) put forward: "At present, our experience is that we face a situation where many interpreters actually expect the Code to guide them in some simple black-and-white fashion: they want the Code to tell them exactly what to do.". Most Codes of Ethics were created during the very beginning of the professionalization of interpreting. They were developed to ensure a non-partial interpretation during the Nuremberg Trials in the late forties and are therefore mostly linked to the machine model (Ramler 1988 cited in Metzger, 2000, p. 20). It might be, Codes are helpful for interpreting at court or a conference, however, they do not seem to live up to the field of community interpreting (Angelelli, 2006, p. 178; Tate & Turner, 2001, p. 63) were interactions can be so various. SLIs ask for guidance trough the various interpreting events (Angelelli 2004 p. 13 cited in Angelelli, 2006, p. 176) and no Code can be formulated in a way all possible situations would be documented (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 31; Tate & Turner, 2001, p. 53). Consequently, the literature documents difficulties when SLIs try to live up to real circumstances and Codes (Angelelli, 2006, pp. 175, 189; Tate & Turner, 2001, p. 64). Hale (2007, p. 134) and Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. 31) even claim that Codes might be hindering effective practices. Roy (2000, p. 103) mentions, Ethical Codes are *rule based* and tell SLIs what they are *not allowed to* do, whereas guidelines serve more as *guidance* for what SLIs *could* do. Dean and Pollard (2001, p. 13) clearly state that such frameworks do not serve as guidelines to develop a healthy decision-making process, and that not taking responsibility might lead to bigger ethical dilemmas instead of solving them (Dean & Pollard, 2011, p. 160). Further, Dean and Pollard (2001, p. 12) warn: "This combination of high demand and low decision latitude puts interpreters at high risk for stress-related illness … and burnout … .". This means, SLIs that are confronted with various challenging situations without guidance, or even worse with a list of restrictions, face a bigger risk for occupational diseases.

2.1.3 Triadic development in SL interpreting

Slowly, the fact that SLIs, through their very presence alone, already have an impact on the communication event was highlighted. Before even lifting their hands to start interpreting, SLIs add to the event (Roy, 2000, pp. 63, 101). Or, as Metzger (2000,

p. 23) puts forward: “Interpreters have expressed the goal of not influencing the form, content, structure, and outcomes of interactive discourse, but the reality is that interpreters, by their very presence, influence the interaction.”. Reality showed that in contradiction to prevailing theories SLIs do influence interactions (Metzger, 2000, p. 23; Roy, 2000, p. 63) and that interpreting is not only passively delivering information from one person to another (Roy, 2000, p. 101). As SLIs are human beings with their own thoughts, beliefs and histories they hardly can be marked neutral (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 32; Metzger, 2000, p. 3). However, SLIs tried and some are still trying to be neutral and invisible (Metzger, 2000, p. 2) and therefore might face dilemmas. Metzger (2000, p. 22) observes: “If interpreters have the goal of remaining neutral, this research suggests a contradiction between the goal and the reality of interpreted encounters.”. Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, pp. 21, 22) stress: “Rather than be impartial to be fair, an interpreter must be bi-partial … .”. So to be aware of the fact that SLIs are not neutral and rather try to balance partiality equally seems a reasonable approach when seeking to collaborate with participants. According to the literature, SLIs are active participants in a communication event (Metzger, 2000, pp. 23, 134; Roy, 1993/2002, p. 352; Wadensjö, 1993/2002, p. 368). By recognising SLIs as visible party that have an impact on the communication event the awareness grew that SLIs have a more active part than assumed.

The acceptance of the SLI as an active participant in the interpreting event, led to new descriptions. E.g. to develop “shared situations” (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 40) or “working as a triad” (Turner, 2005, p. 52) are two newly emerged concepts. These approaches highlight the importance of working together to create a shared space, which enables communication to bloom. Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. 48) and Turner (2005, p. 52) stress the need for such a collaboration and predict that interpretation products will be more effective.

SLIs can help to create an ambiance where collaboration can grow and literature names in particular two aspects that should be respected. Firstly, *to act normal* (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, pp. 24, 31-34, 44). Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. 32) stress: “By presenting one’s self in a way that follows the expected norms of the interaction, the interpreter allows the participants to become familiar with them and this, then, starts to engender trust.”. Secondly *to develop trust*, as relationships and therefore effective interpreting, depend on that feature (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 24). Unfortunately, the literature reports SLIs were (or still are) trained to not

participate and therefore possibly no "shared situations" might emerge (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, pp. 40, 47). Turner and Best (2017, p. 117) in this context speak of the "defensive interpreter model" and describe it as hindering effective interpreting. Apparently, acting normal, presenting yourself, and developing trustful relationships are key factors when aiming to establish collaboration. This seems to be the opposite of what most SLIs were told for a long period of time (i.e.: to try to stay invisible) (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 24), and therefore SLIs might not attempt to take this more active approach when interacting with participants.

To sum up, the four common interpreter models do not seem to support effective practice (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 29) and the literature suggests working towards triadic collaboration in order to provide an effective interpreting product (Turner, 2005, p. 52). This indicates effective interpreting is when something grows between all involved participants and it cannot be considered as an individual task that each party could fulfil isolated from each other. However, some aspects e.g. *training* (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, pp. 24, 32) and *frameworks* (Angelelli, 2006, pp. 175, 189; Hale, 2007, p. 134; Tate & Turner, 2001, p. 64) might prevent triadic developments. This study explores exclusively the SLI's view on triadic collaboration. The perspectives of the two remaining corners (teachers and students) are perceived as equally important, though are excluded due to the limited frame of the paper.

2.2 Sign language and sign language interpreting in Switzerland

In Section 2.2, SL interpreting in German Switzerland is introduced in order to learn about training, deployment, and practice of the country in which this study is conducted.

The language environment in Switzerland consists of four spoken languages: *German*, *French*, *Italian*, and *Romansh,* plus three signed languages: *Swiss German SL (DSGS)*, *French SL (LSF)*, and *Italian SL (LIS)* (Haug et al., 2017, p. 131). The estimated numbers of deaf DSGS users in German Switzerland are around 5,500 (Haug et al., 2017, p. 131). The right for SL interpretation is stated in the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) of the United Nations (UN) (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), n.d.). Switzerland ratified the UN CRPD in 2014 (Burger, 2017, p. 8). The three SLs used in Switzerland are not recognized as official languages of this country. Just two Swiss cities (Geneva and Zurich) mention SL in their legislation (Krausneker, 2016a). It follows from this that SL in general and SL interpreting is presumably not as established as in other countries.

2.2.1 Employment and frameworks in Switzerland

In Switzerland, SL interpreting services are currently coordinated by a single agency. All 75 active SLIs work for the same agency, as it has a monopoly position (Raschle, 2017, p. 19) and, consequently, decides who works as an SLI and who is given which assignment. Graduates from the SLI training program are employed on a freelance basis at the above-mentioned agency (Procom, 2018a). One part of the working contract of Swiss SLIs is the Swiss Code of Ethics (Procom, 2018a). The six topics listed are: *Secrecy*, *Impartiality*, *Accuracy of interpretation*, *Punctuality*, *Humility and inconspicuousness*, and *Preparation and continuous education*.

Evaluation of Swiss SLIs happens through the agency on an irregular basis. Currently graduates enjoy evaluation and supervision by the agency during the first phase when entering the field. For SLIs after this phase evaluation and supervision are not institutionalized. Intervision[3] is set up by SLIs themselves on a voluntary basis and those exchanges are not refunded.

[3] Intervision: Structured exchange among colleagues (UNODC Project Office for the Baltic States, 2010, p. 6)

2.2.2 Training and concepts of SLIs in German Switzerland

SLI training in German Switzerland is a three-year full-time bachelor program carried out by the University of Applied Sciences of Special Needs Education in Zurich (HfH, 2018). The interpreter training imparts knowledge in applied language, translation sciences, as well as in sociology and interculturality. Further it includes development of competencies in DSGS, spoken Standard German and spoken Swiss German. In addition to the theoretical content, the training also offers corresponding internships. Following completion of training, SLIs work in all different kinds of settings, including for example educational settings (bgd, n.d.; Haug et al., 2017, p. 131), even if they are very challenging.

Based on semi-public papers from the agency and the SLIs association, the author's own experience and informal communication with colleagues, in German Switzerland, a tendency that SLIs try to be invisible and absolutely neutral, can be observed. This might have different reasons (e.g.: SLI training, Code of Ethics, or the prevailing culture of the SLI's employer and deaf communities) (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 19). The SLIs associations website states: "… sign language interpreter act as communication-bridges between the hearing and the deaf party." (bgd, n.d.). Perceiving SLIs as bridges might be one indication linked to the conduit-model.

Both the SLIs association and the agency websites emphasise SLIs have to strictly follow the Code of Ethics (bgd, n.d.; Procom, 2018a). In order to guide colleagues and employees through the jungle of various situations, association and agency point to the code of ethics: "The sign language interpreters always follow strictly the Code of Ethics from the bgd[4], which is also seen as binding by our employer Procom [the agency]." (bgd, n.d.).

Additionally, bgd lists characteristics as 'impartiality' and 'neutrality' to the SLI's profession which might increase the tension SLIs are experiencing in the field when facing challenging situations and trying to live up to the frameworks. The bgd (n.d.) states for example: "Sign language interpreters are subordinated a strict Code of Ethics. … are impartial and do not participate privately at the discussed topics, but much more act neutral.".

[4] Bgd: Professional association of sign language interpreters German Switzerland

2.2.3 Triadic developments in SL interpretation in Switzerland

About practically working in the field, the SLIs association website mentions the preparation on the content and linguistic level. Information about how and when involved participants can effectively work together seems to be lacking. The preparation on content level is mentioned (BFSUG, n.d.; bgd, n.d.; SGB-FSS, n.d), however a request towards a triadic collaboration between the participants remains mute. Surprisingly neither the deaf association, nor the information centres for deaf and hard of hearing individuals, nor the SLIs association share information online about how to work with interpreters (BFSUG, n.d.; bgd, n.d.; SGB-FSS, n.d). Participants involved in interpreting events might look unsuccessfully for guidance on collaboration. A different approach gleams in an interview of a regional newspaper with a Swiss German SLI. There, an SLI is interviewed and puts forward that to provide an effective interpretation you need to do more than just render messages into another language:

> Only when the participants have the feeling communicating directly with each other and the actual meant content and not only the said content has been interpreted, the cultural transfer has been considered, then the sign language interpreter … has done her job correctly. (Wueger, 2019)

This illustrates, within the rather conduit-model-landscape, there are hints that Swiss SLIs can demonstrate some flexibility when approaching the complex task of interpreting.

The Swiss context can be summarised as followed: After a three-year bachelor training SLIs work for an agency and might be placed in all kinds of settings (including education). The prevailing practice in German Switzerland can be manly described as rather defensive, due to a short history of the SLI profession, a rather strict rule-based framework. Additionally, intervision, supervision, and evaluation are not institutionalized.

2.3 SL interpreting in educational settings

This section provides insights on educational settings and specialties when interpreting within this field. Different participants, diverse responsibilities and expectations, and possible resulting challenges will be addressed. The final section outlines triadic developments among participants in educational settings.

For the educational sector a trend towards inclusion can be observed, as many deaf schools are closing and deaf individuals are placed into hearing environments and visiting mainstream schools (Marschark, Rhoten, & Fabich, 2006, pp. 503, 504; Marschark et al., 2005, p. 57; Seal, 1998, p. 1). Experts are not sure about the consequences of that trend and therefore inclusion philosophy is highly debated (Becker & Meinhardt, 2013, p. 401; Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 12, 17; Marschark et al., 2005, p. 58; Winston, 2015, p. 133). That deaf individuals can access information (e.g.: education) in their mother tongue is a human right, which is stated in the UN CRPD (United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), n.d.) and as one consequence, more and more SLIs are entering classrooms (Lang, 2002, p. 270; Marschark et al., 2005, p. 57; Smith, 2015, p. 265). Roy (2000, p. 47) clearly outlines whenever an interpreter is present the event becomes an *interpreted* event. Correspondingly, *education* would change to an *interpreted education*.

Educational settings represent a specific category in the field of community interpreting (Taylor, 2004, p. 180; Winston, 2015, p. 130). Within this category interpretation can take place at all kinds of educational levels (e.g.: compulsory education/K-12, upper secondary or tertiary levels, continuous education, etc.). Working at different levels requires different approaches, in particular when working with children where for example a special adult to child register is demanded as children are still learning to process language (Schick & Williams, 2004, p. 187; Taylor, 2004, p. 180). This paper focuses on SL interpretation going on in inclusive settings at Upper secondary level, Tertiary level or in continuous education.[5] It excludes interpreting in K-12, as interpreting with children seems to require different practices than working with young adults or grown-ups. Nonetheless literature e.g. from Schick and Williams

[5] A detailed description of the Swiss educational structure follows in Section 2.4.

(2004, p. 187) on interpreting in K-12 will be selectively included, as it offers some interesting hints upon which research for interpreting at higher levels could be built.

