Angela Treiber · Kerstin Kazzazi ·
Marina Jaciuk *Editors*

Translating Migration

Everyday and research practices
of interpreting in the context of flight
and migration

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Contents

Translating Migration. Methodological Approaches, Epistemological Questions, Theoretical Approaches

Angela Treiber and Kerstin Kazzazi

Abstract

In the course of globalization and transnationalization processes, it is true for numerous professional fields of practice and research that conversations can no longer be conducted in the first language of the respective participants. In the context of refugee, asylum and migration regimes and policies, the complexity of translation and communication processes becomes particularly clear. Without the help of interpreters, migrants and refugees are often unable to communicate in conversations (interviews, hearings, therapy), which usually entail vital decisions. Also in qualitative social research, such as ethnographic or sociolinguistic field research on flight and migration, the increasing diversity of languages in research fields requires the involvement of language mediators/interpreters in the research process. Here, too, multi-layered, multilingual situational communication constellations arise in the conversational constellations that are already characterized by hierarchical relations of inequality and emotionality. Interpreting in migration-related multilingual, often tense situations has directed research interest above all to procedural strategies to be developed contextually in order to overcome linguistic as well as culturally conditioned communication barriers.

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1   Translating as Trans-lating. Recent Translation Concepts

In the course of globalization and transnationalization processes, it is true for numerous professional fields of practice and research that conversations can no longer be conducted in the first language of the respective participants. Not infrequently, the interlocutors even have to communicate in a third language, i.e. a language that is a foreign language for both sides.

Particularly in the context of refugee, asylum and migration regimes and policies, the complexity of translation and communication processes with their power-infused practices and forms of dealing with social and cultural difference becomes apparent (cf. Bachmann-Medick, 2015; Wintroub, 2015). In most cases, migrants and refugees from different countries of origin are not able to communicate in their respective languages of origin, be it in interviews (Scheffer, 2016; Thielen, 2009), hearings with public authorities and court employees, counselling and therapeutic conversations with social workers, doctors, therapists or even carers or accompanying persons.

Official and judicial procedures, such as those regulated by asylum and immigration law, therefore require the involvement of interpreters.[1] This is also urgently required in the therapeutic field in order to ensure that the migrant interlocutors, who often experience highly precarious phases of life and situations, can express themselves in a language familiar to them. This is because telling stories in a familiar language makes it easier to affectively remember and express (dramatic and traumatic) experiences (Hillebrecht et al., 2019; Kläui & Stuker, 2010; Morina, 2007; Morina et al., 2010).

In qualitative social research, too, such as in ethnographic or sociolinguistic field research on flight and migration, the increasing diversity of languages in research fields requires the involvement of language mediators/interpreters in the research process, often with the task of post-translator and with the role of gatekeeper (Rickmeyer, 2009, p. 46ff). Here, too, multi-layered multilingual situational communication constellations emerge in the conversational constellations, which are already characterized by hierarchical relations of inequality and emotionality.

Interpreting in migration-related multilingual, often tense situations has focused research interest primarily on procedural strategies to be developed contextually in order to overcome linguistically as well as culturally conditioned communication barriers. Initial impetus came from the English-speaking world in the

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[1] Interpreting (for spoken words) and translating (for written words and as a generic term for transmission and transformation processes).

form of specialist literature for translation in the social, legal and medical spheres under the name *Community Interpreting*.[2] They pursue different models of translation theory with different normative claims, such as neutrality and objectivity or adequacy, and discuss the weighting of the roles of the actors involved (cf. Larkin et al., 2007; Squires, 2009; Edwards, 1998; Temple & Edwards, 2006; Temple & Young, 2004).

For the practice areas of so-called community interpreting and for qualitative conversation and interview research in the context of foreign languages, there are also only a few empirical studies to date (Kruse & Schmieder, 2012; Pöllabauer, 2005; Bergunde & Pöllabauer, 2015). The contexts of the participants in the interview or conversation situation, their different expressive abilities, subjective as well as culturally shaped attitudes and, in particular, role images and role assignments of the translator are focused on here as factors of the translation process (cf. Kruse & Schmieder, 2012). They show that expectations of interpreters are motivated in different ways, e.g. via group assignments and identifications (Kolb & Pöchhacker, 2008; Pöllabauer, 2005) and range from rejection, mistrust and scepticism to expectations of solidarity and advocacy for neutrality (Pöllabauer, 2005; Bergunde & Pöllabauer, 2015; cf. also Scheffer, 2016, p. 33f). The positioning of interpreters and the expectations placed on them are ambiguous and contradictory. They are questioners and respondents at the same time, as interpreters and mediators, neutral mediators and actively involved interlocutors with different possibilities for action depending on the procedure (Dahlvik, 2010).

2   Interpreting as a Research Subject

Interpreters, as trans-lators, play a decisive role in shaping processes of understanding and comprehension. However, they can also create or trigger non-understanding and misunderstanding, prevent or enable being understood and, in the context of certain procedures, even make it impossible for the interviewees to refuse to understand and be understood (Bahadir, 2010, p. 126).

Translating (foreign) language is not a mechanical process. Embedded in migration-political dispositifs (foreigners, integration, control, security etc.) and part of the interaction between the participants of the conversation with different life backgrounds, it is a complicated process of understanding. What is said, what is narrated, is shaped by socio-economic status, level of education, experiences.

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[2] The term was coined in reference to *Community Work*, which is used in the USA for various unpaid services by lay people (cf. Petrova, 2015).

The participants in the conversation do not have the same shared knowledge, i.e. what is said is not understandable for everyone (Scheffer, 2016, p. 40, Rienzner, 2010, 2011). In particular, the use of institutionalized and codified terms in the procedural language (e.g. *foreigner*, *immigrant*, *refugee*) of migration policy makes speaking a performative act of social inequality. The same applies to the recourse to idealized and generalized definitions of meaning, such as those used in lexical definitions (e.g. *family*, *integration*, *violence*). The respective conversational situation then receives too little attention and so-called imputation practices tend to be promoted (Kruse & Schmieder, 2012). These are closely related to power positions of social inequality and interpretive sovereignty (Bourdieu, 1990). One thinks, is convinced one understands what the other is communicating, and yet one hears only the interpretation already generated. Microanalytical approaches make the inequality in encounters and its consequences for the process of understanding transparent (Treiber/Kazzazi; Hollweg).

For a long time, correct translation was generally regarded as an "unproblematic service that can be expected as a matter of course" (Scheffer, 2016, p. 34), and this not only in the field of administrative procedures. Even in qualitative research, the involvement of interpreters and translators (both native and foreign) has been problematized surprisingly little, at least in the academic field, especially in the context of field research (cf. Berman & Tyyska, 2011; Enzenhofer & Resch, 2011, 2013; Fröhlich, 2012; Lauterbach, 2014; Kruse & Schmieder, 2012; Stegmaier, 2013; Hillebrecht et al., 2019; Uçan, 2019). Increasingly, interpreting, translation and transcription processes considering phenomena of the field as well as understanding between researchers and study participants and interlocutors receive attention, and epistemological questions gain interest here. This is because these multilingual situations are of particular heuristic importance overall. Linguistic uncertainties can also promote closeness, leading to the request to explain and elucidate what is meant. Misunderstandings can lead to an exchange of content and thus bring new aspects into play in order to open up other subject areas and develop new questions. Last but not least, they reveal methodological and content-related problematic aspects of monolingual research (Inhetveen, 2012, p. 30ff).

Interpreting and translation are coming into focus as research objects in qualitative social research (Schittenhelm, 2017) as well as in translation studies and the everyday practice of interpreters. Discussions focus on the significance and scope of cooperative working practices with local language mediators and methodological procedures that require close cooperation and familiarity with the research questions. The interpreters become visible as actors in the research field (Nowak/Hornberg; Hollweg). The (post-)migrant spaces of multilingualism and translingualism (cf. Dirim & Mecheril, 2010) promote reflections on the positioning of

ethnographers in the research field; they allow one to question one's own language competencies and reveal the use of language as a symbolic power of colonial heritage (Reckinger; Can).

3   Translation as a Transcultural Space

The heterogeneity of linguistic expressions, the varieties and variations of languages in their socio-cultural, spatial imprints refer to the dimension of translation for cultural understanding (Geertz, 1987; Hangartner, 2012). This extended sense of the term as "cultural translation" (Kruse, 2009; Renn, 2002) is based on the metaphorical transfer of translational action to the handling of difference and has gained paradigmatic quality in the social and cultural sciences and also in translation studies with regard to questions relevant to the theory of science (Asad, 1986; Hanks, 2014; Leavitt, 2014).

Culture is understood here as a frame of reference for specific meaning-making, which shapes language and is simultaneously shaped by language, which structures perception, experience and bodily practice. Words receive their meaning in contexts of life and meaning (see examples in the contribution by Treiber/ Kazzazi) and are in turn also themselves reality-constituting through the act of linguistic categorization.[3] Even if the same language is spoken, it is necessary to perceive the different socio-cultural locations of the speech of the participants in the conversation and to take them into account in a translating, mediating way. In this way understanding is made possible. The German expression "speaking another language..." *[eine andere Sprache sprechen]* for unsuccessful or marginally successful communication refers to this connection. The sociologist Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez formulates the following about the transfer from one linguistic-cultural field of reference to another in this broader cultural-theoretical context: *"The translation project that arises in the encounter does not follow the goal of articulating a universal commonality, but represents the attempt to find a language in difference."* (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2008).

She thus describes the communicative transformation of what is spoken in conversation as a transcultural space, as an *interspace* of different social imprints that shape language and are shaped by language. Language is therefore not static, but

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[3] This is the basic assumption of the so-called *linguistic relativity hypothesis* (also: *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis*), which, for example, in the modified version of "Thinking for Speaking" by Dan I. Slobin, has again become the focus of linguistic research interest since the 1990s (cf. Slobin, 2014).

contextual in its meaning. Cultural/milieu-specific, situational or individual connotations of expressions give rise to semantic gaps, quasi gaps for decoding what is meant (Resch & Enzenhofer, 2012). This applies to encounters within "the same" language, but especially to encounters in multilingual spaces.

Gutiérrez Rodríguez draws on Homi K. Bhabha's postcolonial concept of "cultural translation". He understands this as a way to overcome the established Western cultural universalism as a notion of timeless, normative rules and orders by pointing to the transformational, the shifts in meaning, the mixtures of languages, the "rearticulation", and describing translation as a strategy of hybridity, a space in-between created by self-alienation.

The imperfection of translation processes shows itself in the untranslatable remains as cultural difference (Bhabha, 2000, p. 42, 58). Translation thus becomes the way to understand the world, *"to understand the world by understanding translation, giving any particular cultural tradition or cultural text its own space"* (Anfeng & Bhabha, 2009).

The concept of translation or interpreting can be related to specific methods of the social and cultural sciences, especially to field research and participant observation. The special contact situations and cultural translation constellations in research on flight and migration require not only the role of the interpreter to be considered (Clifford, 1997), but also the role of the researcher as "interpreter" (Girtler, 2009), to reflect on his/her work of *Verstehensarbeit* ['understanding'] and scientific translation. Here, too, role expectations and role requirements, norms and values as well as modes of perception and expectations in the intercultural encounter shape the research process. This is all the more important to take into account in the sensitive field in which the immigrants' experiences of violence and flight and the confrontation of the native population with them can lead to tense situations.

Listening to and recognizing the multiple voices of what is said by the interlocutors involved requires "de-self-understanding" (Breuer, 2009), i.e. rethinking one's own horizon of reality (Kruse & Schmieder, 2012) and grasping the foreign horizon of the interlocutor as an alternative horizon of interpretation. In this context, it is important to repeatedly practice a position between empathic participation and a distanced observation perspective, in order to develop the meaningful logic of human (language and speech) behaviour in the context of life and situation as an interpreter or participating observer (cf. Bahadir, 2010; BAHADIR).

4   Translating Migration: Practical Approaches and Theoretical Approaches

From the outlined contexts it emerges that the thematic field of "translating migration" can be considered in two respects and from different perspectives: On the one hand, *interpreting/translating as an everyday practice* of social service, in which clear role distributions are expected and specific *procedures of interpreting and translating* are demanded in each case, e.g. in psychotherapy (Kluge & Kassim, 2006; Kluge, 2017) (emphatically demanded e.g. from the perspective of psychotherapy in Baller/Ott; formulated in the form of a professional self-expectation by Markert); on the other hand, as a *component of the research process* in qualitative social research, in which there are different expectations and role assumptions depending on the research object and design – from the view of the mere necessity arising from the multilingual research field to the reflection on the relevance of relationships and roles of the participants in the conversation with regard to data generation, processing and interpretation (illustrated on the basis of linguistically complex data material e.g. in Hollweg's contribution). Finally, the translation process itself, or the process of making it transparent, can be the focus of research, and *interpreting and translating* can become *the object of research* (illustrated with the example of the multilingual researcher in Ucan's contribution). This different perspective on translation gives rise to various questions regarding the actors involved, the languages and what is spoken, as well as what is transcribed.

Which concepts, which strategies of translation are legitimized in practice and in what way? What consequences does the transfer of certain ideas and social practices from one context to another have for translation? What needs to be "translated", i.e. what is "different"? Who decides on the "correctness" of the interpretation inherent in any translation process, i.e. who has interpretive sovereignty over the equivalence of words, concepts, practices and signs? To what extent does the identified and established difference between what is explicitly said and what is translated in conversational situations carry epistemic potential? (For different strategies of non-professional interpreters in the context of refugee and asylum counselling see Treiber/Kazzazi).

Does it make a difference which actors translate and mediate for the refugees? What knowledge as well as language and experience capital must a person have in order to be able to participate meaningfully in a consultation or in a scientific study? And what do researchers have to consider, what own competences do they have to possess or develop in order to be able to do justice to the research field? (Nowak/Hornberg).

Last but not least, questions arise as to what extent theoretical concepts (culture, third space, social drama, interactionism, social practice) are taken up in a research-guiding or -sensitizing epistemologically profitable way for the analysis and interpretation of translation and thus of representational processes, and in what way they can contribute to revealing them (BAHADIR).

The experience-saturated, self-critical reflection of the ethnological, social anthropological Writing Culture debate more than three decades ago revealed the complex interrelationships of writing down and describing as a process of translation and transformation that was always incomplete due to the circumstances (*"Partial Truths"*, Clifford, 1986, p. 7). A look at the hard-fought discussion shows that at the moment when translation became central to problem orientation, the claim to translation was also fundamentally called into question. While this initially ended in a "crisis of ethnographic representation" (Berg & Fuchs, 1993), it is precisely the sensitive social spaces of refugees, characterized by multilingualism, that demand awareness and increased reflection on translation processes as an action that, while it may be problematized, is in principle necessary for making these specific fields of research accessible.

The collected contributions document results of the workshop *Alltags- und Forschungspraktiken des Dolmetschens im Rahmen von Flucht und Migration. Erkenntnisräume des Dolmetschens und Übersetzens.* 'Everyday and Research Practices in the Context of Flight and Migration. Epistemic Spaces of Interpreting and Translating' from 26 to 28 June 2019 at the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. It took place by popular request of participants of the panel "Everyday and Research Practices of Interpreting and Translating. Methodological and epistemological questions on researching flight and migration" at the second conference of the Refugee Research Network from 4 to 6 October 2018 at the "Zentrum Flucht und Migration" (ZFM, 'Center for Flight and Migration'). The ZFM also financially supported the realization of the workshop and this publication. Last but not least, we would like to thank all contributing colleagues for the productive exchange between research practice and social counselling and therapy practice as well as for the constructive interdisciplinary cooperation.

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The Linguistic Traces of Migration: Dealing with Multi- and Translingualism in Ethnographic Research with Refugees

Gilles Reckinger

Abstract

Drawing on my fieldwork in southern Italy over the past 15 years, my presentation reflects on various methodological, research ethical and theoretical challenges and implications of ethnographic research in multi- and translingual contexts from a postcolonial perspective.

Furthermore, I analyse the linguistic flexibility of the migrants who came across the Mediterranean as a potential for a cosmopolitan European society.

In 2009, on the Italian island of Lampedusa, I set out for the first time on the trail of a phenomenon that was then already almost 20 years old: the disturbing reality of thousands of people trying to reach Europe across the Mediterranean in often unseaworthy boats. In the media reports, the political rhetoric, and even in the commitment of some NGOs that dealt with the phenomenon, the people in the boats were mostly given neither a face nor the opportunity to make themselves heard.

The way migrants dealt with their languages was not the focus of my interest at the time. With my hegemonic colonial languages in my luggage, I felt well

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equipped to conduct empirical research with them. The potentially problematic effects of using certain languages seemed insoluble anyway – only speechlessness could have remained. The praxeological work of understanding, to which I feel committed, in fact mostly tacitly presupposes the self-evident possibility of communication on a linguistic level, as if considerable relations of inequality were not already created or cemented in the research setting through the choice of language, the degree of language mastery, the accent, the ability or inability to verbalize things, etc. Yet Pierre Bourdieu in particular has written a great deal about the consecration and stigmatization effects associated with mastery or lack of "proper" French. Perhaps this lack of sensitivity to linguistic dynamics and negotiation processes is due to the structural monolingualism or lack of foreign languages of almost all Western European academic cultures and their exponents – including European ethnology.

At that time, in 2009, it was simply impossible to come into contact with refugees on the tiny, just nine-kilometre-long rock of Lampedusa. If Lampedusa, the "island of boat people", as it was qualified in the media and subsequently by politicians, much to the displeasure of its inhabitants, was paradoxically the only municipality in Italy where "there [were] no foreigners" – as Stefano Liberti (2008) quotes a local restaurant owner –, it was due to the fact that the national government, but also, to a lesser extent, parts of the local population, pursued a wide range of sometimes contradictory strategies to keep the phenomenon of boat migration out of the public eye. The boats usually did not land in the port independently, but were either escorted by the police to a militarily sealed pier, or the people were taken on board the police boats beforehand. Once they arrived at the pier, they were usually quickly loaded onto a bus, without any civil society control, and taken to a nearby reception centre hidden in the interior of the island, which was itself guarded by law enforcement officers. From here, after a few days, people were usually transferred to the Italian mainland or to Sicily, where their administrative procedure would begin. Many *lampedusani* welcomed this procedure, fearing that the precarious source of income of tourism, on which the island is largely dependent, might suffer from the negative reporting – not from the presence of the refugees. In terms of numbers, such a connection could never be traced anyway, and in fact the number of overnight stays has been rising constantly for years. However, many *lampedusani* also felt to be artificially kept at a distance from the people who came to Europe via their island – and whom they had always reached out to in the early years, when the state had not yet entered the scene as an actor – precisely by the practice of the bureaucratic administration.

First of all, it was not the (possible) speechlessness or possible language barriers between the boat refugees and myself, but their invisibility in public space that was a problem for me, because they were simply physically inaccessible to me.

After the unsatisfactory media portrayals as an amorphous mass, which had brought me to Lampedusa precisely to gain a more differentiated picture, invisibility was not exactly what I had expected, let alone hoped for. In fact, my research interest was not primarily focused on the boat migrants, but on all the people who were on the island: Journalists, police officers, military personnel, and especially the locals, who, incidentally, had also been persuaded to settle on the island only in the 1840s from the most diverse areas of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. I wondered how the small island society of about five and a half thousand inhabitants lived with the phenomenon of boat migration, and, given the rampant racist restriction of Europe, whether I would find a xenophobic society here. Linguistically, however, things did not get any better: if my Italian language skills that I had learned at school had become rusty, the Lampedusan dialect proved completely incomprehensible to me.

I had my first encounter, or, more honestly, the first visual contact with a boat migrant in March 2009, when I was making video recordings for a documentary film with colleagues in the port. A few days earlier, ten people had escaped through a hole in the fence of the refugee camp (Fig. 1).

We were recording the hustle and bustle of loading the supply ferry from Sicily, which was highly unreliable in the winter months, not so much because of the enormous police presence (there was one policeman for every four inhabitants at the time), but because the arrival of the ferry in the winter months was always an event attended by numerous *lampedusani:* It was a moment in which the island
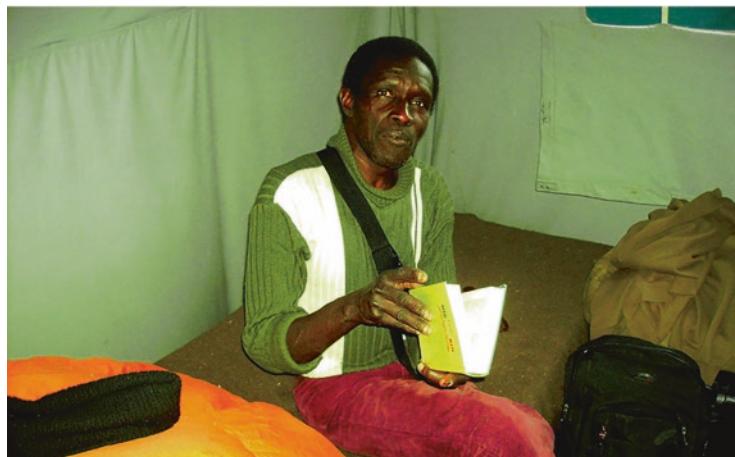
Fig. 1 Boat migrant in Lampedusa. (Photo: © Saidu 2014)

seemed to have a bridge to the mainland. The camera, fixed on a tripod and set to watch the loading of the ferry, documented how uncooperative the police truck drivers were in their frenetic search for the escaped migrants, and how suddenly a police officer pointed down from the bridge of the ferry to an open truck trailer, whereupon a whole squad of uniformed and plainclothes anti-terrorist police moved in to arrest the person hiding there and take him away like a felon. The arrested man did not say a single word during the whole scene.

I had my second encounter with a boat migrant in Lampedusa several research stays later in 2011, in the midst of the Tunisian revolution:

> Near the military pier, a man stands on the rocks, hands in his pockets, looking out to sea. I call out to him a *buongiorno*. He answers a few sentences in Italian, then I ask him if he would rather speak French. Yes, he says, that's his second language, it's easier. Kalil comes from Tunisia. He is a trained heating and air conditioning installer. He arrived four days ago, "on a boat with 55 other people, including two women". They were at sea for four days,going in circles for one night because their GPS device had broken. It had been very dangerous. They asked an Egyptian fishing boat to alert the financial police. Two and a half hours later, the boat was on the scene. It was a last-minute rescue: The occupants kept siphoning off water, but the boat was running full of water and was already on the verge of sinking. Many were very sick, but no one died.

> It's strangely unreal, just standing by the sea with someone and hearing how he narrowly escaped death just a few days before. I hear the words he says, I talk to him, I can touch him, but the distance between his world and mine is infinite. We cannot meet.

> He asks me if I am from France, I say: "No, from Luxembourg". He bows a little and repeats several times: "*Enchanté* – very pleased." His reverence puts me to shame. After all, it is also directed at what I symbolise – Europe – but he attaches that to my person.

> As I leave again to wish him well, he squeezes my hand tightly and says: "*Merci, Gilles, mon frère*". (Reckinger, 2015)

It was easier for me to communicate with the migrants than with the natives, since I speak French and English better than Italian. In this way, I immediately experienced that the identity-forming elements of colonialism did not stop with me, an anthropologist trained in postcolonial reflection. Many of the French-speaking migrants I met in the coming years in the orchards of Calabria considered me to be French and thus seemed to grant me greater recognition than the Italians, with whom they had largely had bad experiences. France, on the other hand,

seemed symbolically to be a better place for freedom and human rights. The country, in fact, seems to many who are stuck in Italy like a promise of a respectful life in which the formerly colonized subjects are given a chance to participate – as if that had ever even happened in the colonies.

Also at the time of the Tunisian revolution, I met three young men in Lampedusa on Via Roma, the main street of the town, whom I invited to drink coffee in a bar. In the wake of the Arab Spring, the government in Rome had decided to give the people on the island free passage, at least during the day: Where else could they have disappeared to?

> They say they are 20 and 22 years old, but they look much younger. With the youngest, I wonder if he's even 18 yet. His gestures are still gangly, like those of a growing boy. All three of them barely speak French, with Arabic mixed in every now and then, and one sometimes mixing in a smattering of English. Later they tell me that in Tunisia they watched all kinds of European TV channels, which could be an explanation for the mix of languages. They have even fewer ideas about their future in Europe than the others I spoke to. They are only dreams, and they don't have anything more to hold on to: the youngest is a technical draughtsman, the other two are pizza makers and waiters. They come from the Tunisian hinterland. Due to their poor language skills, their chances in Europe deteriorate even more.

> And they have little idea what to expect. One says his father has been in Lyon legally for many years, "69!" he exclaims, "*Département* 69!" The other says he has relatives in Roubaix. "What number is that", asks the third – "I think 59", says the other. My head is spinning.

> How do they know the numbers of the French *départements*? The third boy says he doesn't care where he goes: "The main thing is Europe. Ever since we were little, we have dreamed of Europe. All the young people in Tunisia dream of Europe, everyone wants to go to Europe. Everything is better in Europe". (Reckinger, 2015)

But unlike the *White*[1] guests, they had to drink their coffee out of plastic cups during this time: Just as their individuation was not of interest, no matter what

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[1] I write the terms *African* and *Black* and *White in* italics and with a capital letter at the beginning to mark that these terms are socially and culturally constructed categories that feed on colonial heritage and racist knowledge about the Other. The grammatical stumbling block is a reminder that it is such essentializations that cement racialized inequality. It also runs counter to the Eurocentric notion that Africa were a country. My linguistic self-labelling as *White* is also important because it unveils the mostly unmarked marker of my skin color that endows me with numerous, often overseen privileges. The category of the native too only makes sense in differentiation from the others.

languages and dreams they brought with them, they were collectively kept at a distance as the threatening others.

After completing my research in Lampedusa, I attempted to address the desideratum that I had not succeeded in meeting the migrants on the island in more than a superficial way. I went to Calabria, where many of the boat migrants from Lampedusa were brought for identification.

While the process is still ongoing, people are expelled from the camps and find themselves on the streets without papers, financial support or housing. Thus released, they have to try to survive with informal work and usually end up in large numbers in agricultural harvesting, where they toil for their survival under slavery-like conditions, after they have become completely dependent on their employers due to their illegalization. But even after the conclusion of the asylum procedure, the situation improves for very few. All these people, as well as those who were deported back to Italy due to the Dublin regulations or people with *Black* skin who had already been working legally in Italy for decades and had been socially insured, had paid taxes and had lost their jobs in the course of rampant racism, find themselves in these labour markets. The working conditions are catastrophic, the maximum income of 150–300 € – which can only be achieved in the three-month season – and the refusal of most landlords to provide them with an apartment, forces people into living conditions that defy description.

Since 2012, I have been regularly visiting people in their informal slums and forest camps made of tents, cardboard, corrugated iron, plastic and wooden pallets in the plain of Gioia Tauro, in order to participate in their everyday life and to learn to understand their living conditions and perspectives for action.

Several thousand people from sub-Saharan countries, many from West Africa, but also from Central Africa and the Horn of Africa live in the slums around Rosarno. They live in great confinement, mostly organized according to language groups, regions or religions, but all the people are in contact with all, because survival is only possible through solidarity of all with all.

Yet Italian is often the language of communication between people of different origins. Again and again I am amazed at how quickly people learn to communicate in Italian. It impresses me all the more because they make great efforts to adapt and participate in the country that denies them any perspective.

The three languages on the basis of which I mostly communicated with the inhabitants are all colonial languages, my other languages proved to be useless. I therefore began to learn Arabic, a language that is also much used in the slums, because people bear the linguistic traces of their migration beyond the physical and psychological – which provides information about the duration of the journey, and probably also about the fact that the migration movement was by no means always

directed towards Europe, but often towards Arabic-speaking countries. But Arabic is also a language that reflects a relationship of dominance in many parts of Africa, so that my methodological and research ethics claim to understand people from their perspective seemed impossible to fulfill due to my inability to speak even a single African language. For which one should I have learned?

With time, however, I realized that I could get very far in communication with Italian, French and English. The linguistic flexibility and adaptability on the part of the slum dwellers towards each other and towards me allows us to speak with each other. It is an ongoing mutual adaptation effort that happens in part consciously, in part unconsciously. These processes of negotiation and accommodation are often addressed both to each other and to me. The eclectic, flexible use of the possibilities of languages and dialects impresses me time and again among the inhabitants. Important African languages as well as colonial languages and the *lingua franca* Italian are constantly mixed, adapted and overcome.

The level of education of the harvesters varies: Even if there are a few illiterate people, most of them have at least a compulsory school leaving certificate, but often also a manual apprenticeship, a secondary school leaving certificate or a university degree. But even the people who could hardly attend school are at least quadrilingual. All of them are at least able to use parts of the grammar and vocabulary of languages in a dynamic process of *translanguaging*[2] (Canagarajah, 2013; García & Wei, 2014; Otheguy et al., 2015) in such a way that they can act as bridge languages between people who otherwise could not communicate with each other. Here in Italy, too, residents are learning new colonial languages as bridge languages that had no significant relevance in their countries of origin from each other. A clear delimitability of languages is refuted anew every day in the slums of Rosarno – it would in any case be ideological and restrictive. (Reckinger, 2019).

Even if concepts such as *people, nation* or *national language* have recently become popular again in a lot of monolingually constituted or monolingual western societies and are used as distinguishing categories in order to construct a congruence between the territory of the nation state and those who apparently legitimately live in it, and thus to justify powerful exclusionary practices, most European countries have been fundamentally characterized by linguistic diversity for centuries.

In my research – also in the migrants' countries of origin – I repeatedly encounter people who know Europe, its countries and above all its languages better than

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[2] Otheguy et al. (2015) define *translanguaging* as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 281).

most Europeans. Cosmopolitanism, multilingualism, transnational relationships and multilocal lifeworlds are completely natural and unpretentiously realised in their biographies and social relationships – simply everyday life. Contrary to the prevailing doubts in Europe as to whether the continent can bear the "burden" of migration from Africa and the Middle East, it should be asked whether Europe does not, on the contrary, urgently need the transnational, multilingual habitus[3] and thus these lifestyles, which are better adapted to globalisation, in order to be able to keep pace with this very globalisation at all.

If the linguistic capital, the experiential capital and the cosmopolitanism of migrants were recognised, they could be understood in Europe as what they have been for centuries, namely as an opportunity for renewal and development and as naturally active participants in social events.

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[3] Here understood as a complementary term to the catchword coined by Ingrid Gogolin in the 1990s of the "monolingual habitus in German classrooms" (Gogolin, 2008 [1994]).

Multilingual Multi-Sited Ethnography

Halil Can

Abstract

Mobility and migration multilingualize people and thus open their horizons to the world. This social and cultural fact also became apparent in the context of my ethnographic field research with multigenerational families in the context of transnational labour migration Turkey-Germany. The manifold and diverse linguistic-communicative challenges, positionalities and negotiation processes in methodological as well as social and cultural practice that became visible in this context in the contact and relational relationships will be examplarily illuminated and discussed in this article in a reflective way from my perspective as a field researcher as well as from that of individual members of the GÜN family.

1   Introduction

Empirical research in social and cultural spaces means first and foremost coming into contact and encountering people who are mostly unknown to each other. It is a gradual process of mutual rapprochement, with the desire to overcome strangeness and establish trust; this is especially true of dense ethnographic research into everyday life, which is direct, long-term and participatory observation. In this context, the formation of a relationship between the researcher and the researched person(s) – unlike in reciprocal relationship patterns – is initiated unilaterally by

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the former at the beginning. Based on certain questions, the actions of the researcher are guided by the intention to generate knowledge and thus possible answers to these questions through immersion in the research field. Research activity, here with a special focus on ethnographic research, can thus be described as a unilaterally initiated and framed relational practice of interactive communication. However, it is the subjects who, in the further course, become the actual and central actors of the field research and thus the interactive communication process.