2.3.1 Training and deployment

Davis (2005, p. 122) highlights: "Interpreter are trained as generalists … .". However, as explained in detail below, interpreting in educational settings might be very challenging and the literature therefore stresses the importance of placing qualified SLIs in classrooms. If SLIs want to work effectively in educational settings they ideally complete an extensive SLI training program (Marschark et al., 2006, p. 504) plus specialised training (Harrington, 2001, p. 86; Harrington & Turner, 2001, pp. 83-86; Marschark et al., 2005, p. 77; Schick, 2004, p. 84; Seal, 1998, p. 57). Next to solid training, authors are calling for SLIs with team-competence and capability for interdisciplinary cooperation (Becker & Meinhardt, 2013, p. 405; Taylor, 2004, pp. 180, 181). Roy (2000, p. 62) in this context highlights that it would be important that SLI and client match each other, although often clients cannot choose: "For the most part, Deaf people have to accept interpreters who are available… .". SLIs should not be placed into classrooms randomly (Becker & Meinhardt, 2013, p. 405; Sanderson, Siple, & Lyons, 1999, p. 5; Taylor, 2004, pp. 180, 181). Unfortunately, it is a reality that deaf individuals cannot choose which SLI they want to work with Roy (2000, p. 62). Lang (2002, p. 270) additionally mentions that the organization of SLIs can take a lot of time and there is little research on this topic. Further literature suggests placing SLIs on a regular basis into the same setting, in order to ensure consistency and to allow for establishing relationships among participants (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 24).

2.3.2 Concepts, expectations, and responsibilities

Whenever people interact, expectations and preconceived concepts might accompany the event. Within the context of education Roy (2000, p. 63) states: "… the obligations of the student role – to read, to take exams, to attend classes – are expectations of the teacher role." and goes on: "The expectations of the student role – to receive information, to be given fair exams, to be graded on the basis of merit – are obligations of the professor role.". This means the one's expectations become the other's obligations and vice versa (Roy, 2000, p. 63) and SLIs should be aware of that

in order to deliver goal-orientated interpreting products (Fleetwood, 2000, p. 180; Roy, 2000, p. 53; Seal, 1998, pp. 125, 164, 169, 172).

Also SLIs might be confronted, whether enunciated or not, with different expectations and obligations and these might differ from the typical concepts interpreters might be linked to by themselves or others. Roy (2000, p. 66) documents: "If an interpreter's role expectation and obligations were as easily defined as the teacher or student role, then there would not be the problems, concerns, and issues that arise around the discussions about an interpreter's role.". For example, authors debate if it is the teacher's or the SLI's responsibility if deaf students are actually learning (Harrington, 2005, p. 169; Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 17; Marschark et al., 2005, p. 78). There might very well be expectations towards SLIs, presumably they differ from classic concepts that SLIs are given or give themselves (Roy, 2000, p. 66) and it might be worth finding out about them in order to establish proper cooperation among participants.

The initially presented four 'role' models are questioned to be helpful when working in educational settings as they seem to not live up to the real circumstances surrounding SL interpretation in classrooms (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 23; Slettebakk Berge & Ytterhus, 2015, pp. 12, 22). Marschark et al. (2005, p. 75) state: "The distinction between the interpreting role and other possible roles makes good sense in a variety of community settings …, but it may be less of a service to deaf individuals in educational settings.". Roy (2000, p. 101) for example emphasizes, the conduit-model, which is linked to passive behavior, could be questioned if appropriate for educational settings. Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. 47) in this context report that SLIs often talk about 'stepping out of the role' when talking about taking over additional tasks.

The concept of an SLI seems not to be something fixed, much more it seems to be very much defined by the expectations other participants have about the SLI. Students, teachers and SLIs seem to have different opinions about what the SLIs' job in classrooms (impersonal medium or member of team) would be (Kukla, 2004, p. 102; Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 4, 18, 40). Roy (2000, p. 123) highlights: "The role of the interpreters is created by and performed within the interaction.". Wadensjö (1993/2002, p. 268) stresses, interpreters should move away from the concept of strictly transferring and work more towards a goal-oriented product. Slettebakk Berge and Ytterhus (2015, pp. 12, 22) advocate for 'Hybrid role models' in order to deliver

effective products, however admit that they might be very demanding, as they are not outlined clearly. On one hand, this indicates the 'role' of SLIs interpreting in educational settings does not seem to be clear to the involved participants, and calls for a need to consistently adapt to the variations (Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 4, 18, 23; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 47; Slettebakk Berge & Ytterhus, 2015, pp. 12, 22). On the other hand, this constant adaption might be very tiring as it demands a lot from SLIs (Slettebakk Berge & Ytterhus, 2015, pp. 12, 22). The literature does not seem to provide a distinct description about how SLIs should work in educational settings, though it delivers some hints about dos and don'ts for SLIs in classrooms. One stand out point is, deaf students wishing for SLIs to intervene when they cannot because they do not know there would be an issue. Students in Kurz and Langer (2004, p. 28) put forward: "Advocate for me when I cannot advocate for myself.". However, add: "It bothers me when the interpreter repeatedly asks the teacher to clarify or repeat, even if I do not ask for clarification." (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 25). Those reports might be perceived as contradicting and illustrate very nicely how the everyday life of SLIs in classrooms might look.

Uncertainty about the SLI's 'role' does not stop the literature claiming it should be communicated. To ensure a basic understanding of what interpreting in educational settings includes, deaf and hearing clients should be informed about how to work with SLIs (Becker & Meinhardt, 2013, p. 405; Harrington, 2005, p. 182; Haug & Vega Lechermann, 2006, p. 206; Kukla, 2004, pp. 97, 104-106; Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 29; Roy, 2000, p. 63; Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 10). Kukla (2004, p. 106) suggests, teachers should take over enlightenment on SL interpreting, where Seal (1998, pp. 154, 155) and Haug and Vega Lechermann (2006, p. 206) in this context advocate for enlightenment by deaf individuals (e.g.: deaf associations). Sanderson et al. (1999, p. 12) in turn propose the interpreting process should be explained by SLIs. For people that are not familiar with the field of interpreting it might of course be difficult to understand what SLIs do and therefore a comprehensible wish for introducing and clarifying interpreting in classrooms might emerge. As a consequence of lacking enlightenment, participants might assume SLIs would take care of everything. Roy (2000, p. 63) underlines: "It is simply a fact of life that most people rarely interact through an interpreter. They are not sure how the process works, and they assume that the interpreter is responsible for making it work.".

Helpful guidelines which would support SLIs to navigate through the complex field of educational settings, seem to be missing. In educational settings, SLIs find themselves in so many unique situations where every action might be reconsidered to adapt to the changing needs, that it is difficult for frozen guidelines to live up to that (Fleetwood, 2000, p. 179; Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 8). Whether existing frameworks support SL interpreting in general can be questioned, however for working in educational settings they do not seem to be suitable.

2.3.3 Challenges for SLIs in educational settings

Next to the above-mentioned cloudiness regarding expectations, tensions among participants, and very practical issues (like for e.g.: complex topics and a difficult presenting style (Taylor, 2004, p. 183), fast turn-taking (Kukla, 2004, p. 97; Winston, 2015, p. 132), or use of multimedia (Harrington, 2005, p. 171)), SLIs might face various additional challenges when interpreting in class. Seal (1998, p. 6) mentions: "The educational interpreter's work, like the breadth and depth of the scope of his or her practice, can be *all-inclusive*.". This paper focuses mainly on challenges for SLIs. However, to get a more holistic picture, it would be more than wishful to investigate in a next study challenges for other participants.

First, the broadness regarding range of *settings* and *students' background* should be addressed. Flexibility is claimed from SLIs as they might find themselves in a wide range of different communication situations within educational settings (e.g. in lectures, group discussions, etc.) where each of them demands different actions (Davis, 2005, pp. 134, 135; Harrington, 2005, p. 171; Kukla, 2004, p. 97; Roy, 2000, p. 45; Taylor, 2004, p. 183; Winston, 2015, p. 132). Additionally, the various settings can be paired with a broad range of clientele (e.g.: different age range, different levels of language competency, different types of education, etc.). These might for example include family background (signing or not), the earlier educational placement (mainstreamed or school for deaf children), etc. (Davis, 2005, p. 121) or a heterogeneity of students regarding for example social skills, communication, and motivation (Seal, 1998, pp. 123, 124, 173).

The literature additionally mentions some other aspects SLIs might consider when interpreting in educational settings at upper secondary level as there is much more going on than only delivering content. Much more students are supposed to gain

knowledge about different content *plus* developing social/personal factors (Lang, 2002, p. 269; Roy, 2000, p. 44; Schick, 2004, p. 83; Seal, 1998, p. 123). Class-participation is named as one point regarding social/personal factors (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 40). This seems to be a big issue for deaf students as they rarely get the chance to join conversations because of the interpreter's lag time (Kukla, 2004, p. 97) or instructors not managing turn taking in a way deaf students could follow (Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 13). At upper secondary level SLIs not only have to interpret content but also make sure to not hinder the development of social/personal factors and ensure the deaf student can actively participate in class and this combination might be perceived as challenging by SLIs (Kukla, 2004, p. 97; Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 18, 40; Lang, 2002, p. 269; Roy, 2000, p. 44; Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 13; Schick, 2004, p. 83; Seal, 1998, p. 123). Interaction with classmates is not the focus of this paper, however, how to collaborate with teachers and students in order deaf students can participate, develop social skills, and access information, is very much a topic that is going to be discussed below.

Another discussed issue in this context is *how* content can be passed on to deaf students. The literature distinguishes between *free interpretation approach* (interpreting concepts into SL / signing detached from spoken language structure) and *literal interpretation approach* or transliteration (signing following spoken language grammar / signing by staying close to spoken language. structure) (Harrington, 2001, pp. 78, 79; Marschark et al., 2005, p. 60; Napier & Barker, 2004, p. 233). For educational settings, the literature further suggests a combination of both free and literal interpreting approaches, depending on the context (Napier & Barker, 2004, pp. 234, 236). Understandably, it might be perceived as challenging by interpreters to decide *when* to deliver which content *in which manner.* Roy (2000, p. 61) emphasises: "Adding, subtracting, and changing a message are all possible in an interpretation and interpreters struggle with, for example, how much addition is needed and how much is too much?". Hence, SLIs might face various dilemmas when working in educational settings (Seal, 1998, p. 157) and suggest more research on this topic (Davis, 2005, p. 124).

2.3.4 Exchanges and Evaluation

Within the field of interpreting in educational settings, the literature mentions different types of exchanges among primary participants e.g.: short/spontaneous exchanges before or after class and set-up meetings outside class (Fleetwood, 2000, p.

180; Kukla, 2004, p. 94; Seal, 1998, pp. 34, 125, 164, 169, 172), and evaluation sessions (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 40).

Kukla (2004, p. 94) stresses: "Special about interpreting in educations and continuous educations is the fact that interpreters mostly are bond to the particular assignment over a long-time period and therefore are confronted with potential conflicts weekly or daily base.". So, exchanges on a regular basis among participants could add to, prevent, or solve eventual conflicts. Seal (1998, p. 34) and Sanderson et al. (1999, p. 10) suggest exchanging in retrospect about the interpreted event among primary participants and Haug and Vega Lechermann (2006, p. 206) mention, students and teachers should regularly get the chance to give feedback. SLIs are described as mostly benefiting a lot from the received feedback (Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 9).

A short briefing before the upcoming event might help find out about needs and goals. The literature describes it as crucial that SLIs find out about participants' aims or goals (Fleetwood, 2000, p. 180; Seal, 1998, pp. 125, 164, 169, 172) in order to work effectively (Harrington, 2000, p. 219). For example, didactics used by teachers should be ascertained (Fleetwood, 2000, p. 180; Roy, 2000, p. 53; Seal, 1998, pp. 125, 164, 169, 172). Further, Seal (1998, pp. 125, 164, 169, 172) proposes to consider the different curricula of a specific study programme so different goals can be identified and adhered to by the SLI.

Regular evaluation of the interpreted event is necessary to check how assignments are running (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 40). Taylor (2004, p. 179) stresses: "This ongoing assessment is vital for the success of deaf and hard of hearing students enrolled in mainstream classes.". To check if participants are satisfied with the SLIs, it is important to regularly assess (e.g.: the interpreter's strengths and weaknesses, the effectiveness of the interpreter in the classroom perceived by the teacher, student, and interpreter) (Taylor, 2004, p. 182) and when calling for assessing SLIs in classrooms it should be reconsidered by who (Taylor, 2004, p. 183). Taylor (2004, pp. 178, 179) suggests on-site observations by qualified individuals who can assess SL and interpreting processes. Even if authors like Marschark et al. (2005, p. 77) and Smith (2015, p. 274) acknowledge the difficulty of assessing an interpreting product, they do not doubt the necessity of assessing SLIs in classrooms. Seal (1998, p. 34) offers a set of instruments to evaluate SLIs from different perspectives (e.g.: tools for students, teachers, and SLIs themselves.). Other tools like e.g. EIPA exist to assess

interpretations at elementary and secondary level (Schick & Williams, 2004, pp. 186, 188) and might possibly be adapted for use at higher levels as well.

As SLIs make a lot of decisions in moments when they have almost no time to think about the consequences of their decisions, they have to reflect in order to be able to make 'right' decisions (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 9; Turner, 2005, pp. 29, 32, 35). SLIs have to decide on various different levels (e.g.: linguistic choices, what would be most fitting in this particular situation to serve the participants goals, etc.) (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 9; Turner, 2005, pp. 29, 32, 35). Only if decisions fit the participants' goals is the practice described as effective (Roy, 2000, p. 64). Dean and Pollard (2011, p. 161) use the terms *demands* (challenges SLIs face when working) and *controls* (resources SLIs have to respond to demands). Dean and Pollard (2013, p. 139) in this context highlight that structured discussions among colleagues are highly effective when aiming for reflecting on the decision-making process.