In this article, I would like to take a closer look at precisely these communication practices and processes that form and manifest themselves in the research field and, based on selected observations, experiences and results from my multilocal and methodological ethnographic research (participant observation, biographical-narrative interviews, group discussions, multi-sited ethnography in Germany and Turkey) on identity negotiation processes in multigenerational families in the context of transnational (labour) migration Turkey-Germany, presenting and discussing them in a reflective manner. I would like to focus my attention in particular on the aspect of language or multilingualism in the research field. On the one hand, the focus will be on the researcher-subject relationship and, on the other hand, on the everyday language practices and interconnections of the subjects, which are recounted by the subjects in their memories as well as perceived by myself in the research field through participant observation. It is important here to focus on the actors of action and speech in their diverse and unequal social (power) relations and positions.

2   "…That from then on I Completely Denied the Zazaki Language"

I spoke Zazaki (…). It was also bad – I was enrolled in school for the first time, starting [for the first time] with both Turkish and German [as languages] in school – that from then on I completely denied the Zazaki language. So, I was ashamed at the same time that I spoke it [at all]. That it should completely, yes, disappear is what I wanted[1].

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[1] Gül GÜN, biographical narrative interview, 11.06.2003, p. 19: 982–985 (translation from Turkish, d.A.)

Gül, the daughter of the generation of children of the GÜN family, talks here in the interview about her time at school at the age of seven in Neustadt, shortly after she was brought to Germany by her father Hasan GÜN with her mother Gülsabah GÜN and her younger sister Nur through family reunification in 1972. At the time of the interview, she was 37 years old, divorced and the single mother of two children from a marriage with a man who also had a family history of 'guest worker' migration, but unlike her, he came from a family from Greece. Unlike her youngest brother Yılmaz, who was born in Neustadt, Gül herself was born in the village of Toprak, the village of origin of her father Hasan, in the eastern Anatolian Dersim region of Turkey, as were her other three siblings Arif, Damla and Nur. On the one hand, this village was characterised by the fact that it was inhabited exclusively by families belonging to the minority and marginalised Alevi religious community in Turkey. On the other hand, before the successive family 'guest worker' migration to Germany, the language spoken in their village-family environment was predominantly not the socially dominant official and national language (Turkish), a Turkic language from the Turkic-speaking branch of the Altai languages, but the minority language Zazaki, which at that time had not yet been written down and was not officially recognized and was forbidden, belonging to the Iranian branch of the Indo-Germanic languages (see Selcan, 1998; Keskin, 2010). Therefore, when Gül first left her family village of origin, Toprak, upon her arrival and simultaneous enrolment in school in Neustadt, she was, like her mother Gülsabah, exclusively monolingually socialised in Zazaki. If she had been enrolled in school in her village Toprak in Turkey, she would then have been socialised there in her second language Turkish, just like her eldest brother Arif and her older sister Damla as the children or siblings left in Turkey at that time and later brought to Neustadt.

Paradoxically, Gül – unlike her two older siblings who were enrolled in school in the village – as the third child in the family had to experience foreignness and being an outsider in two ways when she started school in Neustadt, separated from the monolingual German-speaking regular classes in an 'integration class', also pejoratively known as a 'Turkish class'. For while on the one hand she was taught in German by exclusively majority-German teachers, she was at the same time classified in a separate parallel class, surrounded by children like herself exclusively from guest worker families from Turkey, who were read as Turkish and thus Turkish-speaking. The fact that there could also be non-Turkish native speakers like Gül among them was not seen or was even ignored.

This phenomenon of ignoring linguistic-cultural "super-diversity"[2] (see Vertovec, 2012; cf. Gogolin, 2010, pp. 531) is to be understood against the background of a self-image of nation-statehood as an ethnic and cultural nation,[3] which is presented as ethnocultural and thus also linguistically homogeneous, and which is consequently also reflected in the wearing of an "ethnic lense" (Glick-Schiller, 2014, p. 153) of the "dominant-cultural" (Rommelspacher, 1995) institution school and its teaching staff with a "monocultural habitus" (Gogolin, 2008 [1994]). In other words, this means in critical reflection: This naturalizing and standardizing self-understanding of an imagined ethno-culturally homogeneous "we-nation" finds its linguistic manifestation and representation in the practice of monolingualism and thus in the ethno-culturalizing self-understanding of being a homogeneous language nation; in the case of Germany in the dominance and privileging of the language German and in the Turkish context in the language Turkish vis-à-vis the languages of other minority social groups.

3   The Ambivalent Third Positionality of the Double-Outsider or Out-Outsider

While Gül's monolingual Zazaki mother tongue was ignored by the German state institution of school and its majority-German teaching staff, she also experienced *Othering*[4] from this side through being ascribed and marked as a 'Turk' by others.

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[2] The term *super-diversity* was introduced into migration research by the social anthropologist Steven Vertovec. It refers to recent phenomena, types and processes of (transnational) migration, which appear through diverse, differentiated and complex forms of origins, affiliations, localisations, life plans, social and legal situations (cf. Vertovec, 2012). Taking up the concept of super-diversity, the educationalist Ingrid Gogolin speaks of "linguistic super-diversity", i.e. a "multilingualism in the sense of the coexistence of one or more main language(s) of communication and many other languages of communication of smaller communities in a society". Although linguistic super-diversity, according to Gogolin, is a factual reality in most parts of the world, especially in urban contexts of migration societies, this has so far remained unnoticed in pedagogical and scientific practice due to a dominantly prevailing "monolingual self-understanding" in national-societal contexts such as Germany (cf. Gogolin, 2010, pp. 531).

[3] Thus, until the reform of citizenship law in 2000, the blood law *ius sanguinis* of 1913 from the German Reich applied in (West) Germany. It legally regulated nation-state affiliation biologically via the principle of birth or descent.

[4] The term "*Othering*" stands for the process of constructing a difference between us and them, in the course of which one's own is described as normal in juxtaposition with the other and is upgraded. Diametrically to this, a negative and devaluing image of the Other is created through stigmatisation, with the consequence of exclusion and demarcation, in other words, of *alteration*. The concept of *Othering* originated in the context of Postcolonial theory and was primarily shaped by authors such as Edward Said and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.

In addition, she had a second Othering experience there, now in the dominantly Turkish-speaking class, a social construct of parallel homogenisation, difference and separation of the actually diverse student body. Here, paradoxically, she is now 'outed' as a supposed 'non-Turk' by her 'Turkish' classmates because of her Turkish 'speechlessness', and as such is ultimately changed and marginalised. Thus, in the doubly foreign and unprotected space of school, Gül experiences multiple discrimination with the double Othering, which in the social sciences is also referred to as intersectional discrimination or intersectionality. What is significant for her intersectional experience of Othering and discrimination here, however, is that in the construction scheme of national-ethnic-cultural-linguistic we-you, own-foreign or insider-outsider difference – in this case German versus Turkish – she is marked as 'foreign' both by the German majority society and within the dominant 'Turkish' diaspora community, whose members are themselves marginalised as 'foreigners' in the German majority society, and hence she experiences exclusion. She is thus 'foreign' even among those marked as 'foreign'. As a consequence, an ambivalent third social position beyond the binary pattern of difference and power inequality of the insider-outsider positionality emerges from the double Othering, which, exemplified by Gül's case presentation, I call the social *positionality of the double outsider or out-outsider.* In relation to the concrete case situation experienced by Gül at school and described above, she is attributed this changing *ambivalent third positionality* through her supposed or actual other (mother) language, Turkish or non-Turkish. Language thus functions here as a category for the construction of difference, i.e. of insider-outsider attributions and affiliations, usually with the consequence of privileging inclusion on the one hand and depriviledging exclusion through Othering on the other. In the case of Gül, however, there is a double Othering outside the usual pattern of difference and thus also an intersectional discrimination. At this point, it is important to focus on Gül's action strategy as a reaction to the social double Othering experienced in the school environment.

4   Assimilation, Mimicry and Passing as Reactive Strategies Against Othering

In order to overcome her precarious situation of double Othering or double-Outsider-Foreign positioning due to her norm-deviating other-language and subsequently occurring *double 'speechlessness'* (in the national languages German and Turkish), accompanied by the feeling of "shame", we learn from the above interview passage, she chooses the strategy of "denial" or repression. Subsequently, as she further narrates in her biographical narrative interview, she will initially prioritize German as the language with the highest status and "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1983) in the social and cultural construction of dichotomization and hierarchiza-

tion of languages in this phase of life. She will successfully ascend to the German-speaking mainstream class with her strategy of adaptation and assimilation to the dominant-cultural conditions and then even go so far as to adopt a majority-German girl's name, at least at school, with the identity practice of mimicry.[5] However, in her reflective flashback in the above interview excerpt, she describes regretting her attitude of "denying" her Zazaki mother tongue at that time as "bad". The Turkish language, which asserted itself over time in the parental-family-origin-related environment alongside German as the main everyday intergenerational language of communication, especially with Gül's parents as the pioneering generation of labour migration, she appropriated over time in everyday language practice. Her Zazaki language, on the other hand, she lost in parallel, except for a rudimentary part, reduced to a code-mixing and code-switching[6] -everyday communication between Zazaki and Turkish in the family environment with the older generation, especially with her mother.

5   "(My) Languages Know No Boundaries"

At this point I can come out of the closet, because I also come from a linguistically similar family environment as Gül. The difference is that, unlike Gül's language socialization, I passively heard the Zazaki language in the diaspora in Germany in a family environment that was rather dominantly Turkish-speaking and, encouraged again by my ethnographic field research in the context of my doctorate, I am trying to acquire Zazaki largely autodidactically, not as a language that I have lost but as a language that was not actively taught in the family. My limited level of the Zazaki language is more similar to the current everyday Zazaki of Gül, her younger

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[5] The term *mimicry* was originally used in biology for imitative or environmentally adaptive behavioural practices of living beings with the function of camouflage, deterrence and attraction as a survival and protection strategy. Applied to humans, this is generally understood to mean the adaptation of humans to their social environment. Here, with reference to Gül's concrete practice of appropriating names, I use mimicry in accordance with the cultural anthropologist and theorist of postcolonialism Homi Bhabha as an appropriating strategy of partial adaptation or appropriation of the Other (here the name) in a dominant position. Here, Bhabha speaks of the "ambivalence of mimicry", as appropriation is only "almost the same, but not quite" identical to the appropriated (cf. Bhabha, 2011, pp. 125). In Gül's case, she nevertheless remains officially and outside her school class the one called *Gül* and thus the Other.

[6] *Code-mixing* here means the creative mixing of parts of words and sentences from two or more languages, while *code-switching* means the intermittent change from one language to another in the middle of the speech act.

sister Nur, who socialized with her in Neustadt, and her youngest brother Yılmaz, who was born in Neustadt. In contrast, my Zazaki language socialization would correspond more to that of the members of the grandchild generation of the GÜN family. In order to give an exemplary impression of their language socialization and intergenerational everyday language life, I would like to continue as a kind of digression with the following excerpt from my autobiographical essay "I speak X-linguistic", in which I literarize my multilingual socialization in the diaspora with a focus on the family Zazaki language.

> We don't just speak Turkish and German at home. My real mother tongue is Zaza – an Indo-European language that originated in the east-central Anatolian region and is spoken by a minority. Admittedly, my knowledge of this language leaves a lot to be desired – especially when it comes to speaking – but I am strongly influenced by the emotional-melodious sound of this language. I have internalized it, especially since it is associated with many childhood memories.
>
> My grandmother Hayal, whom I liked very much and to whom I felt very close, spoke almost exclusively in Zaza. If, for once, she dipped into the waters of Turkish, she would immediately slip into a highly creative gibberish duet of Zaza and Turkish. In these moments we children could hardly contain our laughter until our tears ran freely and rolled down from our eyes. Not to be outdone in her self-irony, she joined us after the first anger had fizzled out and laughed with us.
>
> Despite the bilingual 'speechlessness' between me and my grandmother, who is here only as an example for the grandparent generation of my family, we could still understand each other quite well. She spoke in Zaza, I answered in Turkish and vice versa.
>
> The language of my parents or parents' generation was fascinating, because it resembled my own or my generation's language in its diversity. They always spoke to my grandmother in her mother tongue, Zaza. Among themselves Zaza or Turkish or the code-switching of both. With us, the children, they only spoke Turkish. Unfortunately, we were not taught Zaza, because our parents were considerably intimidated by the state's ideological policy of Turkification and assimilation of minorities, and this was always accompanied by fear. Consequently, this policy was also reflected in our language education by our parents.
>
> I would have liked to learn the Zaza language properly. It would have been an enrichment for me in any case. I still feel an unquenched thirst for it. When my grandmother was still alive, it was always a pleasure for me to listen to how the elderly sailed back and forth between the languages. I only understood a part of what was said, but I felt I belonged and was comfortable in this lush world of languages. Unfortunately, little is left of these times. The reasons are obvious: the traditional extended family structures have collapsed, the generation of grandparents is no longer alive, and migration to Germany has contributed to a fundamental linguistic and cultural change. (Can, 1998, pp. 249)

6   Linguality-Gender-Linguism: Feminized Monolinguality – Masculinized Multilinguality in Transgenerational Change

Gülsabah, Gül's mother, now has ten grandchildren, all born in Neustadt. Gülsabah, when she joined her husband Hasan in Neustadt in the early 1970s, together with her young children Gül and Nur and pregnant with Yılmaz, spoke only Zazaki, just like Gül herself or my grandma Hayal. After all these years in diasporic and transnational migration, as an illiterate migrant, she has acquired a Turkish for family and everyday language use that is a creative code-mixing and code-switching of Zazaki and Turkish. She has since largely unlearned the 'working German' that she was able to passively acquire, especially during her jobs as a room attendant and kitchen help, until her retirement. However, it is remarkable how she and the family members in a transcultural-transnational patchwork family constellation succeed in communicating transgenerationally in many languages and voices in a constructive-performative way. What is meant by this is that in the multigenerational family environment the languages Turkish, German, Zazaki, Kurdish and Greek are spoken, as well as in various variations of their code-mixing and code-switching. An impression of this transgenerational multilingualism in the GÜN family is conveyed by Gülsabah GÜN's husband Hasan GÜN in the following interview passage:

> Hasan GÜN: I speak with your aunt [his wife] as it comes (.), both Turkish and (.) [Zazaki]. When it is necessary, she speaks Turkish (.). When we speak in the other language, German, for example, the children speak German. E.g. my grandchildren don't know Zazaki, they don't know Turkish very well either. We are forced to speak German with them. We understand as much as we can, what we don't understand we speak Turkish with them.
>   Halil Can: But your children also speak Zazaki, don't they?
>   Hasan GÜN: Well, Arif can do it, Damla can do it, but Gül and Nur can understand it, but they can't speak it.[7]

If we look at Gülsabah GÜN's (family-)biographical language socialization with original Zazaki monolingualism in critical retrospective and reflection, two sides of the same coin appear. First of all, it becomes apparent that in the traditional village-family context, Zazaki-language monolinguality was gendered, i.e. feminized. This was due to social and socio-cultural structures that disadvantaged women and restricted their mobility outside the extended family and village social and

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[7] Interview with Hasan GÜN, 14.03.03/lines 1353–1373.

community environment. Male members of the family and social community, such as her husband Hasan GÜN, on the other hand, had a much wider mobility radius, due to which contact with other languages and thus the development of multilingualism as a knowledge or cultural capital became possible. Thus, male members of this generation were more privileged to attend school locally and to leave the village environment (even alone), e.g. for the purpose of business (buying-selling), work, education or military service, first at home and later abroad. Thus it was possible for Hasan GÜN not only to learn the Turkish language at school and to develop it further during his 2 years of military service. At the same time, like his fathers' and grandfathers' generation before him, he learned Kurdish, the regionally dominant but unofficial language in the surroundings of his village. Furthermore, he was chosen by the Alevi village Hodja at a young age and trained as the Alevi Hodja of the next generation, so that he could accompany religious-cultural rites and ceremonies by reciting from the Arabic-language Koran in the local Alevi community and even at the beginning of his labour migration in Germany. Through his work migration, German was added to his language repertoire, which he learned in oral practice during his work, so that it was sufficient for everyday use.