Interpreters rarely have the possibility to exchange with colleagues when interpreting in educational settings, as they are often working alone (Taylor, 2004, p. 178). Even if SLIs are working in pairs they might often not have time to reflect on their practice. SLIs seem to lack options to reconsider for example their decision-making process with colleagues (Marschark et al., 2005, p. 68; Turner, 2005, p. 53). It is recommended to set up intervision, where SLIs would have the possibility to reflect on their practice among colleagues in order to improve the professional development (Marschark et al., 2005, p. 68; Taylor, 2004, pp. 178, 185; Turner, 2005, p. 53). Additionally, this process might be supervised by an expert that is familiar with SL interpreting and is able to support SLIs in achieving their goals (Taylor, 2004, pp. 182, 184). Curtis (2018, p. 30) reports of the various benefits of supervision (e.g.: increase professional standards, enrich learning, support wellbeing). Taylor (2004, p. 185) adds that supervision is a helpful tool to retain interpreters in the field and Dean and Pollard (2013, p. 144) note: "… one of the main goals of supervision is to assure quality services for consumers.".

2.3.5 Triadic collaboration in educational settings

The single fact of putting an SLI in a classroom in front of a deaf student does not guarantee that the student will access information (Marschark et al., 2005, pp. 65, 74; Napier & Barker, 2004, p. 228; Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 11; Schick, 2004, p. 84; Turner, 2005, p. 53). La Bue cited in Davis (2005, p. 132) provides some crucial facts

that might hinder deaf individuals fully accessing education through an interpreter: (1) demands of simultaneous interpretation (i.e., processing time), (2) varying language competencies, and (3) SL being a visual mode which might not fit many sound-based-learning practices. Additionally, Lang (2002, p. 272) notes: "… there are also many misconceptions about access being made by those who work with educational interpreters in the classroom.". In educational settings, several people are involved. In the focus of the present investigation are the connections between *SLI*, *deaf student*, and *hearing teacher*. Those three parties, who actually work together during the interpreting event, are called *primary participants* and serve as a starting point for the current investigation. Due to the limited frame of this paper, other stakeholders (*non-primary participants*) like e.g.: *classmates*, *co-working SLIs*, *parents*, *school administrators*, etc. are mainly excluded, even if authors like Harrington (2005, p. 170) or Lang (2002, p. 276) suggest them.

Firstly, something happens between deaf student and SLI as the SLIs is delivering parts from and to the deaf client. Good relationships between participants are perceived as important for a successful interpreting event, though need time to develop (Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 37, 40; Napier & Barker, 2004, p. 236). Kurz and Langer (2004, p. 40) document: "… students agreed that it takes a while to become used to learning trough interpretation.". Kukla (2004, p. 101), Kurz and Langer (2004, p. 40) and Sanderson et al. (1999, p. 10) admit, in particular younger deaf individuals might not be experienced in working with SLIs and therefore be unfamiliar with the interpreting process. Roy (2000, p. 60) in this context provides different views from deaf students about collaboration with SLIs: "… interpreters who have good attitudes acknowledge that they are still learning ASL, … .". This example indicates, students might have very diverse opinions about what good attitude means (Roy, 2000, p. 60) and some (e.g.: it is appreciated when interpreters openly declare they want to learn more about SL) might appear rather surprising to SLIs. Secondly, there is a connection between teacher and SLI, as SLI provides information from and to the teacher. Establishing a convenient relationship between SLI and teacher is documented as important for a smooth working process (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 52; Sanderson et al., 1999, pp. 11, 14). On one hand, the literature describes SLIs should get the feeling that they are part of the educational team to ensure SLIs feel comfortable (Taylor, 2004, p. 185). On the other hand, it is put forward that professionals are not used to having another professional present when working. Llewellyn-Jones and Lee

(2014, p. 52) report of doctors getting nervous when having additional professionals in their room, simply because they are not used to that. This might also be the case for teachers in classrooms, and therefore establishing a convenient relationship between SLI and teacher may not be straightforward. Nonetheless, the literature also reports of teachers willing to adapt their teaching-style, for example by reducing speed and moderating class interactions (Winston, 2015, p. 134), or writing new terms on the board (Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 14). Thirdly, presumably there would be a connection between teacher and student as one is offering the education the other is consuming, though the literature attributes difficulties in establishing it (Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 19, 38; Lang, 2002, p. 270). Lang (2002, p. 270) notes as a hinderance that there often is little direct communication between the two, as they do not share a common language. Lang (2002, p. 276) brings up the questions about what SLIs could add to tighten the relationship and on the possible outcomes of such an engagement: "What strategies may educational interpreters incorporate to increase bonding … between deaf students and their professors?". It would be very interesting to further investigate the relationships between deaf students and teachers and a possible positive impact of improved relationships (e.g.: if more deaf students would complete their degrees then (Lang, 2002, p. 276)). This paper focuses on what SLIs eventually report about the bonding between teachers and students, however it will not provide further investigation on the impact of it.

So, teamwork among the three primary participants seems to be required when trying to seek a successful interpreting event in classrooms (Marschark et al., 2005, p. 74; Roy, 2000, p. 100; Schick, 2004, p. 84) and Schick (2004, p. 85) outlines: "… all members of the educational team should work to make this engagement happen.".

This chapter demonstrates that interpreting in educational settings is perceived as particularly challenging (Lang, 2002, p. 269; Roy, 2000, p. 44) and at best SLIs would undergo specialised training to work in this field (Marschark et al., 2005, p. 77; Seal, 1998, p. 57). The 'role' of SLIs interpreting in educational settings does not seem to be clear (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 47) and the common models (in particular defensive behaviour) do not seem to support effective practice in classrooms (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 47). In order to guarantee satisfying interpreting products, collaboration among participants (Schick, 2004, p. 84), evaluation and feedback-sessions (Taylor, 2004, pp. 182, 184), and evaluation of SLIs on regular basis (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 40) are recommended.

2.4 Educational landscape in Switzerland and SLIs within this field

This section finally reveals some facts about interpreting in educational settings within the Swiss context and leads to illuminate eventual triadic developments in this area. First, the education structure in Switzerland is outlined, followed by adopted practices and connected frameworks of SLIs working in educational settings.

2.4.1 Education structure in Switzerland

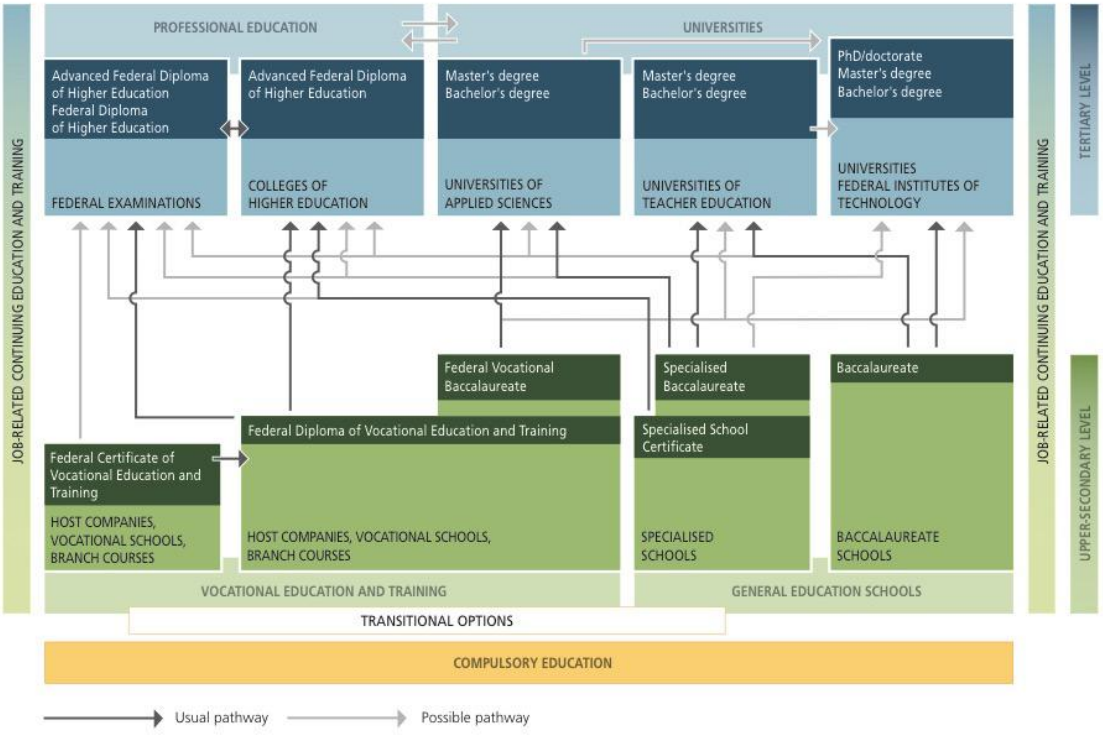


Figure 2: Swiss Education System (State Secretariat for Education Research and Innovation SERI, 2015a)

In Switzerland, education is governed by the cantons (State Secretariat for Education Research and Innovation SERI, 2015b) and therefore might differ among Switzerland. Although an overall educational structure is outlined in Figure 2. However, it is common to go on with additional education after finishing compulsory education which ends usually around the age of sixteen. This means, people rarely choose not to visit upper-secondary education that typically includes a three to four year program. There one can choose between *vocational education/training (VET)* or *general education schools*. Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft (2017) documents:

"The secondary education system is divided into two levels. Lower secondary is the final stage of compulsory education, but more than 90% of pupils continue on to upper-secondary level.". So, the majority of Swiss teenagers go on with higher education once they have completed compulsory education and upper secondary education might either include VET or general education school. General education programs are dispensed primarily by baccalaureate schools and lead to tertiary education such as universities. VET can last two to four years and might serve as a basis to numerous occupations (State Secretariat for Education Research and Innovation SERI, 2015b). When completing a three or four year VET it is possible to add a federal vocational baccalaureate examination which leads to tertiary education as well and the larger part of people in Switzerland seem to favor the VET over the general education:

> The majority of young people (two-thirds) in Switzerland opt for the VET route, where they learn their chosen trade. In most cases, this involves serving a part-time apprenticeship and taking classes at a trade school. The technical term for this model is "dual vocational education and training. (State Secretariat for Education Research and Innovation SERI, 2015b).

In Switzerland, both upper secondary educations might lead to tertiary education, however the lager part of people in Switzerland seem to favor VET over general education (State Secretariat for Education Research and Innovation SERI, 2015b) and this might be the case for deaf individuals as well. It would be very interesting to further examine which educational path deaf individuals follow and for what reasons, nevertheless this is not the focus of this paper.

In German Switzerland there is a similar to the above described trend toward inclusion. According to Krausneker (2016b) more than 50% of hearing impaired children are in mainstream schools. For upper secondary education and higher, there are, besides the one VET school which specializes in hearing impaired people (BSFH, n.d.), only mainstream schools offered to deaf individuals. Although aspects of the inclusion philosophy are highly debated among experts, in Switzerland, too, more and more deaf individuals are placed into hearing environments and visiting mainstream schools.

2.4.2 SL interpreting in educational settings in Switzerland

If deaf individuals plan to join an education or a continuous education programme with interpreters, they have to submit a request to the interpreting agency. The agency then creates an offer which is sent to the disability assurance (Procom, 2018b, p. 7). The disability assurance can either accept or reject the request. The company puts on record: "Continuous education such as: Internal and external continuous educations, courses, trainings, short educations, long-term educations, etc." (Procom, 2018b, p. 7). It takes about 2-4 months until clients are notified if the interpreter(s) will be financed (Procom, 2018b, p. 7). If the education is covered financially, the agency approaches SLIs, which respond to the agency's request by answering if and when they could interpret. After that, the agency sends out confirmation to the chosen interpreters and to clients.

Bürgin (2010, p. 25) mentions, that settings labelled as 'education' almost never get rejected by Swiss SLIs, whereas settings where 'challenging terminology and language' are expected, are the most often rejected demands (Bürgin, 2010, p. 24). It seems that Swiss SLIs' perceptions do not confirm statements found in the literature according to which educational settings are seen as particularly demanding (Seal, 1998, p. 1). Between the beginning of 2006 and the end of 2008, in German Switzerland, almost 25% of all interpreting events took place in education/continuous education settings (Villa, 2010, p. 28). As mentioned above, in Switzerland SLIs do not need any additional training or qualification to interpret in educational settings.

2.4.3 Information sheet for SLI in educational settings

Procom and SGB-FSS (2006, p. 4) encourage feedback discussions on a regular basis among all participants in order to solve potential problems and to be able to make progress as a team. This suggestion is documented in the additional framework which is especially for interpreting in education and continuous education. This *Information Sheet for educational and continuous educational settings* is accessible on the website of the agency (Procom & SGB-FSS, 2006, pp. 1-4). It is a Code of Practice in educational setting which has been developed by the agency and a working group of the national deaf association. Not much is mentioned about working together with SLIs. On the first page, it is explained why there should be SLIs present in educational settings with deaf students and some instructions about what should be

reconsidered about the SLI's work (e.g.: Not word for word interpretations, lag-time, etc.), however it is not explained *how* to work together. On the second page, all six points of the Code of Ethics are listed, plus the importance of breaks for SLIs and the handling of preparation material. On page three, again preparation material is discussed and a list of points that should be respected when an SLI is working in a classroom, e.g.: exam-situations have to be discussed (Procom & SGB-FSS, 2006, p. 3). Additionally, organizational points regarding ordering an SLI are exemplified and the importance for exchange/feedback sessions between all participants is mentioned: "We recommend feedback-/ and exchanges- sessions with all participants (lecturer, the deaf and SLIs, etc.) on a regular basis in order to solve potential problems." (Procom & SGB-FSS, 2006, p. 4).