From the individual perspective of Gülsabah GÜN, it thus becomes clear in retrospect: Conditioned first of all against the background of linguicism, i.e. in this case the ignoring, deprivation and discrimination of Zazaki in the public sphere, Zazaki-lingual monolingualism proves to be a biographical disadvantage in terms of access to relevant resources and capital. This applies in particular to women and thus constitutes gender-specific social discrimination, since they are spatially and socially restricted in their mobility and communication and are consequently in potential dependency relationships with others (family members) when they leave the family social space, e.g. when visiting the doctor or going to the authorities. In this context, experiences of exclusion, discrimination and dependency not only apply to the context of origin, Turkey, but are also reinforced in continuity among Zazaki-lingual monolingual women in the diaspora (in Germany).

On the other hand, it is at the same time something positive that the (feminine) monolingual preservation of the Zazaki language in the person of Gülsabah GÜN has contributed significantly to the fact that it has been able to remain present and conscious as a social and cultural resource in her diasporic multi-generational family despite all the breaks and losses, and thus to be transmitted at least partially transgenerationally. What the grandchildren will do with the rudimentary and fragmentary and thus precarious linguistic heritage is difficult to assess and predict at the moment. Writing of the Zazaki language, which has begun in the diaspora, and the emergence of the first private and school language learning opportunities, such

as multimedia digital interactive dissemination via the Internet, could, viewed positively, lead to an awareness and partial revival of the language among the younger generation.[8]

If, on the other hand, one looks generally at linguality in the subsequent generations, it can be observed, exemplified by the two multi-generational families studied for this research, i.e. the GÜN family presented here as well as the other, second family CEM, that gender inequalities were increasingly broken down through education and literacy as well as the expansion of the radius of mobility as a result of rural-urban and transnational labour migration, which were closely linked to social modernisation, industrialisation and globalisation processes. Thus, as an indication of gender emancipation and equality processes, the expansion of resources and competences of female family members from monolingualism to multilingualism can also be pointed out, and this in successive generations. Thus, the family language repertoire is expanded, especially in the grandchild generation, through foreign language teaching at school with the European languages English, French and Spanish. At the same time, however, this process of cross-gender multilingualization in multigenerational families is accompanied by its progressive erosion due to the still low to non-existent appreciation, recognition and institutionalization of the Zazaki mother tongue or family language of origin in the transnational context, and thus the danger that it will be extinct after two generations. Unless it is saved for the younger generation through active and inclusive individual and collective measures on the part of civil society and the state.[9]

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[8] The renowned linguist David Crystal also points to the importance of strengthening, disseminating and preserving the world's endangered languages in particular through the steady global expansion of the Internet as a communication technology and the associated increasing multilingualization of global communication in digital virtual space: "The Internet offers a home to all languages – as soon as their communities have an electricity supply and a functioning computer technology". (Crystal, 2011, p. 78) However, he then goes on to say: "The Internet will one day represent the distribution of language presence in the world but it is currently a long way from that ideal. For a multilingual Internet to grow, there has to be policy agreement and technological implementation, and such things take time to put in place." (Crystal, 2011, p. 82).

[9] The threat of extinction of the Zazaki language was already pointed out by UNESCO in its 2010 report on the endangered languages of the world: *"One North-Western Iranian language, Zazaki, is spoken exclusively in Turkey, and despite having a high number of speakers, it must be regarded as vulnerable at the minimum."* (Mosely, 2010, p. 42).

7 The Speaking Field: The Reciprocal-Resonant Researcher-Field-Relation

At the beginning of my family fieldwork, it was Gülsabah GÜN who, with her Zazaki-Turkish code-mixing and code-switching, opened up and expanded my linguistic research horizon, which was conceived as multilingual but was rather set on a bilingual German and Turkish one, in a surprising and incisive way. For in the conception and framing of my doctoral project on family labour migration from Turkey to Germany, despite the expected potential multilingualism in the families, I quite naturally assumed that the Turkish and/or German language skills of all potential family members were a necessary and sufficient basic linguistic resource for the communication processes in the field. At the beginning of my research, I was not aware that another language, such as in this case my mother tongue Zazaki, which at the time was only rudimentary in my case and rather passively limited to everyday family language, would be of such weighty importance within my field research process, not only linguistically but also in terms of content as a research-relevant topic. Although I had deliberately not committed myself conceptually to an open and process-oriented field research in my search for test person families, I was not prepared for another language to be relevant in the interactive communication beyond Turkish and German in the field and English in the academic-theoretical context, until I was taught otherwise in and through the field.

What I actually thought I knew and understood through my ethnological doctoral studies, namely that I am in a reciprocal relationship with the field, that is, that the field speaks to and with me in intercommunicative resonance, I was basically only able to really realize for myself when, after many years of searching for test families, I finally found them, but was surprised to discover that both of them corresponded to that of my parental family in the context of their family background, in particular linguistic-cultural and religious community. The quintessence of this is that the interpersonal contacts and relationships that arise and crystallize in the research process are thus not purely accidental, but are shaped and structured in a powerfully socially and culturally shaped space by different power positions, attributions and affiliations, for example in the intersectional context of the categories of gender, class, nation, ethnicity, skin color, culture, language, religion, name, worldview, sexual orientation. As a consequence, individual-personal feelings and attitudes of closeness and distance, affection and aversion, trust and alienation between the researcher and the potential communicators in the field are social-culturally (pre-)formed and thus constructed.

8   "Nerelisin?" - "Where are You from?"

Thus, in my ethnographic search for respondent families in the field, as a researcher I had two fundamental experiences of attribution and, as a consequence of social opening or closing, which were initiated in my encounters right at the beginning of the conversations, usually with the key question "Nerelisin?", in English "Where are you from?". If I was identified – especially by the male elder of a (multi-generational) family – as familiar, i.e. as belonging to 'one's own' collective group, then I experienced an opening and ideally, as in the case of the two future Zazaki-speaking and Alevi respondent families GÜN and CEM from the Dersim region, an inclusion in their family space.

In the other case of contact, when I was identified as an Other, i.e. as not belonging to the 'own' collective group, after the same question "Nerelisin", the conversation was continued in a friendly manner, but apart from an invitation, there was never the opening and inclusion in the family space that had actually been hoped for. In the following, I would like to illustrate the foreign identification or attribution as Other experienced in such contexts within the diasporic community of Turkish origin using the example of an encounter in a state Sunni DİTİB[10] mosque in Neustadt.

> As I enter the very spacious mosque café – it is an ordinary men's café with TV and tea bar with the exception that it is very bright, not smoky and very neat I go straight to the bar and ask for someone who is responsible for the Mosque. He directs me to a table where an older man sits alone and talks with some others sitting at other tables, watching a football match on the Turkish Satellite TV. I introduce myself briefly to the man and tell him my request. He politely asks me to sit down and immediately orders me some black tea. One of his questions is, "Nerelisin?" "Where are you from?" I tell him the name of the eastern Anatolian provincial town where my parents come from and where I was born. To my reply, he says that the mosque is open to all.[11]

In the context of Turkey as well as in the diaspora, the key question "Nerelisin?", which refers to the geographical area of Turkey, usually has the function of the ethno-religious identification of the unknown 'fellow countryman' via his original geographical regional-local localization. The purpose of this complementary localization is the intention of a clarifying comparison and thus the self-assurance as to

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[10] DİTİB (Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği), in English Turkish-Islamic Union of the Institute for Religion, is a nationwide umbrella organization based in Cologne and is the offshoot organization of the Sunni religious authority DİYANET of the Turkish state in Germany.

[11] Memory protocol of 11.10.2002: Field research in the DİTİB mosque in Neustadt.

whether or not the interviewee belongs to one's own ethno-linguistic-religious collective group. It is a practice of attributing belonging and thus constructing difference, which makes use of a discursive knowledge of stereotypical images and templates about the ethno-religious own and other, which finds its correlation in geographical locality or mapping. In this context, the identification of my geographic-local origin 'revealed' my ethno-religious affiliation, namely, that to all appearances I should be an Alevi and/or Kurd from Eastern Anatolia. In this context, the answer "The mosque is open to everyone!" of the mosque visitor explicitly expresses a friendly invitation and attitude of tolerance, but at the same time implicitly resonates the message that I was identified as Other, i.e. non-Sunni Muslim, in this case as 'Alevi', very probably also as 'Kurd'. Thus, behind the tolerant invitation to the mosque, there is actually a shift (Othering) that is meant to be friendly, but has a paternalistic effect and scales me socially. After all, here I am read and unspokenly marked on the one hand as one's own, i.e. coming from Turkey, and on the other hand at the same time as Other, in other words as one's *own Other*. This ambivalent and paradoxical practice of socially attributing and positioning oneself as belonging and not belonging, or as insider and outsider, will be referred to here as *integrating* Othering.

This *integrating* Othering that I experienced in the diasporic community context in the research field thus differs from the one that Gül experienced from her classmates within her 'Turkish class' in that she is identified and marked as 'foreign' in the group right at the beginning because of her Turkish-speaking 'speechlessness' and consequently experiences complete exclusion. In this case, there is an *exclusionary* Othering, since at least at the beginning of the encounter and group formation, there is no significant and visible identity feature for her integration into the we-group of students who are apparently or are labelled as 'Turkish', for example, through her actually plausible origin from a 'guest worker' family from Turkey.

9   The Ethno-Linguistic Othering of Social Groups and Their Relational Dilemma as Outsiders

I would like to present another intersectionally constructed Othering via the social difference categories of language/ethnicity and faith/religiosity, but this time with a view to the ethno-linguistic and religious inequality positions in the social context of Turkey, using the example of a specific experience of Gülsabah GÜN described in the interview.

During the biographical narrative interview with Gülsabah GÜN, which was also attended by her son Arif, who works as a qualified interpreter and translator in

the languages Turkish-German-Zazaki-Kurdish, she also told me about her life in the village of Toprak in Turkey in Zazaki-Turkish code-switching and code-mixing, where I had visited the GÜN family at their invitation even before our interview as part of my multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995). Among other things, she spoke about her affiliation to the Alevi religious community and the associated experiences of Othering, which she expressed as follows:

> They [the Sunnis] say they [the Alevis] have neither a religion nor a faith. They know no religion, no faith. They do not know the Elhamdülillah [Arabic: God be thanked or praise be to God]. They do not know Allah. They [the Sunnis] say Allah beware, Allah beware, they [the Alevis] don't know mother or father [live incestuously]. They say such things.[12]
>
> They [the Alevis] do not wash their hands, the sheep slaughtered by them is not helal [slaughtered according to Islamic rules, ritually pure], their meat is not helal, they do not say allahuekber [Allah is great], what do I know, what do I know. They do not eat it, from the sheep slaughtered in our house, from the sheep they do not eat the meat.[13]

It is striking here that Gülsabah GÜN explicitly does not name the groups of people about whom she speaks in opposing positions, the one as speaker and the other as addressee, but only refers to them in the plural form as "they". These become, if one exclusively consults these text passages, only identifiable through a discursive contextualization and interpretation of the content of the statement. Namely: On the one hand, the speakers as members of the religious Sunni majority and dominant society and thus those who represent the socio-religious norm in Turkey. On the other hand, her addressees as members of the socially marginalized and deprived religious community of Alevis and, accordingly, the deviants from this set religious norm. Gülsabah GÜN's anonymization of the two thematized, opposing social groups seems as if she were speaking to me quietly behind her hand in the interview, so that we would not be heard and caught. Her covert speaking, not explicitly and openly naming the speakers and addressees, gives an idea of how delicate, embarrassing and oppressive the attributions and accusations of others are for her.

What is surprising at this point, however, is that with regard to the speakers, as might initially be assumed, Gülsabah GÜN does not mean members of the ethnically Turkish and religiously (Hanefitic) Sunni majority society. As she reveals in the further course of her interview, the speakers are instead also members of the

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[12] Interview with Gülsabah GÜN, 02.05.2003/lines 360–363 (translation from Zazaki and Turkish, the author).

[13] Ibid: 02.05.2003/lines 308–310 (translation from Zazaki and Turkish, the author).

religious (Shafite) Sunni majority society, but ethnically and linguistically of the largest minority group in Turkey, the Kurds.

The real surprise here, however, is that in her narration of the experience she refers to the visit of a Kurdish-speaking and religiously Shafite-Sunni family from her neighbouring village, with whom they, as a Zazaki-speaking, Alevi family – which was unusual and not self-evident in this constellation – stand in *kirve*[14] elective kinship, i.e. her husband Hasan GÜN is the circumcision godfather of the son of his friend Şivan from this Sunni-Kurdish family. Despite the close friendship between the two family fathers Hasan and Şivan and the *kirve* kinship*,* Gülsabah GÜN complains about the above-described stereotypes towards Alevis, which she says come especially from the visiting women from Şivan's family. This manifests itself, as she continues, in the fact that her *kirves* practice a strict separation of the sexes, but the female guests also strictly avoid any physical contact within the women's group, such as greeting rituals, as well as eating with the Alevi hosts, because of the stereotype that they and their food are 'unclean'.

Here, in contrast to the other examples presented above, there is an Othering between two social groups that have the ethnolinguistic commonality of being social outsiders in relation to the dominant Turkish society. The Kurdish-speaking family, however, finds itself in a socially dominant and privileged position of power in its Sunni religious positionality in relation to the Alevi GÜN family. While in the social power context the GÜN family experiences double Othering on the basis of ethno-linguistic and religious affiliation, their *kirves* are in an ambivalent social power position. That is, while on the one hand they also experience ethno-linguistic Othering, on the other hand they religiously represent the social position of power and dominance. Thus, Gülsabah GÜN's experience and thematisation of Othering on the part of her *kirve* family due to her Alevi religious affiliation makes the socially constructed social dilemma and the related tensions between the (electively related) family members explicit and transparent.

Since an inter-linguistic communication between Zazaki and Kurdish speakers, although both languages are related through the Iranian language family, is hardly possible and it can be assumed that in the village environment at the time, in contrast to the men, the Kurdish-speaking women were also monolingually socialized due to their gender-specific socially and geographically restricted and narrow

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[14] In the Turkish context, *kirve elective kinship* is a widespread practice among both Alevi and (Sunni) Muslim families of socially generating fictitious kinship or sponsorship relationships between families and lineages, which comes about in the context of the culturally and religiously traditional ritual practice of (foreskin) circumcision (*sünnet*) of sons as a rite of initiation.

radius of movement such as Gülsabah GÜN and therefore, despite the *kirve* relationship, interfamilial communication between the women, but also due to the social gender divisions between the men and women, was not or hardly possible.

However, using the example of the GÜN family, it was possible to show that in the course of modernisation and globalisation and the accompanying (trans)national migration and urbanisation processes, a cross-gender and cross-generational multilingualisation, super-diversification and transculturalisation has taken place among individuals, in families and in societies. At the same time, these transformations are contested and accompanied by controversial discourses on identity politics, such as inclusive demands like the right to mother tongue or religion.

10 Summary and Outlook: Power-Critical Inclusive Research

Monolingualism is an invention of modernity, and it went hand in hand with the imagination and construction of homogeneous nations and nation states in the European region. Multilingualism, on the other hand, is not a recent phenomenon of our postmodern globalized time, but is an essential part of human communication and sociality. This social and communicative fact was aptly expressed by the linguist Mario Wandruszka in the following words:

> For man there is neither a perfect mastery of his language nor a completely homogeneous linguistic community. There is never and nowhere a perfect, homogeneous monosystem, always and everywhere only imperfect heterogeneous polysystems. Man's relation to his language is not that of perfect monolingualism but, on the contrary, of imperfect multilingualism and multilingual imperfection. (Wandruszka, 1979, p. 313, quoted from Hinnenkamp, 2010)

In the sense of this non-essentialist, heterogeneous and dynamic understanding of human linguality, the linguist Michael Bakhtin uses the term heteroglossia (Gr. *héteros* = 'strange, different, various' and *glōssa* = 'tongue'). It stands not only for multilingualism as a multiplicity of individual languages, but also for polyphony and variety of speech, and refers to diversity and the multiplicity of variations in human linguisticity (cf. Busch, 2013, pp. 10).

However, this research shows, as exemplified above by the example of the GÜN family, that (multi-)lingual ability as a resource or capital in the context of various social categories and their intersections, such as gender, class, ethnicity, education, mobility is different and unequally pronounced. In general, it can be stated: Multilingualism increases with increasing geographical, social, cultural and educational mobility.

However, despite the social reality of linguistic super-diversity and heteroglossia, the legacy and dominance of essentialist and homogenous concepts of culture and nation-state continue to determine the social positions, relations and relationships of individuals in everyday, institutional, structural and (trans-)national social contexts and spaces. On the basis of this dominant monolingual paradigm, unequal outsider and insider power positions and thus asymmetrical binary differences and hierarchies are constructed with the consequence of inclusion and exclusion and intersectional discrimination. Linguistic assimilation and linguicism as extreme manifestations of monolingual practices and politics and the danger of extinction of dominated, discriminated and suppressed languages as cultural knowledge archives and world cultural heritage of mankind was exemplified in this paper using the example of the Zazaki language and the GÜN family.

In the context of ethnographic research, especially in areas of transgenerational, transnational and transcultural (family) migration, multilingualism is a normality and a matter of course. For ethnographic field researchers, multilingual competence in connection with social, communicative and transcultural competence proves to be an indispensable necessity and the social-ethnic-linguistic-cultural-religious proximity to the subjects and/or their social environment, especially in the phase of first contact and the trust-building process, an advantage. If one understands the ethnographic field as a microcosm and thus a miniature of the social macrocosm, transgenerationally and transnationally interwoven family and migration spaces form an ideal framework for ethnographic research. However, the social hurdles and challenges of access to these spaces are particularly great. For the social practices of attribution and constructions of difference and the possible tensions and conflicts that arise in this context are also apparent in this microfield and require corresponding resources, knowledge and experience when dealing with them. At the same time, however, the ethnographic field as a research space also manifests itself as an interactive learning and reflection space for all actors in the field research process, especially for the respondent families and myself as the researcher. Thus, during the final family group discussion, Gül GÜN expressed in her reflection and quintessence of her participation in my ethnographic family research project, among other things, the following experience, which she experienced as positive and enriching in her intergenerational family relationship:

> Thanks to these conversations, I was able to find my way to my father.[15]

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[15] GÜN family, family discussion, April 30, 2006, p. 14, line 696 (translation from Turkish, the author).

Ethnographic work is an oscillating, reciprocal process between fieldwork and writing, in which experiences are constantly reflected upon and translated. The medium of language(s) forms the key to the subjects (families) and their lifeworld, as well as to the entire research process.

Against this background, one of the most formative moments for me as a researcher, but also as an individual, is that I was inspired by my research work and once again strengthened in my existing motivation to learn my Zazaki mother tongue from scratch and to acquire it consciously, not only as a requirement for my research work, but also because of personal references and convictions.

As an outlook and perspective for the practice of ethnographic research, especially in cross-border migration and family contexts, the methodological approach of a multilingual and triangulated as well as power-critically reflected multi-sited ethnography shows itself to be fundamental and indispensable. Participatory and collaborative research approaches, which also develop a view for a power-critical, actor- and resource-oriented and inclusive-holistic research practice in relation to the researched persons, would be both groundbreaking and liberating.

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The Triple Subjectivity

Anna Christina Nowak and Claudia Hornberg

Abstract

Through the use of interpreters, qualitative research is confronted with a triple subjectivity, which makes methodological adjustments in data collection and evaluation necessary. Squires (2009, p. 3) determines four criteria for interpreter use in qualitative research: "conceptual equivalence", "translator and interpreter credentials", "role of the translator or interpreter during the research process" and "considerations for different qualitative approaches".These criteria are used to reflect on a qualitative interview study with refugees on the experience of health and illness in the foreign living environment. The authors work out examples of successful and challenging interpreting situations and present them on the basis of individual interview passages. Finally, recommendations for the use of interpreters are derived from these examples.

1 Introduction

Interview research in foreign languages poses special challenges for both the interviewer and the interviewee. So far, however, the use of interpreters in qualitative social research has not been the main focus of previous studies.

Understanding living environments and everyday life as a reconstructive process of qualitative social research is only possible through an adequate process of

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understanding. This requires, among other things, taking into account the (cultural) contexts of all actors involved, which can shape the meaning of actions and statements in an interview situation in different ways (cf. Kruse et al., 2012). According to von Kardorff (1995, p. 4), a central goal of qualitative social research is the *"interpretative and meaningful access to the social reality that is interactively 'produced' and represented in linguistic and non-linguistic symbols"*.

Therefore, when using language mediators in qualitative interview research, it is especially important to understand the (cultural) context that constitutes the meaning of an action or utterance (Kruse et al., 2012, p. 10).

The term "language mediation" is used differently in the literature. In this article, language mediators are understood to be people who mediate reciprocally in conversations or discussions (cf. Gross-Dinter, 2016). Interpreting is a form of oral language mediation from the source language into a receptor language (Larson, 1997).

Language is part of culture. In the context of this paper, culture is understood in terms of a "natio-ethno-cultural belonging", which in turn creates (symbolic) belonging and foreignness by means of socially constructed and imagined lines of difference[1] (Mecheril, 2011, pp. 535). Knowledge of the "cultures"[2] of the interlocutors is of great importance (Larson, 1997). The task of a interpreter is therefore to translate the content and the meaning contexts of the "culture" of one language into the "culture" of the other language (cf. Larson, 1997).

> Language itself is not neutral; Meaning is dependent on cultural horizons, so that linguistic representations that refer across linguistic, practical, and cultural boundaries cannot neutralize the translation character first of the representation and then of the comparison of 'cultures' through the supposed constancy of meaning. (Renn, 2005, p. 203)

Language must therefore be understood in the context of the living environment (Lebenswelt), insofar as it serves to construct the meaning of (cultural) practices,

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[1] In this context, Mecheril (2011, p. 536) refers to the associated notions of "membership" as a concept of belonging, "efficacy" as a form of participation and sharing, and "connectedness" as an expression of belonging to a community. At the same time, he draws attention to the fact that hybrid and multiple affiliations are possible.

[2] A differentiated analysis of the concept of culture can be found, for example, in Reckwitz (2000). An overview of different cultural theories can be found, for example, in Moebius (2009).

utterances and actions (cf. Kruse et al., 2012). This is crucial for both the data collection and the evaluation process in the context of qualitative social research.

To date, there is little literature from the German-speaking countries that deals with the use of interpreters in qualitative social research (cf. Lauterbach 2014; Kruse et al., 2012). Methodological reflection has so far mainly taken place in English-speaking countries (cf. Squires, 2009; Temple & Edwards, 2002; Temple & Young, 2004).

Squires (2009, p. 3) formulates four criteria for dealing with translators in qualitative social research:

(a) *Conceptual equivalence*: Words are not only translated but also contextualised (see also Temple & Edwards, 2002). This means that the interpreter must both technically understand a concept and accurately translate the underlying concept. For this, he/she must be familiar with both (cultural and social) environments and know and understand the concepts underlying the research.
(b) *Translator and interpreter credentials and qualifications*: Training and experience influence the translation process. This is also linked to an understanding of the research objective and research method.
(c) *Role of the translator or interpreter during the research process*: The role is shaped by the researcher's preconceptions, the interpreter's preconceptions and the researcher's own cultural understanding.
(d) Consideration for different qualitative approaches: Phenomenological methods are not always suitable to use interpreters because exact language/meaning needs to be the considered to convey what is interpreted. Translations inhibit the data collection process, as there are always interruptions of narratives. Therefore, suitable survey and evaluation methods must be found that allow the use of interpreters.

In the entire research process, reflection on the use and significance of language mediators must not be lacking. The aim of this article is therefore to describe the concrete procedure in the qualitative interview study "Health needs of refugees and asylum seekers" on the basis of the criteria formulated by Squires (2009). To this end, the project is first briefly introduced before the procedure for using language mediators in the research process is described and reflected on using concrete examples. Finally, recommendations for action are provided.

2   About the Project: Needs and Requirements of People with a History of Flight

The dissertation project "Health needs of refugees and asylum seekers" is a sub-project in the interdisciplinary research program "FlüGe – Opportunities and Challenges of Global Refugee Migration for Health Care in Germany".[3] The main focus of the research program is to assess the state of health of refugees and asylum seekers and to present and evaluate the current ethical, health-scientific and legal perspectives on health care in this population group.

The aim of the needs analysis of refugees and asylum seekers presented here is to highlight the role of postmigration stressors for health and illness and the resulting use of the health care system. In particular, it is about the experience of health and illness in a foreign living environment. Foreignness is understood, following Schütz (1972), as a foreign pattern of culture and civilisation, which is characterised by incoherence, ambiguity and contradictions for new immigrants. In the new social situation, the foreigner can neither fall back on his/her learned pattern of civilization nor on his/her wealth of experience; the *"thinking-as-usual"* no longer works. The resulting (psychosocial) "crisis" is particularly relevant in relation to health care, since all people find themselves in a position of need in the event of illness. As the "thinking-as-usual" no longer functions, there are first consequences for health. At the same time, barriers to access health-care can arise.

In order to analyse the effects of experiences of foreignness, a mixed-methods approach was chosen. First, an interdisciplinary *quantitative cross-sectional study* was conducted with refugees from shared and supported housing in a medium-sized city in North Rhine-Westphalia. Here, n =198 adults were interviewed by interviewers in Arabic, Farsi, Kurdish-Kurmancî, English and German on, among other things, their health status, the use of health care and their current living situation. Subsequently, in-depth guided qualitative interviews on the experience of health and illness in the foreign living environment were conducted with n=18 people who had previously been interviewed in the quantitative study.

Inclusion criteria for participation in a second interview were:

- The consent to be contacted again

- Experience with the health care system in Germany or unmet care needs
- The indication of a chronic and/or mental illness.

In contrast to the cross-sectional study, the qualitative interviews were conducted with interpreters in most cases. Since this had a significant influence on the data collection and analysis process, the procedure for preparing and conducting the interviews will be reflected on below. Since language mediators played a key role in the course of this research project, special attention will be paid to their selection and training.

3 Selection and References of Interpreters

The pool of language mediators consisted of interviewers from the quantitative data collection and experienced language mediators who were recruited specifically for the follow-up interviews. The language mediators were selected on the basis of personal interviews. Criteria for the selection of the language mediators for the qualitative study were established in advance to ensure quality in the data collection process. These included:

- Experiences with translations in a foreign language context
- Native level of spoken and written Arabic, Farsi and/or Kurdish Kurmanci
- Cultural sensitivity or knowledge of the cultural context
- Participation in a preparatory 2-day training on interview techniques, special features of the trialogical interviewand the qualitative interview as well as crisis management.

Due to the experiences from the quantitative data collection, four interviewers with the language skills Farsi (2), Kurdish (1) and Kurdish and Arabic (1) could be employed. Since a large proportion of the interviewees came from Arabic-speaking countries, three new Arabic-speaking interpreters were recruited. In the selection process, only those who already had good experience in interpreting were considered. For example, one interpreter worked in a large company and the others volunteered as interpreters for refugees and asylum seekers.

Although the original aim was to recruit female interpreters (to achieve a gender-balanced ratio) only one female Kurdish interpreter could be kept on, and no further suitable female applicants could be found. Thus, the pool of interpreters consisted of two male Farsi interpreters, four male Arabic interpreters, and one female and one male Kurdish interpreter. Given that in the quantitive survey, male

participants were interviewed by female interviewers, and vice versa, and there were no problems, it was assumed that the qualitative research project would run in a similar fashion, particularly since the interpreters were trained again in gender-sensitive handling and language.

In accordance with the professional code of conduct of the *INTERPRET*[4] (*association for intercultural interpreting and mediation*) protocol, the following ethical principles were defined for the interpreting activity, which were both conveyed in the training and reflected upon in the course of the data collection in individual discussions:

- The interpreters respect the dignity and integrity of the interviewees. They see them as holistic beings and respect language, ethnicity, culture, nationality, gender, age, religion, social status, marital status, political views, skin colour, sexual orientation, disability and state of health. They are open to people who differ from them in terms of their norms and values.
- The interpreters support the communication process during the interviews. They are cultural language mediators in the sense of a transcultural approach. In this context, language mediation should above all focus on what goes beyond the cultural or transcends borders and thus connects the interlocutors in order to avoid demarcations and exclusions (Domenig, 2007, pp. 172). The interpreters thus enable communication between people of different origins across linguistic and cultural boundaries and develop culturally sensitive patterns of interpretation depending on the situation. The subjective lifeworld and the associated possible experiences of foreignness of the interview partners are always in the foreground of the translation. For both the interviewer and the language mediator, self-reflection on their own knowledge and experience is of decisive importance in order to be able to react in a culturally sensitive way (cf. Domenig, 2007).
- During the interviews interpreters are impartial. They keep the same professional distance to everyone. The interview partners are given the greatest possible space for autonomy and self-determination.
- The interpreters are bound by confidentiality both before, during and after the interview.
- The interpreters know their role in the translation process and disclose this to the interview partners. They translate the complete conversation for both sides,

[4] https://www.inter-pret.ch/admin/data/files/marginal_asset/file/300/berufskodex_2015_d.pdf?lm=1509454586.

accurately and comprehensibly. In the case of communicative misunderstandings, they point these out and contribute to clarification.

- Should a role conflict arise during an interview, the interpreter will draw attention to this and, in consultation with the interviewer[5], ends the interview if necessary.
- The same applies to serious stresses reported by the interviewees.
- The interpreters regularly exchange information with their colleagues and the interviewer in order to draw attention to possible problems in the interpreting process and to address stressful situations.

3.1   The Interpreters

In order to reflect on the qualitative results, it is of crucial importance to clarify differences, perspectives and identities that arise in the trialogical conversation in advance and to reflect on them within the framework of the research methodological procedure, as they can significantly influence the results (Temple & Edwards, 2002). Therefore, the interpreters will be introduced on the basis of their social and ethnic backgrounds as well as existing previous experiences (Table 1).

As already mentioned in the selection criteria for the interpreters, all language mediators had previous experience. These ranged from translations in everyday situations, e.g. at visits to the doctor, to semi-professional interpreting in outpatient psychiatry, to interpreting during the quantitative surveys and professional interpreting. As can be seen in the table, the interpreters had different social backgrounds and migration experiences. G., the only female interpreter, was born and raised in Germany and therefore had no migration experience of her own. The male interpreters, on the other hand, all had migration histories of their own. Four interpreters came to Germany as students, two interpreters fled their home country and started studying in Germany, one interpreter was adopted as a teenager.

All language mediators had at least a highschool diploma. Three interpreters had a Bachelor's degree, one interpreter already had a Master's degree. Six interpreters were still in university education at the time of the data collection, one interpreter was working as a freelancer.

The German language skills of all of them were classified as "very good". G. was the only interpreter with German as her mother tongue, the others had at least German language level C1, i.e. proficient language skills (according to the

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[5] The interviewer is the first author of the article.