2.4.4 Triads in educational SL interpretation settings in Switzerland

Like mentioned above triadic collaboration is important for interpreting effectively (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 37; Napier & Barker, 2004, p. 236; Turner, 2005, p. 52). Besides personal observations about SLIs trying to act invisible by the author of this paper not much is known about collaboration in educational settings. Also, in the Swiss Information Sheet for educational and continuous educational settings (Procom & SGB-FSS, 2006, pp. 1-4) not much is mentioned about working together with SLIs.

All in all, only little is documented about interpreting in educational settings in German Switzerland and there is no specialized training set up. Subsequently, or in addition, Swiss SLIs do not seem to perceive interpreting in classrooms as challenging (Bürgin, 2010, pp. 24, 25).

2.5 Research question and its background

Each last part of the previous four sections highlighted significant arguments from the literature which will be summarised here to provide the theoretical framework and the RQ.

2.5.1 Theoretical framework

Educational settings might involve several challenges as they include high diversity regarding setting-types (Harrington, 2005, p. 171; Kukla, 2004, p. 97; Roy, 2000, p. 45; Taylor, 2004, p. 183; Winston, 2015, p. 132) and clients (Davis, 2005, pp. 121, 131; Seal, 1998, pp. 123, 124, 151, 173). In particular, at upper secondary level, where SLIs not only have to interpret content, but also enable development of social skills, this combination might be perceived as challenging by SLIs as well (Kukla, 2004, p. 97; Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 18, 40; Lang, 2002, p. 269; Roy, 2000, p. 44; Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 13; Schick, 2004, p. 83; Seal, 1998, p. 123). Therefore, SLIs must be enormously flexible to adapt to the wide range of setting-types and broad range of clients. Swiss SLIs' perceptions as documented in Bürgin (2010, p. 25) do not confirm the statements found in literature according to which educational settings would be perceived as particularly demanding.

To equate SLIs in class with deaf students accessing education is a fallacy (Napier & Barker, 2004, p. 228; Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 11; Schick, 2004, p. 84). The literature highlights the importance of investigating the interplay between participants (Marschark et al., 2005, p. 74; Roy, 2000, p. 100; Schick, 2004, p. 84). Therefore, this study focuses on triadic collaboration among *primary participants* (SLI, deaf student, and hearing teacher) (see figure 3). Due to the limited frame, additional stakeholders (*non-primary participants*) like e.g. classmates, co-working SLIs, parents, school administrators, etc. are mainly excluded. This paper further focuses on interpreting with deaf adults (around age 16 and older) in inclusive settings at *upper secondary level*, *tertiary level* or in *continuous education.* Lower levels are excluded, as interpreting at those levels requires a different set of competences (Schick & Williams, 2004, p. 187; Taylor, 2004, p. 180).

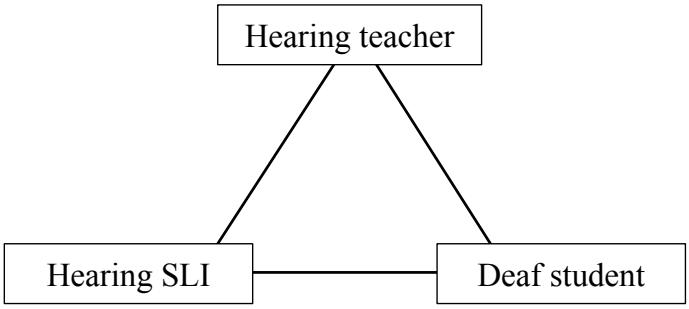


Figure 3: Connections among primary participants

None of the four common interpreter models seemed to be suitable for the broad variety of settings (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 29) and in particular the conduit model, as it represents a very defensive practice, does not seem to be helpful when trying to live up to real circumstances (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 19). Interpreting in educational settings seems to include additional functions (Schick & Williams, 2004, p. 196) and therefore classic concepts or 'roles'-models of SLIs in educational settings are described as rather hindering when interpreting in classrooms (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 23; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 47; Marschark et al., 2005, p. 75; Slettebakk Berge & Ytterhus, 2015, pp. 12, 22). For the field of interpreting in educational settings, SLIs' responsibilities neither seem to be clear to teachers, students, or SLIs themselves (Kukla, 2004, p. 102; Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 4, 18, 40). SL interpreting in Switzerland is not as established as in other countries and based on semi-public papers from the agency and the SLIs association, and the author's own experience, a tendency that Swiss German SLIs try to act as conduits (i.e.: invisible and neutral) can be observed. Additionally, agency and SLIs association attribute 'impartiality' and 'neutrality' to the SLI profession (bgd, n.d.; Procom, 2018a). This "defensive interpreter model" as Turner and Best (2017, p. 117) call it, might prevent effective interpreting in Swiss classrooms.

Indefiniteness regarding the 'role' of SLIs interpreting in educational settings (Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 4, 18, 23; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 47; Slettebakk Berge & Ytterhus, 2015, pp. 12, 22), does not prevent the literature calling for introducing the SLIs job (Harrington, 2001, p. 87; 2005, p. 182; Kukla, 2004, p. 97;

Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 29). Authors like Sanderson et al. (1999, p. 11) highlight the importance of enlightenment about the interpreting process as a starting point for triadic collaboration in classrooms. Even though it seems to be difficult to describe what the SLI's responsibilities and tasks in educational settings are, authors highlight the importance of enlightenment about the SLIs responsibilities in order for an effective practice (Harrington, 2005, p. 182; Haug & Vega Lechermann, 2006, p. 206; Kukla, 2004, pp. 97, 104, 105; Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 29; Roy, 2000, p. 63; Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 10; Seal, 1998, pp. 154, 155).

The Swiss SLIs association states that SLIs should *strictly* follow the Code of Ethics even if the rigorous framework might not live up to the real circumstances. Their employer, the agency, also points to the Code, which might put Swiss German SLIs in uncomfortable situations when trying to perform effectively. Unfortunately, none of the Swiss organisations involved in the field of SL interpretation, or deaf communities, yet provide information about how to collaborate with SLIs. Apparently, there is a gap between frameworks and reality (Fleetwood, 2000, p. 179; Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 8; Slettebakk Berge & Ytterhus, 2015, pp. 12, 22) and SLIs might face dilemmas when trying to live up to both. Dilemmas for SLIs might arise because the frameworks do not offer navigation, though still are formulated in a more or less strict manner. The literature describes frameworks such as Code of Ethics as hindering for effective practice (Angelelli, 2006, pp. 175, 189; Hale, 2007, p. 134; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 31; Tate & Turner, 2001, p. 64) and Tate and Turner (2001, pp. 56, 64) call for solutions where SLIs are *guided* rather than *restricted*.

Good relationships between participants are perceived as important for a successful interpreting event, though need time to develop (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 37; Napier & Barker, 2004, p. 236). Turner (2005, p. 52) in this context advocates for "working as a triad" in order to reach a more effective practice. Little is documented about collaboration in educational settings in German Switzerland and of SLIs seeking for triadic attempts. Development of trust (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 24) and acting natural on sight (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 24) are listed as helpful to establish triadic collaboration. However, SLIs might not opt for those triadic practices as they have been trained to stay invisible for a long time (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, pp. 24, 32), this might also be the case for Swiss SLIs. Next to solid training, authors are calling for SLIs with team-competence and capability for interdisciplinary cooperation (Becker & Meinhardt, 2013, p. 405; Taylor, 2004, pp. 180, 181) and the

literature attributes some difficulties to the development of a good relationship between hearing teacher and deaf student as they do not share a language (Lang, 2002, p. 270).

It should be considered by SLIs to prepare on different levels, like content and goals (including didactics), in order to be able to interpret effectively (Fleetwood, 2000, p. 180; Harrington & Turner, 2001, p. 87; Procom & SGB-FSS, 2006, p. 2; Roy, 2000, p. 53; Seal, 1998, pp. 98, 125, 164, 169, 172). Further, feedback on the just interpreted event is described to be fruitful to develop collaboration among the primary participants (Haug & Vega Lechermann, 2006, p. 206; Kukla, 2004, p. 94; Sanderson et al., 1999, pp. 9, 10; Seal, 1998, p. 34) therefore it might be interesting to track briefings and debriefings and to explore who is included in those discussions.

Uncertainty about how to deliver contents in order that they would be understood by students is described as challenging for SLIs (Roy, 2000, p. 61). When deaf individuals are not aware that something is hampering the interpreting process, SLIs are asked to intervene and take action in those situations the deaf students themselves cannot, though SLIs are asked to not take over too much responsibility (Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 25, 28). Those actions call for SLIs who reconsider decisions carefully and assume responsibly for their decisions. This tightrope walk, or "real interpreting" as Turner (2005, p. 29) calls it, requires a lot of sensibility of SLIs and can be very challenging for them. Therefore, SLIs should have possibilities to reflect on their decision-making process (Dean & Pollard, 2013, p. 139; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 9; Turner, 2005, pp. 29, 32, 35). Those exchanges among colleagues as suggested by the literature (Marschark et al., 2005, p. 68; Taylor, 2004, pp. 182, 184, 185; Turner, 2005, p. 53) seem to be valuable tools for improving SLI's performance in educational settings and allowing for professional development. So, to continuously monitor and improve skills, an additional outside view from working colleagues might be helpful (Marschark et al., 2005, p. 68; Taylor, 2004, p. 178; Turner, 2005, p. 53). Additionally, it might be favourable to have a place to go where improvement is structured and supported by an expert (Dean & Pollard, 2013, p. 139; Taylor, 2004, pp. 182, 184, 185). Further, supervision seems to retain SLIs in the field (Curtis, 2018, p. 30; Taylor, 2004, p. 185) and also might increase the service for clients (Dean & Pollard, 2013, p. 144).

Finally, even if there are difficulties in assessing SLIs (Marschark et al., 2005, p. 77; Smith, 2015, p. 274) it should be done regularly to ensure access to information for deaf students and allow SLIs to improve (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 40; Taylor, 2004,

p. 179). Other than suggested by the literature, evaluation of Swiss SLIs happens through the agency on an irregular basis, supervision is not institutionalised and exchanges among colleagues are set up by SLIs themselves on a voluntary basis.

2.5.2 Research question

The theoretical background leads to the following research question:

By adopting what practices do sign language interpreters seek to operate as a collaborating triad with other participants in higher educational settings?

3 Research Methodology

This study pursues a qualitative, descriptive approach inspired by Hale and Napier (2013, p. 12) to find out what practices SLIs in German Switzerland adopt when seeking to create collaborating triads, and therefore focus groups were chosen. This form allows for a reconstruction of the IPs subjective view of the examined topic (Hale & Napier, 2013, pp. 95-97). Advantages of focus groups over e.g. individual interviews could be to get insights and perspectives on the topic that arise among the group discussions and would not emerge otherwise (Hale & Napier, 2013, p. 105) and to gather a lot of data in a short time (Hale & Napier, 2013, p. 105). Gubrium, Holstein, Marvasti, and McKinney (2012, p. 7) in this context talk about "sharing and comparing" which means that participants get inspired when they hear colleagues talk about something and then comment on this. Of course, it might also be hindering as some opinions might not be addressed because of some group pressure, however Hale and Napier (2013, p. 105) highlight, that usually participants feel safe in focus groups among colleagues. Subsequently the data was analysed to allow for a description of their reported practices. In this chapter the procedures of sampling, creating the topic guide, conducting the focus groups, and analysing data are explained in detail.

3.1 Sampling and Group Composition

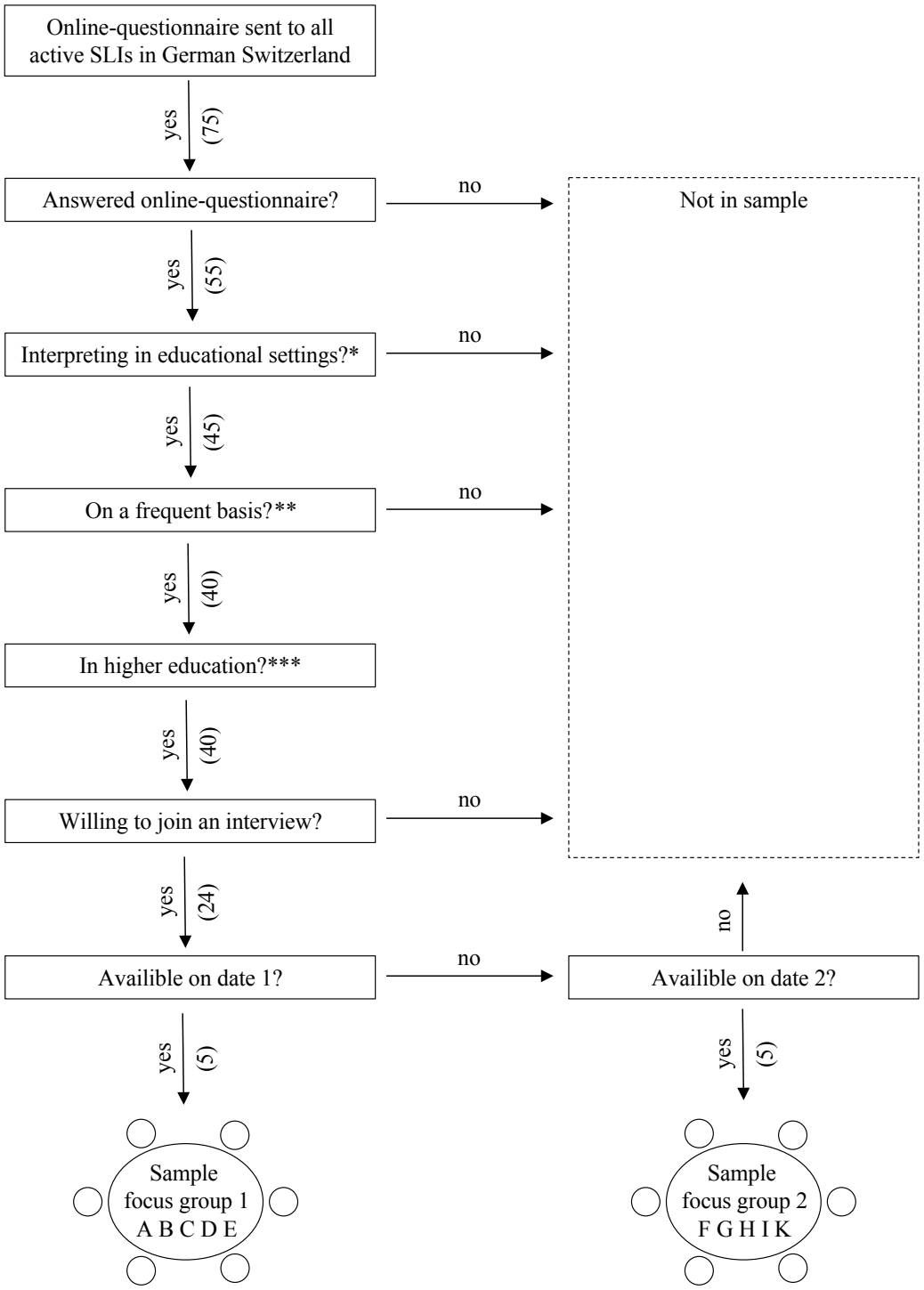
As a first step, participants for the focus groups were recruited through an online questionnaire which was designed in LimeSurvey (LimeSurvey GmbH, 2018). Notification of the survey was distributed to all 75 active Swiss German SLIs via the above-mentioned agency. The searched sample for the focus groups were Swiss German SLIs that are currently or used to be interpreting on a regular basis (a few times a week, once a week, or once or twice a month) in educational settings at upper secondary level[6], tertiary level[7], or in continuous education with adults. This was to ensure that participants have experience in interpreting on the level this study investigates and therefore theoretically could report on their practice. Some

[6] Upper secondary level: Vocational schools, Federal vocational Baccalaureate, Specialised Schools, Specialised Baccalaureate, Baccalaureate schools

[7] Tertiary level: Federal Examinations, College of higher education, Universities of applied science, Universities of teacher education, Universities/Federal institutions of technology

background information (e.g.: year of graduation) was required to make sure the sample would include interpreters with different years of working experience (between around 1990-2018) to ensure different graduation years would be represented. In the next step an email was sent out to all the interpreters who fulfilled the criteria to join the discussions. That amounted to 22 interpreters and they were contacted via email and asked to fill out a Doodle[8] where dates for the focus-groups were suggested. 20 SLIs filled out the Doodle. On two dates, there were more than three participants available so these were the dates that were finally chosen for conducting the focus groups. Consequently, the final criteria to choose the sample was, availability on those certain dates. This sample covered five interview partners (IPs) each. According to Hale and Napier (2013, p. 105) this is a rather small number for a focus group. However, in order to keep the discussion round and extent of gathered data manageable, as a novice in this area, the group covered five SLIs each. As the final criteria was availability on a certain date, the composition can be label as non-biased. This sampling process is visualised in Figure 4.

[8] Doodle: Online scheduling tool (Doodle AG, n.d.)



Legend:

* Currently or in the past

** Once/a few times a week, or once/twice a month

*** Upper secondary, tertiary level, or continous education with adults

( ) Number of SLIs

Figure 4: Sampling and group composition

3.2 Topic guide

A semi-structured topic guide was developed, with the idea that topics that arise in literature (e.g.: relationships between primary participants, frameworks, responsibilities, exchanges, etc.) would be discussed and would still allow participants to include new topics (e.g.: responsibilities of coordinator, deployment of SLIs, etc.). Therefore, a topic guide inspired by Helfferich (2009, pp. 182-189) was developed in several steps (i.e.: developing ideas in a peer group and further development). This topic guide was piloted with one of the SLIs that fulfilled the criteria to join the group interviews, but was not available on one of the two dates. Piloting was conducted via Skype (Microsoft, 2019) (which of course might differ in a lot of factors from a live group discussion) however the interviewer was given precious feedback on the interview style (e.g.: to wait longer before moving to the next question, etc.). Additionally, some small adjustments to the topic guide were undertaken (e.g.: questions that were not understood were rephrased, etc.).

3.3 Focus groups

In the next step, the focus groups following the model of Hale and Napier (2013, pp. 104-106) took place with the aim of investigating what Swiss German SLIs say they do when seeking to operate in a collaborating triad with the primary participants in educational settings. IPs were asked to plan about one and a half hours and each group discussed about one hour and fifteen minutes. In the beginning of the interview, the three primary participants (Figure 5) were established in order that all IPs are on the same page. Therefore, all participants that were named by IPs in the opening sequence were written on cards and put up on a flip-chart. Subsequently, non-primary participants (see Figure 6) were removed from the flip-chart and hung up on the wall in the background, so they are still visible, but not in focus. This allowed for a nice overview during the interview-sessions and when shifting away from the topic too much, a short glance at the flip-chart brought the focus back to the primary participants.

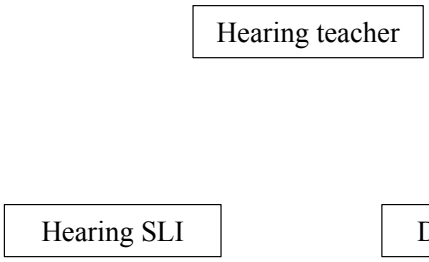


Figure 6: Primary participants

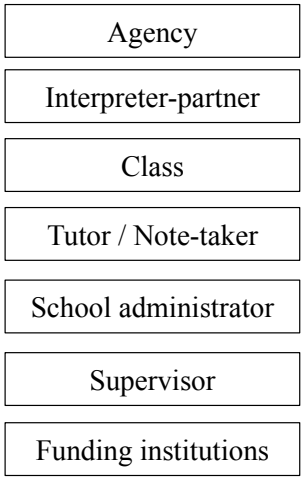


Figure 5 Non-primary participants

The interviewer, who is also the author of this paper, tried to stay passive and paid attention to not interrupt or guide the discussion too much in order to allow for a fruitful and natural discussion to develop.

The following parts of the Swiss Information Sheet for educational and continuous educational settings, which has been introduced above in the theoretical background, were used during data collection as prompts:

- Number 1: "Particularly exam-situations have to be discussed in detail with the SLI in advance." (Procom & SGB-FSS, 2006, p. 3).
- Number 2: "We recommend feedback-/ and exchanges- sessions with all participants (lecturer, the deaf and SLIs, etc.) on a regular basis in order to solve potential problems." (Procom & SGB-FSS, 2006, p. 4).
- Number 3: "We hope these remarks help the teachers, the deaf and the SLIs to be able to make progress as a team." (Procom & SGB-FSS, 2006, p. 4).

3.4 Data capturing and content analysis

All IPs were asked to sign an informed consent before the interview started. The discussions were audio-recorded. Studies proved that people forget that they are being recorded (Schiffrin and Tannen Roy, 2000, p. 48), however, for the Swiss context with the one agency having a monopoly position, it still might be debated how free IPs felt to talk. The recorded material was subsequently transcribed with the software *F5* (Audiotranskription, 2017) and anonymized (Figure 7).

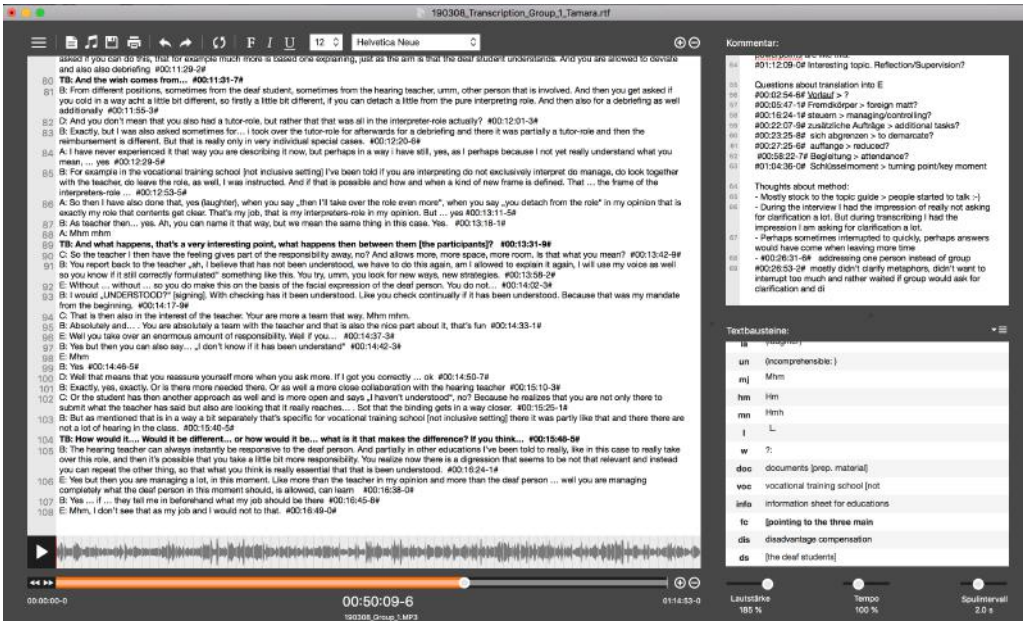


Figure 7: Extract of transcription in F5

To guarantee access to the full discussions to the readers of this study, data from both groups was transcribed directly into English from spoken Swiss German. So it has to be considered that the transcription in this case includes a translation-step as well. Which of course might include interpretation errors. However, these full interview texts formed the basis of the content analysis. A coding-handbook following Kuckartz (2016, pp. 39, 40) was created to describe the categories of interest in order to ensure both interviews would be coded in the same manner. An extract of the coding-handbook is presented in Figure 8.

Main category	Sub category	Rule to code (Memo)	Anchor example
Prep.	A7) Content/Material, Channels	Prep. material for contents, Vocabulary/signs, Chats (WhatsApp), platforms (Dropbox), Timetables	"Like in my opinion it's important actually before… to also live up to the deaf person, she [the deaf person] actually just wants to make an education, no, that's her [the deaf person's] claim that we actually make an effort to get documents [prep. material] in beforehand."
	A8) Aims/ Curricula and didactics	Procedure and aims of lesson, how does it happen, goal of education, background knowledge about clients (deaf and hearing) and their needs	"But it also gives me a hint… it [the teacher telling me that it's important to ensure the deaf student can ask questions] gives me a hint how important it is for the teacher that, that it is being payed attention, no. And that it goes through."
	A9) Exams	Preparation of exams. How, when and with who? Who interprets exams?	"And that you agree on in beforehand if the deaf person what's to get interrupted visually or does she [the deaf person] organize herself with the time and a watch, because otherwise the concentration would be off."
Feedback/ Reflection	C1) Among participants	Spontaneous exchanges between primary participants in class, Feedback in separate meetings	"Well then in my opinion we are like trying to reflecting, creating and shaping the working conditions and on the setting together. So it's comfortable for the three of them."

Figure 8: Extract of coding-handbook

The full interview was categorized (Figure 9) with the software *MAXQDA* (VERBI Software GmbH, 2019) following Kuckartz (2016, pp. 63-73). The results allow for a description of what SLIs in German Switzerland report about their practices when seeking to create a collaborating triad in educational settings. A peer-debriefing with a person from the broader field of SL interpreting was conducted to ensure an outside view on category-system and results and to check how far the approach is comprehensible.