Table 1 Brief introduction of the language mediators

Name	Age	Gender	Language	Country of origin	Experiences
G	**29**	**W**	**Kurdish**	**Germany**	**Interpreting in everyday situations for refugees and asylum seekers Quantitative survey**
HK	28	M	Kurdish, Arabic	Syria	Interpreting in everyday situations for refugees and asylum seekers Quantitative survey
A	**25**	**M**	**Arabic**	**Egypt**	**Voluntary work in medical aid for refugees, in particular interpreting activities**
S	30	M	Arabic	Palestine	Professional interpreting in a global company
Z	**21**	**M**	**Arabic**	**Syria**	**Interpreting in everyday situations for refugees and asylum seekers**
HF	54	M	Farsi	Iran	Semi-professional interpreting in psychiatry Quantitative survey
M	**27**	**M**	**Farsi**	**Iran**	**Interpreting in everyday situations for refugees and asylum seekers Quantitative survey**

European Framework of Reference[6]). The interpreters' native language skills in Arabic and Farsi were fluent, both written and spoken. For the Kurdish language, the male interpreter was only able to communicate orally, with reading and writing skills non-existent. The female Kurdish interpreter, on the other hand, was fluent in both spoken and written Kurdish.

3.2   Qualification of Interpreters

Within the framework of a two-day interviewer training course in cooperation with the Faculty of Psychology and Sports Science at Bielefeld University, the interpreters were prepared for their tasks. The focus was on the following topics:

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[6] According to the European Framework of Reference for Languages, proficiency is understood as the ability to understand demanding longer texts and their implicit meaning, to use the language spontaneously in an effective and flexible way in social and professional life, and to express facts in a clear and structured way.

- Interview techniques and basic attitudes in the interpreting process
- Specifics of the trialogical conversation
- Challenges of the qualitative interview
- Crisis intervention.

Both theoretical and practical elements were used. First, the participants developed and discussed their own criteria for a good conversation based on a video example. Then the external conditions that can influence conversations and interpreting situations were discussed.

In the following, the contents on the special situation of interpreting will be described in more detail. The contents taught will then be compared with the actual situation of interpreting.

3.2.1 Interview Techniques and Basic Attitudes in the Interpreting Process

The language mediators were made aware of the differences between descriptive and normative attitudes. Attention was drawn to an empathetic, appreciative and congruent conversational attitude in order to establish trust in the course of the conversation. In this context, attention was also drawn to the aforementioned ethical criteria of INTERPRET (n.d.). According to these criteria, it is important that the language mediators behave respectfully and tolerantly towards other norms and values and respect the dignity and integrity of the interview partners (especially with regard to a gender-sensitive approach), because although the same language was spoken in the interviews, the cultural context was not necessarily the same.

In addition, the conversational techniques of active listening and paraphrasing were taught and the special features of the interpreting situation were pointed out. Active listening means listening attentively and reacting verbally, e.g. by acknowledging, and non-verbally, e.g. by nodding or looking at the statements of the interlocutor. In interview situations this can serve to maintain the narration. To paraphrase is to repeat what has been said in one's own words. Paraphrasing can be very important in interpreting situations, as it can serve to clarify statements and to understand them more precisely. For this purpose, practical exercises were carried out from the participants' own everyday life experiences.

3.2.2 Special Features of the Trialogical Conversation

In addition to an exchange of experiences, which served to discuss possible problems in the interpreting process, the interpreters were informed about the research objective and method as well as their role in the interview, whereby their rights (e.g. to ask for small portions of speech or to ask comprehension questions) and

obligations (e.g. duty of confidentiality or dealing with role conflicts) were pointed out. Do's and don'ts in the interpreting process were worked out together (Table 2). This included that the language mediator should introduce themselves and explain the interview framework. As the focus in qualitative research is on narrative, it was important that the interviewee was always in focus and given sufficient opportunity to tell their stories. Anecdotes of the interpreter had no place in the interviews. The language mediators could ask for a more detailed description and clarify statements in order to understand better and more precisely. If they asked questions, they should always inform the interviewer about it. It was important, however, that there was no subliminal or hidden evaluation and that no evaluations were given if not already named by the interviewee. Deeper inquiries had to be avoided. For this purpose, theoretical knowledge was imparted and practical exercises were carried out.

3.2.3 Challenges in Qualitative Interviews

The interview should be a conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee. The language mediator was only supposed to translate the passages of the conversation. Therefore, a clarification of roles was necessary first. Since the aim was to create a natural conversation situation, the language mediators were only supposed to translate contexts and not interrupt narratives. At the same time, however, they could also ask questions if they had not fully understood. In addition to the topics to be addressed in the course of the interview, the challenges in the interview process were also pointed out, such as side conversations between the language mediator and the interviewee that are not reflected back to the interviewer.

3.2.4 Crisis Intervention

In order to recognise psychological crises as early as possible and to be able to act adequately, their characteristics were explained and intervention strategies for acute cases were presented. The actual crisis management should – if necessary – be carried out by the interviewer.

Table 2 Overview of the Do's and Don'ts in the interpreting process

Do's	Don'ts
Introduce yourself, clarify the framework	Ask deeper questions
Put the person in focus	Slow the person down
XYZ… character narration	Tell your own anecdotes
Validate and share	Evaluate
Ask when something was not understood correctly	

3.3   Conceptual Equivalence

In order to ensure the greatest possible conceptual equivalence, the language mediators were trained in the concepts on which the interview guide was based. They were informed that the interview guide would only serve as an orientation during the interviews and would be adapted according to the situation in order to create the most trusting interview situation possible and to react adequately to the statements of the interview partners. At the same time, the concepts were also discussed with the language mediators. If certain questions were formulated in an incomprehensible way, they were adapted after the training. The interview situation was practiced in a role play. An observer gave feedback on the interpreting situation.

3.4   Role of the Linguist in the Translation Process

In general, interpreting is understood as the oral translation from one language into another (Böhm et al., 2018). In this process, the literal meaning in the source language is crucial, which has to be translated semantically into the receptor language accordingly (Larson, 1997). In the translation process, following Larson (1997), the same reactions should be elicited in the source and target language (e.g., emphasizing emotional relevance) through (a) translating into the form of the receptor language, (b) conveying the meaning of the source language as much as possible, and (c) maintaining the dynamics of the source language as much as possible. The goal is an idiomatic translation, which means reproducing the actual meaning in the grammatical and lexical structures of the receptor language (Larson, 1997). In order to understand the situational context, interpreters were therefore encouraged to communicate both explicit and implicit meaning (cf. Larson, 1997).

In the context of the interviews, so-called liaison interpreting should be used (cf. Böhm et al., 2018). In this process, portioned text passages are translated into another language in sections and with a time delay. In order to create a conversation that is as natural as possible, the interpreters should only translate contexts, avoid interrupting narratives and encourage the interviewee to continue talking. In order to remember the content of the conversation, the interpreters could take notes at any time, as long as they were anonymised during the transcription and then disposed in accordance with data protection regulations. In the event of misunderstandings and incomprehensibilities, they had the opportunity to ask questions during the conversation. However, further side conversations between the interpreter and the interview partner had to be avoided. To facilitate the translation process, the

interpreters could briefly interrupt the interviewee to translate the passage. Afterwards, however, the interviewee should be asked to continue in order to maintain the narration. The control over questioning was taken over by the interviewer. For this purpose, it was important at the beginning to clarify the roles of the participants in the conversation and to point out to the interviewee that he/she should tell as much as possible.

4   Reflection on the Use of Language Mediators in Qualitative Social Research from the Perspective of the Interviewer

The interaction with language mediators during the interviews was experienced as very beneficial, since they were able to establish a relationship of trust with the interview partners very quickly due to the same linguistic and often also cultural background. In addition, both the interviewer and some of the language mediators were already familiar with the interviewees through the quantitative survey, which ensured a trusting atmosphere right from the start. As a rule, the interviews took place in the familiar surroundings of the interview partners, i.e. in apartments or rooms in shared accommodation. There was no fixed seating arrangement. The interview situation could be adapted to the circumstances. In some cases, other people were present during the interviews. These were always confidants, for example, spouses or other family members. Of course, this is not an ideal interview situation, since the interview partners can be influenced in their statements by the presence of other people. However, spouses in particular were often able to contribute further information on the experience of health care in a foreign country, as they accompanied the interviewees on visits to the doctor, for example. In this way, different perspectives – from those affected and support persons – could enrich the interviews. However, it was always important that the interviewee was at the centre of the conversations. If it was suspected during the interviews that the interviewees were too influenced by the presence of other people, the interview was continued in a six-eye conversation.

At the same time, however, some challenges arose. For a better reflection of the methodological procedure, the interviews were transcribed in German as well as in Arabic, Kurdish, Farsi or English according to a simple system of rules (Drehsing & Pehl, 2015) and the foreign language parts were translated by an independent person.

5 Examples of the Influence of the Language Mediator in the Interview

The interviews should resemble a natural conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee. The language mediator was only supposed to translate what was said in the interviews in order to maintain the narrative. This was not always successful, as some of the examples in chapters 5.1–5.5 illustrate.

5.1 Designing the Start of the Interview

Often the language mediator has already designed the introduction in the interview. A successful introduction can be found, for example, in an Arabic-language interview:

> Thank you for participating with us today. This conversation should not be like the previous conversations. We would like to listen to you and to tell a lot in details. I am here to interpret.

In some cases, the language mediators became active on their own initiative, as the following passage shows:

> She thanks you for giving us the opportunity to do this interview with you. I have explained almost everything to you. Our goal is that you speak (…).

Here it becomes clear that a conversation between the interview partner and the language mediator has already taken place beforehand without informing the interviewer. The language mediator has already explained the framework conditions for the interview. In his translation he makes no reference to what the interviewer has said. This means that the language mediator actively intervenes in what is happening. Thus, he also uses the phrase *"our goal"* to make the objective of the interview clear. This puts him on the same level as the interviewer. In the further course of the interview, however, it became apparent that the language mediator translates the interviewee's situation well into German and adheres to the role agreements as far as possible.

5.2   Empathic Basic Attitude: Opportunities and Challenges for the Course of the Conversation

From the interviewer's point of view, the use of a language mediator sometimes made it possible to respond more empathetically to the everyday challenges of the interviewee, but also problems arose, as the following example shows. A language mediator actively intervenes in what is happening in order to respond empathetically to the situation from his point of view. He explains to the interview partner:

> I advise you as a brother. You are here and your family is there. Being sad will hurt you and not help you. You'll make the problem bigger.

This results in a clear dominance of the language mediator in terms of content. Comparable situations can also be found in other interviews. The reason for such dynamics was, first, that the language mediators often found the right words, because the situations they experienced were more comprehensible to them than to the interviewer and, second, they were able to react quickly and adequately to what was said. Of course, this also carries the risk of conversation hijacking because, as in the case mentioned above, not everything was translated. At the same time, a trusting conversational atmosphere can develop between the language mediator and the interview partner, from which the interviewer is excluded. This is shown in the following passage from an interview with an Arabic-speaking woman. Here, the language mediator clearly takes on the role of the interviewer, which certainly also results from his own experience as a refugee:

> I think it's good to talk about it, though. It can make you feel more comfortable. If you don't want to talk about it, I understand.

A momentum develops in the conversation between the language mediator and the interview partner, in which the language mediator describes his own situation and offers the interview partner help for her son. This leads to the interview partner assuring the language mediator of support in return:

> B: If you need anything, you can count on me, like your mother (…).
> IP: God willing.
> B: Give me your phone number.
> IP: Yes, I will do that after we finish this interview.

The language mediators were free to pass on their contact details during the interviews. However, it was pointed out to them that they were in no way obliged to do so. In the above situation, this signalled a willingness to provide support. At the same time, however, the interviewer was excluded from some information, as became apparent after the transcription of the interview data. For example, the interview partner subsequently reported on her current family situation. This is not translated by the language mediator.

5.3   Same Language (Culture)?: Communication Problems and Linguistic Challenges

Since some of the language mediators came from different regions of origin than the interview partners, there were sometimes minor communication problems. In the following example, the situation is well resolved:

IP:	I don't know whether you understood me or not?
B:	No, I didn't get it (laughs).
IP:	You didn't understand me.
IP to I:	She didn't understand. I have to explain it again in a different way.

In case of comprehension problems, individual questions were adapted. For example, one interviewee had been hospitalized. The following dialogue developed from this:

I:	Okay, how did they treat you in the hospital?
B:	Um, how do you mean, so. What did she say (in Kurdish)?
IP in Kurdish:	How did they treat you? E.g. were they good or not good for you?
B in Kurdish:	So. They were two. Evening, they were not good, but the one that was there in the morning was good.

Here it becomes clear that the translation already contains an evaluation. Actually, the interviewer's question should be a stimulus for conversation and encourage narration. The evaluation already included shows that the interviewee is only responding to the care situation. The question has therefore only been understood to a limited extent. Since the interviewee subsequently changed the topic of conversation, no further inquiries were made.

5.4   Problems with Medical Terminology

Sometimes there were also difficulties with the translation of medical terms. The language mediators did not have a medical background. In addition, they had not been trained in this, because this would have exceeded the complexity of the training. Most of the time, however, the situations could be resolved well, as the following example shows:

B:	There are some things with my health, but I visit the doctor.
I:	what kind of things were there?
IP in Arabic:	What is it?
B:	Headache and anemia.
IP:	Oh, a headache and something with the blood. I don't know exactly – what is it. Can I ask again?
I:	Sure.
IP in Arabic:	What exactly do you mean? Anemia?
B:	Yes exactly, I have anemia.
IP:	Um, so less of blood Amimia?

5.5   On the Communication of Cultural Specificities

In some areas, the interviewer was also taught about cultural specificities. For example, one interviewee recounts:

> I: There is nothing else that cures me. But if I don't take my medication and if I don't eat what the doctor has forbidden me to eat, then I feel better, for example dairy products such as milk, cheese, yoghurt, (…) butter, meat products, pickled vegetables, onions and other Kurdish specialities, (laughs) all these things (continues laughing).

The interpreter explains:

> IP: She has just listed a lot of things she is not allowed to eat and she says it only alleviates her pain, only the medication alleviates her pain. And also what she is not allowed to eat and she mentioned dairy products, meat products – (I and IP laugh) Yes, that's right – she is not allowed to eat pickled vegetables. Then there are specialties in Kurdish – yes, I have to show you sometime – that she is not allowed to eat. These are just things that we make and eat normally, that's why.

Here it would certainly have been interesting with regard to the statement "There is nothing that cures me" – to uncover the contradiction between the felt helplessness, the eating behaviour and the medication via follow-up questions but the translation was not precise enough. The language mediator can well understand the situation of the interviewee. Eating apparently has a great (cultural) significance for both the interviewee and language mediator, as can be seen from the explanations. In addition to the challenges, the cultural knowledge that the language mediator includes in her explanation naturally also offers the opportunity to better understand the interviewees, because it can make the actions or non-actions understandable.

5.5.1 Influence of Other Participants on the Course of the Conversation

The interview situation was influenced not only by the language mediators, but also by the occasional participation of other people. It was the interviewer's concern to bring a language mediator to every interview in order to overcome possible language barriers. Even if the interview partners were proficient in German, a language mediator should still be available for follow-up questions so that even minor hurdles could be overcome. In one interview, a confidant (C) of the interview partner was also present. She asked the interviewee to conduct the interview in German.

C:	Why don't you speak in German? (LAUGHING).
B:	Just like that!
C:	I thought you were able to express everything you wanted to say in German!
B:	If there is an interpreter, then (…) that's what we do.
I:	Then HF. is unemployed.
IP:	Yes, then I am unemployed.
C:	O.K., I don't want to put you out of work, of course. (LAUGHING).

In this case, the participation of the confidant in the interview was rather a hindrance, as it increased the pressure for the interviewee to conduct the interview in German. After a short time, the confidant left the conversation and the interview was continued in Farsi. Overall, this created a relaxed atmosphere for the interview.

In other cases, however, the participation of further persons could provide profitable information for the interviews. This was particularly the case when spouses were present, as they were often indirectly affected by the partners' health problems. This can be seen, for example, in the following statement:

Husband:	We, I say, we don't know like the Germans, where there is a very good (capable) doctor, or I say, a good doctor (…). I mean, if there would be a woman who could help her (interpreter's note: wife), it would be nice for us too, good. The second thing is if, if someone could help her to go to the doctor with her and I say come here and we could talk to her, so then we would understand more about her (interpreter's note: wife), what diseases she has.

5.5.2 Conclusion

In summary, the interviews showed a predominantly good language mediation with regard to the interview guide and the research question, even if the examples presented here show minor hurdles. Through a comprehensive transcription and translation of the foreign language parts, additional information about the interview processes and statements of the interview partners could be gained. For the analysis and evaluation, therefore, mainly the translated passages of the interview partners are used and these are compared with the interpreted statements in order to be able to analyse the actual meaning of the statements. From the examples mentioned, further recommendations for the use of language mediators can be derived, which will be presented in the following chapter.

6   Recommendations for the Use of Language Mediators in Qualitative Social Research

Comprehensive training and reflection on the interpreting activity is crucial for the success of qualitative interviews. Even though the language mediators were intensively trained, it became clear afterwards that it would have been useful to reflect on one's own role and person as a language mediator during the research process. After all, the form of language mediation also depends on the individual personality of the language mediator. Questions on interpreting skills and competences, on possible (personal) challenges in language mediation and on how to deal with them would certainly have been helpful in advance in order to establish a clearer clarification of the role of the language mediator. A stronger design of the interview introduction by the interviewer could also have contributed to a better role clarification, as became clear afterwards. Since the language mediators were practiced through their own previous experience and training, they often already took over the introduction, so that they took a very active part from the beginning. As a result, they were often perceived as equal partners in the interview situation. In order to steer the interview more strongly and to avoid side conversations at a later stage, it would have been advantageous to have the interviewer design and translate the introduction step by step.

The language mediators were instructed to translate the statements of the interview partners in summary form. If necessary, a more literal or "first person" translation would have emphasized the interviewee's perspective even more. Even if the language mediators had dealt empathetically and sympathetically with the statements of the interviewees, this might have contributed additionally to the clarification of roles. In addition, follow-up questions could have been more strongly controlled by the interviewer. On the other hand, this could have impaired the narration because more frequent interruptions would have been necessary.

Due to the framework conditions of the project, the interviews had to be conducted over a period of 3 months. If there had been more time, a faster transcription and translation of the already available interviews would have helped to give (individual) feedback on the language mediation and to discuss fundamental challenges in the group. The language mediators only received feedback after the interviews. At the same time, space was created for informal conversations in order to absorb possible stressors resulting from the interview situations.

Essentially, it is important to accept the triple subjectivity of interviewer, language mediator and interview partner and to reflect on it continuously in the data collection process. The role of the language mediators must be included in the analysis and evaluation of the interviews. It is also important that, if there are ambiguities in transcription and translation, consultation with the language mediators can take place.

An overview of further recommendations for action and objectives can be found in Table 3.

Table 3 Recommendations for the use of language mediators in qualitative social research

Recommendation for action	Purpose
Greater reflection on one's own role and personal background in language mediation	Clarification of roles in advance
Making entrances stronger	Clarification of roles in the interview situation
Translation into first person, if necessary	Stronger adoption of the perspective of the interviewee(s)
Greater consideration of side conversations	Stronger management of demand
If necessary, literal translation	Stronger management of demand
Fast transcription	Feedback to language mediators about the translation process
Accepting and reflecting on the subjectivity of language mediators	Inclusion of the role of language mediators in the analysis of the interviews

7 Conclusion

Language mediators significantly influence the process of data collection, as there is a triple subjectivity due to different assumptions of the interviewer, the interpreter and the interviewee. How procedures, data interpretation and power positions are negotiated in the research process is also important (Berman & Tyyskä, 2011; Temple & Edwards, 2002).

An ethical reflection on the use of language mediators is of crucial importance, especially with regard to the power relations in the research context. Before, during and after the interviews, there is a hierarchical gradient: interpreters act as cultural mediators, analysts and "mouthpieces" for the interviewees during translation, while researchers represent the interviewees in another language during collection and analysis (Temple & Young, 2004; Wallinn & Ahlström, 2006). In the process, experiences of being different are made (Temple & Edwards, 2002):

> Language can define difference and commonality, exclude or include others; it is not a neutral medium. The same words can mean different things in different cultures and the words we choose matter. (Temple & Edwards, 2002, p. 3)

The use of culturally and linguistically competent interpreters was essential in the context of this qualitative research project. However, it must be taken into account that language-mediators influence the interaction/conversation, as shown in the given examples. Language mediators actively participate in the conversation process. They convey linguistic and cultural symbols and interpret them against their own background of experience and knowledge (Kliche et al., 2018). Language mediators therefore played a key role in the course of this research. As such, the selection and training of the interpreters was of particular importance. Overall, the content conveyed in the interviews could be implemented well. At the same time, minor challenges arose in the course of the interviews, as illustrated by individual interview excerpts.

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Potentials of Translingual Interviewing Using the Example of Educational Migration Research

Yasemin Uçan

Abstract

This article uses a qualitative study as an example to demonstrate the potential of *translingual interviewing.* The concept of *translanguaging,* which began as a pedagogical programme in the course of multilingualism didactics, is more more broadly understood as a practice of multilingual speakers in general. This is to challenge the conventional separation of languages into separate and distinct entities and instead to emphasize the dynamism and fluidity of speakers' linguistic repertoires ((Wei Appl Linugist 39:9, 2018)). Thus, if we understand translanguaging as an everyday and normal practice of multilingual speakers, interviews in qualitative migration research are also characterized by translanguaging. This article suggests creating a space for translanguaging in qualitative interviews so that multilingual interview partners can make full use of their linguistic repertoire.

1 Methodological and Technical Reflections in the Context of Qualitative Research on Forced Migration

In the context of research on forced migration, qualitative research is experiencing an upswing in the wake of the new immigration of 2015. In this context, the need for critical reflection in relation to research approaches and settings, theoretical

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and methodological assumptions, and practical objectives and side effects is pointed out (Behrensen & Westphal, 2019, p. 4). A number of papers can be identified that place multiple aspects of the research process at the centre of their reflections. These reflections include the reproduction of hegemonic power relations through the similarity of biographical interviews to the asylum process (cf. Thielen, 2009), the necessity of (trauma-)sensitive interviewing in the context of forced migration (cf. Berg et al., 2019; Motzek-Öz, 2019), as well as possibilities of including interview partners as co-researchers in the research process in order to break down the hierarchical division into researchers and researched (cf. Aden et al., 2019).

In the course of methodological reflection, the handling of multilingual interviews and their translation is another important topic. While Enzenhofer and Resch (2013, p. 203) still criticize that translation processes in the context of multilingual research projects take place intransparently and without in-depth theoretical considerations, an increasing number of works can also be found here that reflect on their multilingual projects in discussion with disciplines such as translation studies and/or postcolonial studies (cf. among others Tuzcu & Motzek, 2014; Kruse et al., 2012; Schittenhelm, 2017; Uçan, 2019).

This article aims to contribute to methodological reflection with multilingual interviews. For this purpose, the concept of translanguaging and its potentials for qualitative interview studies will be discussed using the example of migration research in educational science. Accordingly, the concept of translanguaging will first be introduced in order to explore its potentials in the context of my dissertation study.

2 Translanguaging: Pedagogical Programme and Linguistic Theory

The concept of translanguaging can be traced back to the pedagogical work of the teacher Cen Williams in Wales. The latter introduced the Welsh-language term *trawsieithu* in 1994 to describe a pedagogical programme within his teaching that systematically incorporated both Welsh and English into lessons as part of Welsh language revitalization activities (García & Lin, 2016; Wei, 2018). According to Lewis et al. (2012, p. 642), these revitalisation measures for the Welsh language were accompanied by a paradigm shift in relation to bilingual speakers: Welsh-English bilingualism, which until then had been presented as conflictual, was discussed after the 1960s in the context of potential benefits for multilingual speakers,

schools and societies. From the 1980s onwards, English and Welsh were portrayed as complementary and their joint mastery as advantageous, thus laying the foundation for the concept of translanguaging (cf. Lewis et al., 2012, p. 642).

The concept of translanguaging is increasing in use, especially in the Anglo-Saxon academic world, and is also controversial, which is why Wei (2018) points out the need to clarify the term. The use of the term translanguaging currently manifests itself on several levels. On the one hand, it refers to a *pedagogical programme* in dealing with multilingualism in the classroom, which can be understood as a break with prevailing negative associations with multilingualism and multilingual speakers; for example, with the idea of strict language segregation in the language classroom or multilingual education with the 'one person-one language' (OPOL) method (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 643).

Furthermore, it characterizes concrete linguistic practices of multilingual speakers, which are characterized by the use of different languages. Following on from this, translanguaging can be further developed into a theory of applied linguistics (Otheguy et al., 2015; Wei, 2018). Here, García and Lin (2016, pp. 10) state two competing currents that can be divided into a weaker and a stricter version. The weaker version of translanguaging continues to conceptualize languages as separate (and predominantly nation-state defined) entities, but argues for a softening of their boundaries. This is true both for language teaching and in describing the language practices of multilingual speakers. The more rigorous version of a theory of translanguaging, which García and Lin also endorse, understands multilingual speakers' speech not as a use of several separate languages, but as a context-sensitive use of an individual's entire linguistic repertoire (ibid.). Translanguaging is thus defined as "the development of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 283). According to the considerations of Otheguy et al. (2015, p. 281), from an internal perspective, the individual has only *one* overall repertoire of linguistic resources from which to draw. Only from an external perspective are these linguistic resources defined in terms of nameable languages. The authors argue that definable individual languages are not a linguistic but a socially constructed and politically enforced phenomenon. According to their definition, languages are "sets of lexical and structural features that make up an individual's repertoire and are deployed to enable communication" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 286). This puts the focus more on the internal perspective of speakers and their repertoire of expressive possibilities instead of competences along defined (national) languages.

Translanguaging is thus distinct from the concept of code-switching. The latter concept, while valuing the use of multiple languages in an utterance as a normality, continues to assume separate language systems, thus, according to García and Lin, still adopting a 'monolingual view' (García & Lin, 2016, p. 4). Translanguaging, on the other hand, always conceptualizes speakers' language use as multilingual, integrated into *one* language repertoire, rather than a double monolingualism.

Using the example of utterances in "New Chinglish", a variety of English in China, Wei (2018, p. 13) also points out that conventional linguistic analysis focusing on linguistic structures is not sufficient to understand this particular variety. Instead, he emphasizes the need to include the social and political context, the history of Chinglish, and the perspective of the speaker(s) with, among others, their language ideologies in the analyses in order to understand the complexity of translingual utterances.

However, despite the different conceptualization of the separability of languages from each other and the debate about their social construction, translanguaging in both theories characterizes the language use of speakers as dynamic and fluid. This is underpinned by a reference to neurolinguistic research, according to which several languages are active in the brain of multilingual speakers, even if only one of the languages is used (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 643).

In the German-speaking world, the concept of translanguaging is predominantly discussed as a pedagogical programme for dealing with a migration-related multilingualism in educational institutions (cf. Kirsch & Mortini, 2016; Panagiotopoulou, 2016) and further for describing practices of multilingual speakers (cf. Busch, 2013; Becker, 2018) and families (cf. Uçan, 2018).

In my opinion, the concept also offers potential for qualitative interview studies in migration research. If the language use of multilingual speakers can be characterized by practices of translanguaging, then narratives in the context of qualitative interviews are also characterized by this, even when multilingual interview partners express their narratives *seemingly* monolingually.

3   Potentials of Translanguaging in the Context of Interview Studies

My reflections on translingual interviewing refer to my qualitative dissertation study. Following Bourdieu ([1990] 2015, p. 41), interview situations between researchers and interview partners are understood as communication relations that are always also power relations and in which power asymmetries between speakers are actualized (Uçan, 2019). Therefore, (self-)reflexive handling of the multilin-

gual interview material was inevitable, which is why I developed guidelines in advance. In the following, the study and the guidelines are briefly introduced. Subsequently, it will be shown how translanguaging unfolds in the context of the study and what possibilities the concept may hold for qualitative interview studies.

3.1 Location of the Study and Quidelines in the Translation Process

My dissertation study is dedicated to the question of how parents justify their arrangements with regard to early childhood multilingual acquisition in the context of migration, which languages they pursue as an parenting goal, which convictions they have about good multilingual acquisition, and with which debates and interaction contexts they confront and position themselves for this purpose (Uçan, 2018). In the first part, the data basis is formed by 40 original-language transcribed topic- and problem-centered interviews according to Witzel (1985) in German and Turkish with parents of the first and second/third migration generation from Turkey.[1] Following this, in a second step, I examine language biographies (Busch, 2010) of the parents in the study who pursue a minority language from Turkey (e.g. Kurdish) as an educational goal. Multilingualism and translation processes are thus significant topics for my work: On the one hand, the handling of multilingual interview material forms part of the methodological and technical reflection of the work and, on the other hand, a content-related examination takes place through the research question I am pursuing.

The following is a brief presentation of the guidelines mentioned.

3.2 Guideline 1: Reflection on Understanding and Non-Understanding

Reflecting on the limitations of language and cultural knowledge is, in my opinion, essential for the analysis and translation of multilingual interview material. This

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[1] The data presented here are part of the research project "Early Childhood, Development and Parenting from the Perspective of Parents in and from Turkey", which was conducted under the direction of Manuela Westphal and Berrin Ö. Otyakmaz at the University of Kassel, funded by the Mercator Foundation as part of the research programme "Blickwechsel – Studies on Contemporary Turkey" from 2014 to early 2017 and conducted in cooperation with Elif Durgel Jagtap from Yaşar University in Izmir.

applies both to the limitations of the researchers and to those of the potential target recipients, who usually consist of the professional audience. When translating, this means thinking about what knowledge cannot always be assumed and may need to be added through additional information with a footnote. For example, Filep (2009, pp. 68–69) shows the difficulties of translation using the example of idioms, proverbs as well as political and socially critical jokes and exemplifies how these can be made accessible to readers through additional explanations. In my opinion, this is particularly useful for idioms and proverbs that are characterized by a metaphorical and figurative way of speaking and whose meaning may not be directly accessible (Uçan, 2019, p. 128). Moreover, it also happens that several translations are offered for words and expressions in the interviews. Since the decision for a certain translation already includes an interpretation, further possibilities for translation should be mentioned in a footnote so that this can be made transparent to the reader (Uçan, 2019, p. 128; cf. also Enzenhofer & Resch, 2010; Wettemann, 2012).

3.3   Guideline 2: Visibility of Linguistic Diversity

Another important concern of mine is the visibility of the linguistic diversity of the interview material even *after* translation. Inspired by postcolonial studies' preoccupations with the relationship between original and copy, interview passages should not be smoothed out in favour of a smooth reading flow (Uçan, 2019, p. 130). In her essay "The Politics of Translation", Spivak (1993, p. 181) criticizes translators for paying too little attention to the rhetoric of the original in translations of non-European texts (by women), resulting in a kind of one-size-fits-all translations, such that "the literature by a woman in Palestine begins to resemble, in the feel of its prose, something by a man in Taiwan" (Spivak, 1993, p. 182). Following on from this critique, interview passages in the context of my dissertation are translated by me as documentarily as possible, by which is meant that an orientation towards the content of the source text takes place with the "grammatical and stylistic means of the target language, taking into account the sentence structures of the original as much as possible" (Wettemann, 2012, p. 110). In addition, as already noted, the interviews are characterized by translanguaging. These passages should also be made visible in the translation by means of *italics,* so that an (albeit unintentional) orientation towards a monolingual norm can be avoided. Furthermore, the possibility of translanguaging has the potential to exploit a wider range of expressive possibilities, which will be discussed in more detail in the last part.