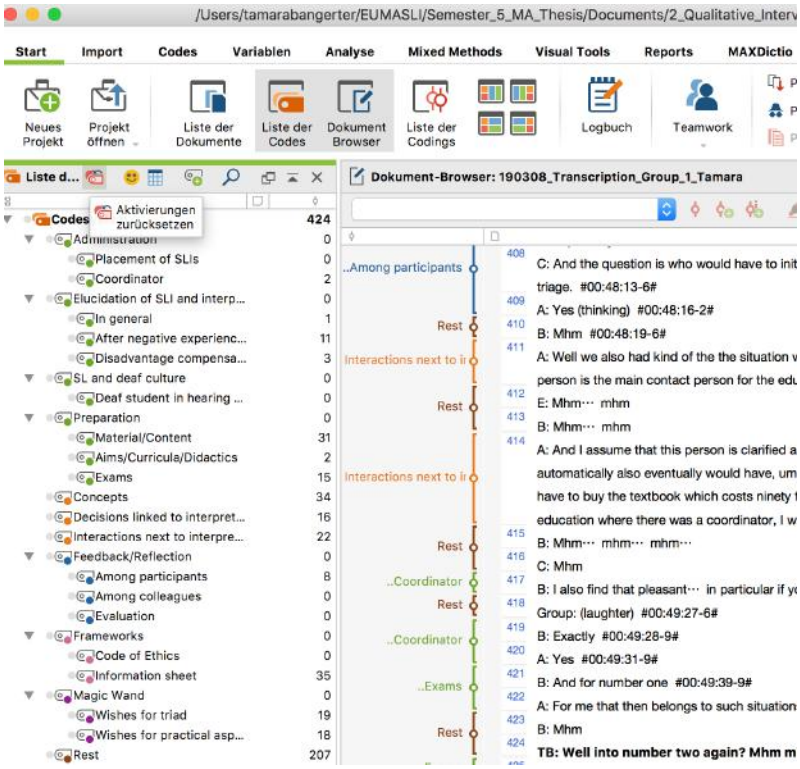


Figure 9: Extract of content analysis in MAXQDA

3.5 Limitations

During transcribing the author observed some points regarding the interview style. For example, talking very quickly and sometimes not very clearly. As a consequence, sometimes IPs ask the interviewer to repeat the question. Additionally, as a novice to the area of interviewing, the interviewer sometimes interrupted too early, some topics that seemed off topic might have led to interesting data as well. Additionally, sometimes the IPs should have been given more time to think and answer, perhaps answers would have come when leaving more time also without the input of the interviewer.

4 Results and Discussion

In this chapter, firstly the results that lead to answering the research question and secondly, some facts beyond the research question, that might influence the collaborating triad will be presented, discussed, and linked back to the theoretical background.

4.1 Adopted practice in German Switzerland

Thanks to the analysis, the presented research question "By adopting what practices do sign language interpreters seek to operate as a collaborating triad with other participants in educational settings?" could be answered. The chosen approach documents practices IPs *report* of adopting and explanations of what might have led to them. However, the results are based on SLIs' narratives, therefore it is important to keep in mind that the SLIs have not been *observed* in real circumstances. When comparing the practices reported by SLIs to the literature, a rather defensive approach of Swiss SLIs can be determined. Nevertheless, attempts towards a more effective, triadic collaboration could occasionally be identified as well.

4.1.1 Collaboration among primary participants

During the focus groups, IPs mentioned that it is possible to establish cooperation and that relationships should be developed so participants are not isolated in the setting: "… that you are in a dialogue together. If not, they are like three individual persons, or groups, that are actually not really connected in a way." (Group 2 / I / #00:27:21-8#). This indicates IPs agree with the literature, which states participants should be in a dialogue together to experience a successful interpreting event (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 37; Napier & Barker, 2004, p. 236).

In order to be able to establish relationships, consistency regarding deployment is named: "… for a longer period of time …, alternate always a bit with the same people, that I perceived actually as very positive." (Group 2 / F / #00:22:14-3#). "… but you are often present only one day or once. That in my opinion is rather dissatisfying, … . … Well like there you can't like… I think you can't get the optimal out like for what you would actually aim for. … ." (Group 2 / F / #00:22:14-3#). Also when IPs were given an imaginary magic wand in the end of the focus groups they explicitly wished for *continuously regarding deployment*. As an advantage of consistency, the IPs named the possibility to establish trustful relationships which allow

for asking participants about their needs. This indicates that creating bonds is perceived as positive and helpful by IPs. Likewise, the literature highlights trust as one of the key factors to establish collaboration (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 24). Therefore, SLIs should be placed regularly to get the chance to develop those collaborating relationships, which generally need time to develop (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 37; Napier & Barker, 2004, p. 236).

Relationships between student and SLI

IPs report of the binding between student and SLI getting stronger when the student realises that the SLI is not only there to submit what the teachers says but also has an eye on whether content has been understood by the student: "… so you do make this on the basis of the facial expression of the deaf person." (Group 1 / E / #00:14:02-3#). "Or the student has then another approach as well and is more open and says: "I haven't understood", no? Because he [the student] realizes that you are not only there to submit what the teacher has said but also are looking that it really reaches… . So that the binding gets in a way closer." (Group 1 / C / #00:15:25-1#). Ways to check if content has been understood is based on reading the facial expression of the student or by asking the student. Both strategies are debated among the IPs: "But not that I have the feeling that I … have to explicate again. … if I have the feeling that I didn't manage to in a way… in my time, so in the time a content is given, that in a way is also my time that I have available, adding my lag-time a little, where I have to deliver content. … I have the feeling you are talking about that I would have time beyond my time that I could use… for my interpreting." (Group 1 / A / #00:20:00-8#). "And I think from the time the teacher is kind of speaking I have to benefit as much as possible from it to deliver the content in way that it is comprehensible. And if I don't succeed … " (Group 1 / A / #00:20:14-6#). "But that is… that is yet his [deaf student's] own responsibility. Don't you mother him [the deaf student] in this moment?" (Group 1 / E / #00:20:22-1#). A certain time span is described within SLI have to deliver content in a way it can be understood which indicates that interrupting the lecturers is not a valid option in those cases. Apparently, IPs do not agree on how far they are responsible for whether that content reaches the students and if taking over this task would not be mothering the deaf client. The deaf student's perspective on this is not part of the discussion which reveals that it might not be addressed beforehand among the two parties. In line with literature from (Kukla, 2004, p. 102; Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 4, 18, 40), the

discussions in the focus groups indicate that the responsibilities of an SLI in educational settings neither seems to be clear to student/teacher nor to SLIs themselves.

Not surprisingly, IPs report of dilemmas when responsibilities are not clear or not discussed: "If he [deaf student] is not looking… and then it depends on how he [deaf student] is not looking. … . If he [deaf student] is writing and taking notes and I see on that date is the next short-test, he [deaf student] is writing down the homework, then of course I deliver him [deaf student] that subsequently." (Group 1 / A / #00:20:45-5#). "But the date I deliver subsequently, yes. But I don't explicate additional content when I have the feeling he [the deaf student] didn't understand. … ." (Group 1 / A / #00:21:14-5#). "What if he [deaf student] is not looking?" (Group 1 / B / #00:20:16-6#). "Then I have a dilemma." (Group 1 / A / #00:20:17-5#). "Yes, we have a lot of dilemmas" (Group 1 / C / #00:21:47-6#). The literature also emphasizes how not knowing how to handle situations might lead to various dilemmas (Angelelli, 2006, pp. 175, 178, 189; Hale, 2007, p. 134; Seal, 1998, p. 157; Tate & Turner, 2001, p. 64). Additionally, it would be very interesting to disclose if deaf students are aware of the fact that the reason why they might not be looking at the interpreter eventually might impact the SLIs actions.

Relationships between teachers and SLIs

IPs report of teachers being inexperienced in working with deaf students and not realizing what responsibilities they would actually carry regarding deaf students in their classes: "…it's also difficult to get a hearing teacher so far that she realizes what responsibility she actually would have. Well like it's not malicious that she doesn't know that. So the responsibility it partly delegated to us. Because like well the interpreter will take care." (Group 2 / I / #00:18:23-4#). "… the hearing teacher is actually responsible if that [the content] comes through or not." (Group 1 / B / #00:24:31-8#). So IPs delineate, responsibility is partly delegated to them and teachers presume that deaf students are doing fine because SLIs are taking care of them. The literature also claims, teachers often think that to bring SLIs into class is enough to ensure access to education for deaf students and therefore might delegate a large part to SLIs (Harrington, 2001, p. 85; Marschark et al., 2005, pp. 65, 74; Napier & Barker, 2004, p. 228; Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 11; Schick, 2004, p. 84; Turner, 2005, p. 53).

The IPs implicate that SLIs might be perceived as schizophrenic creatures by teachers who interact with SLIs for the first time: "… well when a teacher experiences that for the first time, it can actually be very irritating. Because then you really are in contact to get the documents [prep. material] and so on. But afterwards you withdraw, well "I'm happy to interpret that for you" and at the end you again in a way stand there and ask what the upcoming topics are for next week. … for them [the hearing teachers] … we are very schizophrenic creatures." (Group 2 / K /#00:16:44-2#). "And actually it's… "I'm actually not really here, I'm happy to interpret", on the other hand "it's really very important that I get my break and could you again" and so on. So we are in a way very present and you don't want to be ignored, you also need your things to… be able to work good, on the other hand they should communicate directly. I believe that's not always… clear for hearing teachers, if they haven't experienced it yet or if it's not during a longer period yet." (Group 2 / K /#00:17:22-5#). By trying to stay invisible and declaring needs, IPs partners admit that SLIs might be regarded as strange creatures by teachers. Also, the literature documents some issues about establishing this relationship, as professionals might simply not be used to having other professionals in their room (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 52).

It is debated among the group-members if reporting back (e.g.: that content was presumably not understood by the student) would not mean too much responsibility for the SLI: "You report back to the teacher: "Ah, I believe that has not been understood, we have to do this again … ."." (Group 1 / B / #00:13:58-2#). "Well you take over an enormous amount of responsibility." (Group 1 / E / #00:14:37-3#). Apparently, it does not seem to be clear to the IPs, if reporting back to teachers in cases where con tent was not understood, would fall within the SLI's responsibility or not. This discussion seems to be in line with what Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014, p. 47) document about SLIs often talking about 'Stepping out of the role' when talking about taking over additional tasks. Even though Schick and Williams (2004, p. 196) state, interpreting in educational settings would include additional functions and Roy (2000, p. 101) emphasizes, the passive behavior (i.e.: conduit model) does not fit when working in educational settings.

Relationships between student and teacher

IPs report that in general there is more happening between student and interpreter and teacher and interpreter, than between student and teacher: "Where we

then always have to again bring up "You can directly ask the person [the deaf person], I'm happy to interpret.". … and in my opinion, that is a topic as well, how do you take the focus a bit away from us. … . But how do you bring the deaf person back into focus. … and perhaps we do have more strategies for that then the deaf students." (Group 2 / I / #00:14:09-3#). There are some strategies described by the IPs to stimulate the bonding between teacher and student (e.g.: encouraging to go and ask the question that is addressed to the SLI directly to the other counterpart). So, IPs and the literature attribute some difficulties to the development of a good relationship between hearing teacher and deaf student (Lang, 2002, p. 270). The relationship should experience some extra bonding to establish this relationship (Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 19, 38; Lang, 2002, p. 276) and the IPs describe that to be challenging.

Triadic collaboration

Teamwork among the three primary participants seems to be required when trying to seek for successful interpreting events in classrooms (Marschark et al., 2005, p. 74; Roy, 2000, p. 100; Schick, 2004, p. 84). The first part of this section indicates that IPs think participants should work together, however they don't (yet) seem to. A collaboration seems to be perceived as beneficial, though a rather defensive approach is prevailing when interpreting in Swiss classrooms. And even when reporting of collaboration, it is manly reported happening between two participants, however a triadic approach can rarely be identified. The discussions furthermore revealed which participants more likely perceived as clients by the IPs than others. Deaf students are called *clients* and hearing individuals are described by their function (*teachers or lecturer)*: "Ok, but not to the lecturers, but directly to the client so he can further distribute" (Group 1 / C / #00:55:12-9#). "Or I gave it to the client and then gave it to the lecturer, …." (Group 1 / B / #00:55:17-2#). The fact of identifying solely one party as the client might indicate inequality among the participants and could be hindering triadic developments.

A rather defensive practice

Following are some samples to illustrate the rather defensive approach:

When mentioning the relationship between deaf student and SLI, preparation (e.g.: on vocabulary level, signs, etc.) was a topic. Interestingly, first colleagues would be consulted and only afterwards would students be asked about unknown signs: "But

… more often my colleague sometimes I feel if I the deaf… if they have to tell every interpreter … that is a bit annoying … . If it's not clear then, then I go and ask the client, but first of all I ask my colleague." (Group 1 / C / #00:11:05-0#). Even if an exchange with the deaf student is perceived as precious, some SLIs rarely dare to contact them for preparation matters because it could be annoying for the students. Roy (2000, p. 60) in this context reports of a student that appreciates when interpreters openly declare that they want to learn more about SL and for this student (and perhaps also for other students) preparing signs would perhaps be viewed positively. Preparation on content level seems to be a big topic as it appeared to be discussed a lot by the IPs. To ask for preparation material usually seems to be the first contact between the participants and the SLIs. Also, when IPs were handed the magic wand at the end of the focus groups they explicitly wished for some points regarding practical issues related to preparation of contents. However, not much regarding preparing needs, goals, or curricula was discussed in the focus-groups, even though the literature would describe that as crucial (Fleetwood, 2000, p. 180; Roy, 2000, p. 53; Seal, 1998, pp. 125, 164, 169, 172). That SLIs are not especially trained and not included in the start phase where discussions between schools and students might take place (and where for example different aims/needs would be addressed) could be possible reasons why IPs are not discussing preparation on the level of needs, curricula or didactics during the focus groups.

It is considered by IPs that SLIs could perhaps be more active to encourage effective communication but parts of the 'role' seem to prevent that and collaborating might therefore be stated as interfering: "Well it's like in a way very much… perhaps our part, …, to address that, reveal that or once offer as an option "We could once try if…" And there the more rigid part of our role often hinders us. … . Is it really my job like here to in a way change things in here? … . Am I allowed to anyway? It's in fact interfering. … . Like where does this responsibility really begin of communication is taking place. And where does it hinder me… . " (Group 2 / G / #00:42:43-5#). "… and parallel I think if someone of the agency would be sitting here like what would they think?" (Group 2 / I / #00:44:37-8#). Not knowing the range of responsibility and uncertainty about if offering suggestions about how to work together are even allowed, lead to internal dilemmas. The 'role' IPs seem to have in mind here seems to be highly linked to the conduit model or to the "defensive interpreter model" as Turner and Best (2017, p. 117) call it. The literature further states that it might be questioned if the

conduit model, which embodies passive behavior, is fitting for educational settings (Roy, 2000, p. 101).

Another defensive approach can be observed when IPs discuss who would be allowed to initiate feedback-sessions**:** "And the question is, who would have to initiate something like this. Who would have to start such a meeting. Well I believe me as interpreter the least … ." (Group 1 / C / #00:48:13-6#). "I think this is like the crux also with our role. Because my current impulsive assumption is that we in this setting would be like from all involved the most … competent to reveal that." (Group 2 / G / #00:42:43-5#). "And then you can go back into your role again. But you like sometimes have to kind of take yourself out of the situation and have a look at what is actually happening." (Group 2 / I / #00:40:30-1#). Even though it is stated SLIs might be the most competent in the constellation to reveal if something in the process is not going well, they state that for sure it would not be possible as a SLI to initiate feedback-sessions. As reason the SLI's 'role' is named and an SLI exchanging with the primary participants is described as stepping out of the 'role'. However, feedback on the just interpreted event is described to be fruitful to develop collaboration among the primary participants (Haug & Vega Lechermann, 2006, p. 206; Kukla, 2004, p. 94; Sanderson et al., 1999, pp. 9, 10; Seal, 1998, p. 34) and therefore, the passive approach chosen by Swiss SLIs according to exchange might not be very helpful when seeking for an effective practice.

It is perceived as helpful if the deaf student makes an appearance as well and approaches the teacher with requested needs, so the SLI does not have to ensure incessantly if it has been understood or not: "Or a strong deaf student that can advocate for himself, that has the competency to really follow the content … . So it also requires a strong student. The stronger the easier it is for me as an interpreter." (Group 1 / C / #00:28:03-1#). "That the deaf student … also makes an appearance. … also approaches the hearing teachers, also fights for her [the deaf persons] rights, also once interrupts and says: "It's too fast for me."." (Group 2 / I #00:24:35-4#). Also when IPs were given the magic wand in the end of the focus groups they explicitly wished for a strong, competent and self-confident student which takes responsibility oneself as well: "… with a self-confident client which knows … what I need in this particular moment, which takes responsibility oneself as well, where I actually just can stay in my interpreter role … ." (Group 1 / B / #01:07:28-9#). Students in Kurz and Langer (2004, p. 28) put forward: "Advocate for me when I cannot advocate for myself.". Where the

first part of the statement claims for a rather classic helper-approach, the second part clearly indicates to draw a line and only help in situations where the deaf student really needs it. This very understandable desire illustrates beautifully the tightrope walk of stepping in and stepping back which SLIs might face numerous times in classrooms. The decisions have to be reconsidered carefully and this can be very challenging for SLIs. Taking action after considering carefully the outcome and then also taking the responsibly for their decisions is what Turner (2005, p. 29) calls "real interpreting".

Some IPs suggested to discuss more about how the students get there to be able to advocate for themselves: "And not only through my work then perhaps finds the courage, but that it's just like that right from the beginning." (Group 1 / E / #01:04:17-5#). "It is interesting to ask how it gets like this [to have a strong student], right?" (Group 1 / A / #00:28:09-9#). "That for me is like kind of a result. Well if… really a lot of things went right, then this is like the result that the deaf person actively participates … ." (Group 1 / A / #01:03:16-8#). Self-confident students are perceived as more comfortable clients. This is a very understandable desire as SLIs face many different challenges in educational settings and it might be relieving that students take care of certain points themselves. Unfortunately, the IPs did not further explicate what about the self-confident student exactly lets them stay in their so-called SLI 'role' and what the advantage would be.

Attempts towards triadic collaboration

Even if the reported practice overall delivers a rather defensive impression, the discussion among SLIs also revealed some hints towards developing collaboration. For example, SLIs mention that they can contribute as well in creating a relaxed, natural ambiance, though mention that it might take a while. Further to present yourself is described as a pivotal first step towards developing good relationships: "And in my opinion, there we can also contribute a little, by how natural or relaxed a setting becomes." (Group 1 / B / #00:32:28-8#). "On the other hand, well in my opinion it's also very sympathetic if you then directly go and explain those five points. And with this like in some way make yourself perceptible and stand there as a human … ." (Group 1 / A / #00:57:10-8#). "…you present yourself, you try to lay a cornerstone for a good collaboration … ." (Group 1 / B / #00:03:30-4#). "Over and over I'm also astonished in this area how quickly people are fine with it… extremely quickly" (Group 1 / A / #00:04:20-5#). "... I realize that in the beginning if you clarify right in the beginning…

if you in a way fulfill the starting-tasks and … . ” (Group 1 / A/ #00:04:36-2#). By presenting yourself, acting natural, or preferring explaining points personally rather than handing a paper indicate attempts to establish a relationship with the primary participants. A relaxed attitude is experienced as helpful there and this attempt to establish relationships indicates a step towards triadic collaboration. Both IPs and the literature report that good relationships between the participants are perceived as important for a successful interpreting event and need time to develop (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 37; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 52; Napier & Barker, 2004, p. 236; Sanderson et al., 1999, pp. 11, 14). Further, developing trust and acting natural on sight is also named by the literature as helpful to establish triadic collaboration (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 24).

Additionally, SLIs seem to engage more when teachers tells the SLIs that it will be important that the deaf student can access the upcoming contents. Logically also exam situations are perceived as very important and it is described that questions regarding exam situations can be solved easily: “... it [the teacher telling me that it’s important to ensure the deaf student can ask questions] gives me a hint how important it is for the teacher … . I get in a way some, on a meta-level, some additional information. Because I then know how important it is.” (Group 1 / C / #00:24:20-0#). “The setting *exams* … in my opinion is extremely important. And there we like know most about it. … there I can like proactive already say “When a question will arise from the deaf person, then I will sign my answer with adding the voice, so it can be controlled.” … . And that in my opinion has to be discussed in beforehand. That is extremely important.” (Group 2 / I / #00:55:46-6#). “What I notice … such things are clarified very quickly. You find solutions very quickly … it’s often very uncomplicated.” (Group 1 / B / #00:50:06-2#). That SLIs prepare differently when it seems to be important can be observed by what the IPs report about how they prepare for exam-situations. As mentioned above, even if there is more engagement it might still not be a triadic approach as SLIs mainly report of preparing either with the teacher *or* the student but not all three together. The literature stresses the importance of knowing the participants’ aims in order to be able to interpret effectively (Fleetwood, 2000, p. 180; Harrington & Turner, 2001, p. 87; Procom & SGB-FSS, 2006, p. 2; Roy, 2000, p. 53; Seal, 1998, pp. 98, 125, 164, 169, 172). This proactive approach in exam situations is perceived as easy and uncomplicated by IPs and perhaps might be worth reconsidering in future for daily situations as well.

4.2 Factors hindering triadic developments

During the focus groups, some aspects (e.g.: not clear what the SLIs responsibility includes, missing guidelines, and the absence of enlightenment on SL interpreting) were stated as hindering for SLIs when trying to perform well in classrooms. These aspects seem to have an impact on the current practice IPs report of.

4.2.1 Cloudiness about SLIs' tasks

An interconnection between *undefined responsibilities*, *lack of enlightenment* on SL interpreting, and *missing guidelines* for SLIs in educational settings seems to hinder effective practice. IPs call for guidelines and enlightenment on their tasks in educational settings, concurrently there seems to not be a consensus on what the SLI's responsibilities should actually be.

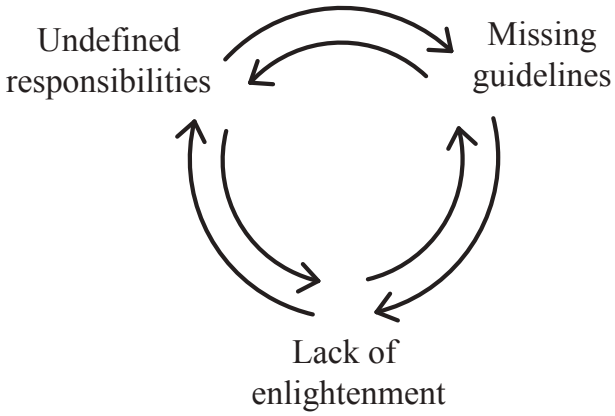


Figure 10: Circle of cloudiness about SLIs' tasks

Undefined responsibilities

It is discussed if the 'roles' vanish when acting human (e.g.: become noticeable, make a comment/joke) or if that is just a way of carrying out the interpreters 'role' with a natural, relaxed attitude: "So, then I have also done that … when you say: "Then I'll take over the role even more", when you say: "You detach from the role". In my opinion that is exactly my role, that contents get clear. That's my job, that is my

interpreter role in my opinion." (Group 1 / A / #00:13:11-5#). "But that has nothing to do with vanishing the role, but much more that you are present with a laid-back attitude … a humanity. … But I think the role stays." (Group 1 / B / #00:31:07-5#). "… actually when the roles already start to vanish again. … actually it is extremely natural for me when and totally ok when I also can make a comment/joke with the teacher once or also once with a deaf person or the both of them to each other. … . That we are there as humans, yes we have our roles, but we can also become noticeable, well not become noticeable, but in some way when the sponge falls on the floor and I catch some water drops then I can say "… I have actually already showered" or something like that, no. And not look at the sponge next to me and say that's not within my role." (Group 1 / A / #00:30:45-0#).

Additionally, IPs mention that primary participants have a wrong picture of the interpreter's 'role': "… what I experienced several times is that teachers or lecturers … had a wrong picture of the role … " (Group 1 / E / #00:05:09-0#). "… additionally having the school that has a view on what my role is, there it was then like more extreme what they expected to be my role as well." (Group 2 / K / #00:07:16-3#). "I've been told to really, like in this case to really take over this role, and then it's possible that you take a little bit more responsibility." (Group 1 / B / #00:16:24-1#). "Yes, but then you are managing a lot, in this moment. Like more than the teacher in my opinion … well you are managing completely what the deaf person in this moment should, is allowed, can learn." (Group 1 / E / #00:16:38-0#). "… I don't see that as my job and I would not to that." (Group 1 / E / #00:16:49-0#). The literature as well stresses the 'role' of SLIs interpreting in educational settings does not seem to be clear as the need for consistently adapting to the variation that might appear during one setting (Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 4, 18, 23; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 47; Roy, 2000, p. 123; Slettebakk Berge & Ytterhus, 2015, pp. 12, 22). The literature suggests a combination of *free* and *literal interpretation approaches* or when interpreting in classrooms (Napier & Barker, 2004, pp. 234, 236) and this seems to be a challenge for SLIs (Roy, 2000, p. 61). So a lot of decisions when actually interpreting seem to be linked to the question of how to deliver the contents in a way that will be understood best by students. The literature and IPs state the 'role' of SLIs in educational settings seems not to be something fixed, much more it seems to be very much defined by the expectations other participants have about the SLI (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 49). Flexibility is required by SLIs as they might find themselves in a wide range of different

communication situations within the educational setting, each of which demands different actions and numerous other challenges SLI might face (Harrington, 2005, p. 171; Kukla, 2004, p. 97; Roy, 2000, p. 45; Taylor, 2004, p. 183; Winston, 2015, p. 132). It seems that the SLIs' tasks and responsibilities are neither clear to teachers, nor students, nor the SLIs themselves (Kukla, 2004, p. 102; Kurz & Langer, 2004, pp. 4, 18, 40). For example, authors debate if it is the teachers or the SLIs responsibility if deaf student is learning (Harrington, 2005, p. 169; Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 17; Marschark et al., 2005, p. 78).

Lack of enlightenment

It is described as wishful that someone would visit the school and would explain the interpreting process and some facts to reconsider when having a deaf student in the classroom. The IPs claim enlightenment on how SLIs work would be crucial and that the school's will to cooperate is perceived as higher when the school is informed about what interpreters do. As explained above, Swiss SLIs usually do not include enlightenment on the interpreting process in their range of responsibilities. Only after clients that have had a negative experience with a previous SLI, are some attempts made to explain the job of a SLI. There IPs report of different approaches: "Or do I feel it or what do I know and I mean if then some kind of enlightenment the whole… would help the whole thing to afterwards create a comfortable setting, then I am very happy to contribute with my part, for that." (Group 1 / B / #00:38:04-5#). "I leave that out. Well I'm already so busy with this moment … ." (Group 1 / C / #00:37:41-3#). "It depends…. when… Do I get confronted with it." (Group 1 / B / #00:37:44-3#). "… you are again enormously establishing the setting, in a way." (Group 1 / A / #00:38:10-2#). A short clarifying discussion in the beginning is described as helpful and it is interesting to see how different negative feedback is managed as it reveals some hints on collaboration. It would be interesting what should be mentioned when explaining the 'role' and by who. And if that happens in a triadic manner where all participants would be present. Additionally, it might also be worth reconsidering if the act should solely include 'informing' what the job is or if 'an exchange' of optimized solutions with the clients could be regarded. The literature also suggests deaf and hearing clients should be informed on how to work with an SLI to ensure a basic understanding of what interpreting in educational settings includes (Haug & Vega Lechermann, 2006, p. 206; Kukla, 2004, p. 105; Roy, 2000, p. 63; Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 10; Seal, 1998,

pp. 154, 155). Roy (2000, p. 63) in this context puts forward that in cases where no enlightenment happens, people might believe SLIs take care of everything. Handling feedback about negative experiences with SLIs is not further discussed in this paper, however it might be an indicator how current practice is affecting participants and settings. Further research in that specific area is therefore highly recommended.

In order to be able to enlighten the SL interpreting process, a clear understanding of the SLIs' responsibilities in the classroom is required and guidelines where those should be listed as well.

Missing guidelines

The predominant framework in Switzerland for interpreting in education is the Code of Ethics. IPs describe the Code as relatively old and constraining when willing to work effectively in classrooms: "… This Code of Ethics that is around thirty years old. This is relatively old for a profession which develops this fast and dynamic, … " (Group 2 / G / #00:10:42-7#). "I think if you are in such a situation regularly then, the Code of Ethics still acts like beam barriers that you should not cross. But you have to move within so you can work … . And then it looks differently in that situation than in other assignments." (Group 2 / I / #00:27:21-8#). Also literature documents a gap between frameworks (e.g.: Code of Ethics) and reality and that SLIs might face dilemmas when trying to live up to both, frameworks and reality (Angelelli, 2006, pp. 175, 178, 189; Hale, 2007, p. 134; Tate & Turner, 2001, p. 64).

In Switzerland, aspects of interpreting in education are exclusively mentioned in the *Information Sheet for education and continuous education*. This sheet aims to serve as guideline and framework in one, as it includes all the points mentioned in the Code of Ethics and additionally provides some aspects about what to do when SLIs join the class. However, the Information Sheet seems not to be known by most SLIs and it is described as outdated. Also, when IPs were given the imaginary magic wand in the end of the focus groups they explicitly wished for more detailed guidelines when interpreting in education that lead to more collaboration between the primary participants, and for reconsideration of the Code of Ethics for the field of education. As most Code of Ethics are mainly based on the conduit model, it is highly questioned how far they support interpreting in educational settings. IPs call for guidelines that are developed by all participants (including the SLI association) and would allow for

effective communication in educational settings. Proper guidelines, which support SLIs and other participants in working together are lacking and the development of such seems challenging because the actions can be so various (Fleetwood, 2000, p. 179; Sanderson et al., 1999, p. 8). And if they would be developed it should be considered: What is in and how does that information look like plus who should provide it.

As a basis for creating guidelines, a clearer picture of SLIs' responsibilities in classrooms and strategies on how to inform about them, are called for. Further discussion on the three topics of this loop are highly recommended in order to sharpen the primary participants awareness of what interpreting in educational settings would actually include. One IP aptly worded how overdue this discussion might be:

> Well yes, I'm thinking like come on its two thousand and nineteen. How comes that it seems to be that we are the very first interpreters, sign language interpreters in Switzerland, that are now wondering how things are actually happening in educations. Like I mean the agency exists since a few decades, the profession exists since a few decades, the sign language interpreter association exists since a few decades, the national deaf association exists since a few decades. (Group 2 / K / #01:03:21-3#)

4.2.2 Missing exchange-possibilities

IPs report of missing feedback possibilities among participants and also among interpreter colleagues, with regard to reaching effective practice.

Among participants

Ideally participants (including SLIs) would try to create a shared space: "Yes, in my opinion as well, this setting is running successfully when I ask the deaf person or the hearing teacher "And how is it working for you?" and the answer is more than: "Good.". … Well then in my opinion we are like trying to reflect, create and shape the working conditions and on the setting together. So it's comfortable for the three of them." (Group 2 / G / #00:25:48-9#). In current practice exchanges among participants seem to rather happen by chance and are described as short and spontaneous: "But that is immediately in the setting or right before or right after… like around the setting, not

that you explicitly arrange a separate meeting where you agree on now we'll sit together" (Group 1 / E / #00:47:34-5#). In short/spontaneous meetings participants might not be prepared and therefore perhaps a bit overrun to exchange. Additionally, it might be considered that participants might need to rush to another lesson.

Contradictory statements are uttered about if set up exchange meetings among participants take place or not. However, one IP did experience that the primary participants met outside of the classroom to reflect on the interpreting process and responsibilities were clarified. Exchanges are perceived as helpful, however, it is reconsidered whether SLIs (or the other primary participants) should get paid for the time they meet, and if so how and by who: "My problem is that it's actually whether discussed nor reflected in the end. I react based on my mood, based on an attitude in this one moment, and not based … certainty … ." (Group 2 / G / #00:11:44-6#). "Or it might also be the case that the three … parties once also meet outside of the actual lessons. That you like once talk about the situation." (Group 2 / I / #00:40:30-1#). "… we should once like kind of in a meta-way look at this situation. That could be a benefit for our working process … ." (Group 2 / G / #00:42:43-5#). "The feedback-/ and exchanges- sessions on a regular basis. Well who does pay them?" (Group 2 / G / #00:50:44-9#). Also when IPs were given the magic wand, they explicitly wished for opportunities and legitimation to exchange among the primary participants: "… I wish for that like those people here [pointing to the three main participants on the flip chart], …in this triad, like empower or legitimatize so they can say what they wish for, and also what they can't accomplish. Well that you keep exchanging. So there is… an opportunity for that or that you are, well yes, allowed to do so." (Group 2 / I / #01:09:36-9#). Interpreting can only be called effective when decisions fit the goals of participants Roy (2000, p. 64) and in order to find out about each other's needs, participants should reflect (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 9; Turner, 2005, pp. 29, 32, 35). The literature also mentions the importance of exchange among participants in order to develop fruitful collaboration (Haug & Vega Lechermann, 2006, p. 206; Kukla, 2004, p. 94; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 48; Procom & SGB-FSS, 2006, p. 4; Sanderson et al., 1999, pp. 9, 10; Seal, 1998, p. 34; Turner, 2005, p. 52). Currently Swiss SLIs in educational settings do not seem to exchange among primary participants on a regular basis and therefore, a chance for developing mutual understanding and encouraging triadic collaboration could be missed.

Among colleagues

Different exchange types among colleagues like e.g.: spontaneous feedback right after the assignment or during breaks, set-up meetings among the working colleagues (intervision within the pool of working SLIs), set-up meetings among different colleagues (intervision among SLIs), set-up meetings among different colleagues supervised by a mentor (supervision) were mentioned.

Short exchanges during lunch between the interpreter-partners are seen as beneficial to talk about the 'role' and terminology/signs. Though, currently problems are carried home alone. To not have the possibility to exchange and reflect the decision-making process is seen as problematic. Constantly reflecting on own behaviour and decisions is mentioned as important. Especially for interpreters working in educational settings reflection seems to not have been a topic so far and there is no best practice that would help navigating SLIs: "And this I carry home alone and don't know "Ah, there are others that struggle with a situation or person as well. ". … I could imagine for all kind of groups to also kind of eliminate those common blind spots." (Group 2 / G / #00:29:37-2#). "And look at it critical, no … keep the internal monitor running constantly." (Group 2 / I / #00:31:05-1#).

Missing institutionalised exchange among interpreter-partners and among other SLIs colleagues are mentioned. The discussions with other working interpreter-partners would be important to discuss promptly eventual different approaches in the shared working area. Discussions among other SLI colleagues to discover blind spots and to figure out if others are struggling with similar issues: "Well in my opinion for my work in such a setting, well like for figuring out well yes of your own behavior patterns. How do I solve situations and what other possibilities would exist. But well as well perhaps … team-supervision for this pool of interpreter that is regularly working." (Group 2 / G / #00:28:30-3#). "So, in my opinion for constant teams and working-groups of interpreters that should be institutionalized. For all other at best as well, but that would be already a start." (Group 2 / G / #00:29:37-2#). "I believe that is the most important fact, there is no like actual discussion or fundaments. There's no best practice on the table that helps you navigate or comment on." (Group 2 / G / #00:10:42-7#).

To be able to join supervision is perceived as important to reflect on own behaviour and identify alternatives. Therefore it is suggested supervision should be institutionalized for all interpreters working in educational settings. Also when IPs

were given the magic wand in the end of the focus groups they explicitly wished for supervision among colleagues: "I wish for supervision for the interpreting team in long term educations or for certain special fields. And, like to reflect on the common professional practice and also attitude." (Group 2 / G/ #01:06:24-8#). Literature as well highlights the importance of feedback sessions among interpreter colleagues to reflect on practice (Dean & Pollard, 2013, p. 139; Marschark et al., 2005, p. 68; Taylor, 2004, p. 178; Turner, 2005, p. 53). Supervision as suggested by Taylor (2004, pp. 182, 184, 185) seems to be a valuable tool when it comes to improve the SLI's performance in educational settings and allowing professional development. However, intervision in Switzerland is set up by SLIs themselves on a voluntary basis and they are not paid for the hours they exchange and reflect on their profession. This current practice might be highly questioned when seeking improvement of SLIs performances.

Evaluation

While feedback among colleagues and participants were discussed during the focus groups, evaluation did not arise as topic. This might be because the interviewer did not explicitly ask IPs about it or because Swiss SLIs do not have a long history of evaluating interpreting performances. Seal (1998, pp. 155, 156) suggests, SLIs should be evaluated once or twice a year and even provides tools to do so. Even if evaluation is highly recommended by literature in order to ensure effective communication in classrooms and for the SLIs professional development (Kurz & Langer, 2004, p. 40; Taylor, 2004, pp. 179, 183), evaluation of Swiss SLIs does not happen on a regular basis.

5 Conclusion and Outlook

In this last chapter, the main arguments of the study are drawn together and a selection of important areas for further research are named.

Thanks to the above-mentioned analysis, the RQ could be answered. The paradigm shift towards "triad working" (Turner, 2005, p. 52) described in literature cannot be observed in the reports on current practice in Swiss classrooms. Even if some attempts towards a more effective practice can be occasionally identified, the broader picture reveales Swiss German SLIs rather try to act as conduits when interpreting in educational settings. When seeking for collaboration, the IPs often report of cooperating with one participant, however rarely is a triadic approach opted for. A dynamic between lacking enlightenment on SL interpreting, unclear responsibilities, and missing guidelines seems to influence their practices. Additionally, omitting exchanges among participants and colleagues appear as hindering the development of triadic collaboration.

As this study includes only a small number of SLIs, it cannot call for generalization. However, even if limited, a reasonable claim to take the results seriously, and at best as a starting point for further investigations, might be uttered.

The practices SLIs adopt when seeking to operate as a collaboration triad have been described, however they were not observed. So firstly, the topic should be explored and recorded in real interactions among the participants in order to further investigate current practice (e.g.: acting on sight, identifying needs and goals including didactics, etc.) in Swiss classrooms. Additionally, the identified topics which might influence the practice (e.g.: the interconnection regarding the cloudiness of SLIs' responsibilities, the missing exchange possibilities, frameworks) should be addressed. More flexible frameworks need to be developed to reduce the SLIs' dilemmas and it should be reconsidered how they could look like and what they might include. Enlightenment on the SL process and on deaf students in hearing environments seems to be crucial in order to provide effective service. Therefore, it should be reconsidered, how, when, and by who enlightenment in class could happen.

It would be more than wishful to examine the views of the remaining two parts of the triad in order to get a more holistic picture of effective practice in educational settings. In particular the relationship between deaf students and teachers and a possible positive impact of an improved relationships might be worth investigating or also in

how far clients would prefer a short exchange with SLIs in order to get a more effective interpreting product. Further, the interviews revealed conversations with the additional stakeholders (e.g.: interpreter-team, agency, etc.) are highly required. There in particular *constancy regarding deployment* and *creating refunded exchange possibilities for SLIs* should be addressed. In order to develop and spread a more triadic approach, exchanges among SLIs should be institutionalized. There interpreters would get the chance for reflecting on current practices and for professional development. Exchanges among the primary participants could support finding out about each other's aims and needs, creating mutual understanding, and breaking up the cloudiness regarding the different responsibilities. Exchanges at different levels would allow for promoting collaboration and therefore the interpreting product.

In addition, different educational levels and settings (e.g.: K-12, semi-inclusive settings, etc.) could be explored. VET for hearing impaired emerged a lot as a topic during the interviews. To include or even take those settings, where some understanding about deaf individuals in educational settings might be expected, could be reconsidered for a next study about interpreting in educations in German Switzerland.

This paper investigates triadic collaboration through the lens of educational settings, and the need for further investigating interpreting in educational settings is clearly outlined. Cooperation with other countries seems reasonable in order to develop effective practice in this field. As highlighted in the very beginning "Knowledge is power" (Francis Bacon, 1598) and an effective practice would allow deaf students to fully access education and therefore become powerful individuals. Further research into that specific area therefore is highly recommended. In order to constantly improve the field of SL interpreting, possible outcomes towards triadic collaboration could be adapted to the numerous remaining interpreting areas as well.

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