3.4　Guideline 3: Transparency of Unequal Encounters in One's Own Research Process

The question of the concrete choice of language for interviews is experiencing renewed momentum in the context of research on refugee migration due to different contexts of origin and transit with different languages and minority languages as well as with different writing systems. In order to enable people without sufficient knowledge of German to express themselves in a differentiated manner in interviews, a 'mother tongue interview' is increasingly being offered, which is oriented towards the, sometimes wrongly assumed, first language of the interview partners. Gutiérrez Rodríguez (2008, para. 11) states for research projects that although "commonalities are identified, on closer inspection they point to social inequalities and thus differences". She further concludes that what is assumed to be common membership of a linguistic community is challenged by "different social positions arising from a racist colonial and imperial past, new border and migration regimes, heteronormativity and the current world order". Accordingly, what remains unconsidered are colonial and nationalist language policies and thus (multiple) affiliations to language and cultural communities with minority status (Uçan, 2019, p. 121). Thus, it is an explicit concern of mine to also reveal differences in the interview situations. It is evident in the research project presented here that the language acquisition of some of the interviewees took place under the conditions of the language prohibition law in Turkey (cf. Zeydanlıoğlu, 2012), which is a clear difference from the language acquisition experiences of the researchers in the team. However, even in these cases, the question of interview language choice cannot be answered simply. Languages acquired under restriction are also part of the repertoire of speakers and high competences must therefore not be denied to interview partners. This also applies to the use of the German language, if interview partners prefer this (in parts).

3.5　Guideline 4: Irritations and Limitations to Broaden One's Perspective

Interviews offer the opportunity to partially break down power asymmetries between researchers and interview partners. A dialogical form of interviewing gives interview partners the chance to reveal their interpretations and also to prevent misunderstandings. In my opinion, a dialogical form of interviewing is particularly suitable for this because of the possibility of communicative validation, because

"the reflection back of the interviewees' statements supports their self-reflection and opens up the possibility for them to assert their own point of view and to correct the insinuations of the interviewer" (Witzel, 2000, para. 16). In this way, moments of irritation within the interview can be understood as an opportunity to broaden one's own perspective through interpretations of the interviewee, thus breaking the relationship of researchers interpreting what is said on their own (Uçan, 2019, pp. 133; cf. also Tuzcu & Motzek, 2014).

3.6 Examples of the Possibilities Offered by Translingual Interviewing

The interview guideline was available to the participants of the study in German and Turkish. The choice of languages was based on the (assumed) first languages of the interview partners and the language skills of the team members. The interview partners could then decide whether they would like to hear the interview questions in German or Turkish and could themselves be flexible in their use of languages. From the beginning, it was an explicit concern of the project leaders and the research team to take time in order to achieve the greatest possible understanding both within the team and with the interview partners (Otyakmaz & Westphal, 2016). German and Turkish were also available as interview languages for the language biographical interviews that were conducted as part of my dissertation study following the research project. In the following, we will now show how translanguaging unfolds within the interviews of the study presented above.

3.6.1 Translanguaging in the Context of Interviews

Many interviews in this study are characterized by the use of several languages, especially German and Turkish, within the narratives. In the context of writing the dissertation, the Turkish passages are translated by myself into German; in doing so, it is an important concern of mine that these passages remain visible as translations in the transcription. Therefore, in the context of translations into German, the passages that were previously expressed in German are *italicized* in order to make clear that this is a translingual use of language. The italics are intended to make linguistic diversity visible, at least in part, which would otherwise be obscured by the translation. However, even if, as shown in chapter two, translingual speech is conceptualized in the context of research, i.e. on the scientific meta-level, as an everyday and normal practice of multilingual speakers, a rejecting attitude towards translingualism emerges in the interviews, especially with regard to the multilingual education of the child. This is exemplified by the following example:

I: What do you think is the task of the kindergarten? We are at the kindergarten right now.

B: Usually working people bring, that is, those who have no one at home. For them it is GOOD. Why do WE bring it? For the second LANGUAGE, German is very important, that is for migrants. That is my thought. And for school they also prepare (…). LANGUAGE, then circle of FRIENDS, eating manners, brushing teeth, how to go to the toilet, they learn that. But we can also do that at home, what is important is the LANGUAGE. However much we speak German at home, we switch directly to Turkish. *Two different* things [Turkish original "şey"] we speak. Now (laughs) I ALSO, I don't have a proper German, nor a proper Turkish (laughing). If I don't know something in Turkish, I talk German, if I don't know it in Turkish, I talk German. That's how it went, so that's how we got used to it. I don't want it to be like that with the children. (I (affirmatively): Mhm, yes). I didn't go to *kindergarten*. I have an older sister, after that I come, then a little brother comes. We were born in Turkey, the three of us didn't go, *the others all did.* Five, six, eight, yes, five children went to *kindergarten.* But we didn't go.

(Fatma Sarıkaya,[2] mother, second generation migrant) (Translated)

In response to the question as to which tasks the educational institution of the kindergarten is responsible for, the mother names the transmission of the German language, along with preparation for school, as the most important task. She justifies this with the fact that the transmission of German cannot be sufficiently achieved due to the family language practice, according to which Turkish is predominantly spoken. In doing so, she points out that the family language practice, as well as her own, is characterized by alternating use of German and Turkish. It becomes clear that her everyday language use is characterized by both German and Turkish language use, namely, as she relates, when she lacks an expression in one language. She herself, however, does not assess these cases as a coping strategy in the face of communicative hurdles, but rather as a deficient use of language. She justifies her changing use of languages by saying that she did not go to kindergarten in Germany, where she thinks she could have acquired the language. Thus it becomes clear that her ideal of good language practice is oriented towards a monolingual norm, even in multilingualism. Accordingly, she rejects a language use that is shaped by translingual practices for her own children. In the interview it becomes clear that she pursues a competent multilingualism as a parenting goal, which is characterized by the separate use of languages. Thus, a discrepancy between her everyday family multilingualism, i.e. her own language practice, and her monolingualism-oriented belief, i.e. her language attitude regarding good language

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[2] All names are pseudonyms chosen by the interview partners.

practice, becomes apparent (Uçan, 2019, p. 130). At this point, I would like to focus on one more aspect. This passage, which is Turkish in the original, has been translated into German and the original German passages have been italicized. In addition to the phrase *kindergarten,* in the excerpt "*zwei verschiedene* Dings reden wir" ("*two different* things we talk") the first two words were said in German. At this point, their two languages are presented as *different,* i.e. separate, entities, which, moreover, it can be assumed, are seen as competing with each other. The fact that German is spoken at this point can, in my opinion, be interpreted as meaning that the interviewee was potentially confronted with attributions of deficits due to her own multilingualism, especially on the part of the German-speaking majority society. This is also indicated by the fact that she subsequently states that she speaks neither the German nor the Turkish language comprehensively. She thus characterises her own language repertoire in accordance with the concept of "double semi-language", which can be found especially in debates on education policy (e.g. the current Federal Minister for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, FSFJ Franziska Giffey in the Tagespiegel 2010).[3] Thus, narratives characterized by translanguaging can provide clues to the dominance of majority-society attributions beyond their content. Following Wei (2018, p. 13), it can thus be stated that the social and political context of the utterances must also be included in the analysis of translanguaging.

3.6.2   Translanguaging in Monolingual Mode

As mentioned in chapter two, linguistic action of multilingual speakers is multilingual even when they are in a 'monolingual mode' (Wei, 2018, p. 18). This can be illustrated by the following interview passage:

> I: And are there certain rules that Alex has to follow that are important to you?
> B: No lying, that's the be-all and end-all. And at that age there's already a severe punishment. Then I tell him, for example, that he's not allowed to watch TV today and tomorrow, and that's how he learns. Especially children have to be punished from time to time. And they don't do it again, at most they do it a second time and after that (…), because like a tree, if you do a little (…) wait a minute, that's a Turkish saying. Yes, 'if you grow it right at a young age, then the tree doesn't grow crooked' or, you know, what the logic is now-
> I: Yes, I know what you mean.
> B: And yes, and that's important.

(Peter Griffin, father, second generation migrant)

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[3] For an overview of educational policy debates on multilingualism, see e.g. Krüger-Potratz, 2013; Diehm, 2016, pp. 348.

First of all, it is important to know that the interviewer is a team member without any language skills in Turkish. The interview partner chose German as the interview language, so that Turkish language skills on the part of the interviewer were not necessary for conducting the interview within the framework of the research project. The passage presented here deals with the topic of family parenting practices and rules in the guide. When asked about important rules for his son's upbringing, the father names them and explains his conviction about how children learn to observe rules. Here he refers to the importance of punishment, such as limiting television viewing. He justifies this practice with his belief about early childhood learning, using the metaphor of a tree. As the father elaborates on his belief about this, he thinks of a Turkish proverb to which he refers. He briefly elaborates on the metaphor of a growing tree and further refers to the significance the proverb has for him and the child's education.[4] It becomes clear that the father assumes that the interviewer does not know the proverb due to a lack of knowledge of Turkish, so he adapts his narrative to the interviewer's level of knowledge by explaining the proverb and classifying its origin. At the same time, he also assumes that its meaning should have become clear from the context of the joint interview. Accordingly, at this point it becomes apparent that for the father, despite conducting the interview in German, the Turkish language was present, which he also pointed out in the course of his narration and contextualized for the interviewer. This can be interpreted in terms of Kaltmeier (2012) as an exchange and dialogue where knowledge is produced jointly. Furthermore, it shows how the father's concepts about education and development are also manifested through proverbs in a language, which also unfolds his transnational frame of reference for education (cf. Westphal, 2018). Thus, this passage can be interpreted as evidence that linguistic action is characterized by translanguaging even when multilingual speakers appear to act monolingually. At this point, the interview partner reveals this by referring to the Turkish proverb. But it can be assumed that this is also the case when it is not explicitly expressed. Consequently, interview situations are also conceivable in which translingual action is not obvious due to the power asymmetries between interviewer and interviewee.

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[4] The proverb listed here is probably *Ağaç yaş iken eğilir* (Engl. "The tree bends at a young age"), which indicates that children can be influenced by education, especially at a young age.

4   Conclusion and Final Considerations

The present contribution started with a reflection on methods in the course of multilingual research settings in the context of refugee migration. Following the concept of translanguaging, the potentials of translingual interviewing for qualitative interview studies were to be elaborated. This was done using the example of my own dissertation study in the context of educational migration research.

The concept of translanguaging describes the language use of multilingual speakers as dynamic and fluid. The linguistic repertoire is thus not defined according to separate individual languages, but as an overall repertoire with linguistic means that multilingual speakers use in a context-sensitive way. On the one hand, it is evident that translanguaging is increasingly discussed in research as an everyday practice and resource of multilingual speakers. Kein (2006, p. 102), for example, shows on the basis of her ethnographic-sociolinguistic study how the language switching patterns of a group of women of Turkish origin are "highly differentiated, ordered and structured". The author interprets this group's language use as evidence of demarcation from ascribed social categories as well as a hybrid self-concept. For educational institutions, Panagiotopoulou (2018) shows how multilingual children and students act translingually in the context of learning processes in daycare and school, and thereupon pleads for rethinking monolingual educational offers in terms of inclusive education. On the other hand, language-biographical approaches also show that multilingual speakers continue to be confronted with deficient attributions with regard to their multilingualism (cf. among others Schnitzer, 2017; Thoma, 2018).

The article showed the potential that an interview situation characterized by translanguaging can hold for studies. Interview partners can exhaust their entire repertoire of expressive possibilities and thus provide information about their transnational frame of reference as well as about experiences of racism and discrimination. This is significant because qualitative interviews serve as an approach in research to reconstruct the subjective view and experiences of people in the context of migration and flight. Based on the results of research, demands are made on practice and politics, such as with regard to integration and participation, which is why the opportunity to express oneself comprehensively is all the more significant.

Thus, it is important that interview situations are created in which multilingual speakers can make use of all their linguistic resources and do not have to orientate themselves, even if unintentionally, to a monolingual norm. Such interview situations are of course possible when at least one shared language is present. However,

even if the interviewer does not share all the language skills of the interviewee, as was made clear in chapter three, interviewees adapt their narratives to the interviewer's level of knowledge and explain expressions from the other language, thus acting translingually of their own accord. Thus, in my opinion, translingual interviewing is suitable for breaking a monolingual norm, which can also be (unintentionally) present in multilingual research settings. In this way, language is also considered as an instrument for the production of social recognition and denial, which is also always dependent on social, legal, political and cultural conditions (Dirim & Mecheril, 2010, p. 100).

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Translating Migration: Expectations – Conceptions – Strategies

Angela Treiber and Kerstin Kazzazi

Abstract

Within the framework of a qualitative interview study, the expectations, conceptions and strategies were examined with which professional and voluntary, untrained actors met the challenges in the practice of communication in the context of social care and counselling of refugees that had developed during the peak phase of refugee migration to Germany in the summer of 2015. Different self-expectations as well as different ways of dealing with external expectations of the translation process are revealed. The individual conceptions of translation developed from these expectations will be discussed with reference to the conceptions that are usually considered controversial in theory and practice under the catchwords of cultural and language mediation.

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1   Introduction

"Translating" migration is a particularly complex transfer process: it is a matter of representing the physical-material and mental process of experience in an interpretative way, mostly through language (ways of speaking, gestures).[1] In a specific, socio-politically as well as situationally shaped "transcultural interaction space", translating in the sense of *Verstehen für Verständigung* ['practice of understanding for communication'] requires transferring content from one linguistic-cultural frame of reference to another in a multi-perspectival manner (see introduction Treiber/Kazzazi).

With the particularly strong increase in the arrival of refugees seeking asylum between July 2015 and March 2016, press reports and reports such as that of the political magazine *Report* increased in the context of the accompanying crisis discourse*:* "*Verrat im Flüchtlingsheim. Wenn Dolmetscher falsch übersetzen*" ['Betrayal in a refugee hostel. When interpreters mistranslate']. They reported on bullying and threats against refugees by native-speaker interpreters of other religions or ethnically defined groups and criticized the lack of qualified and even sworn interpreters, even in legally relevant situations (cf. Eicke, 2010). The reports reveal fundamental problem areas of translation processes, especially in the context of flight and migration.[2] They point to the social political context, which shapes and produces the translation situations in their power imbalances and social inequality, as well as co-determining power of interpretation (residence status, etc.). They also show the instrumentalization potential of translations by "natural" interpreters as a means of stabilizing identity and/or power, with the possibly fatal consequences for the refugees.[3]

In the field of flight and asylum migration, the conversations involve highly complex encounter situations in different constellations and qualities. Depending on the occasion and function, the interpreted conversations are conducted in an administratively prescribed, supportive, empowering or mediative context.

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[1] Representation not in the sense of a faithful depiction, but of a compellingly mediated representation of something absent, something that has happened, or something that has been said. For the facets of meaning and the concept of representation in cultural and historical studies, see Chartier (2014).

[2] Cf. Betrayal in the Refugee Home (2016); Arabic Interpreters Urgently Needed (2015); Interpreters for Refugees (2015); Refugees (2016).

[3] On conflicts resulting from role conceptions or attributions and asymmetric conversational situations Kälin (1986), Scheffer (2001), for a summary Bergunde and Pöllabauer (2015, pp. 51–60).

Voluntary interpreters as well as professional, "qualified" interpreters take an active role in the context of interpreted conversations. They have an influence on the transmission and communication of information as well as on its interpretation (formulation of questions and answers). They play a decisive role in shaping processes of understanding, but they can also create non-understanding and misunderstanding and, as in the press example, trigger conflicts.

With the peak phase of refugee migration to Germany in the summer of 2015, the practice of communication in the context of social care and counselling of refugees grew into an everyday challenge for professional and voluntary, untrained actors. Which aspects of the situational, complex transcultural spaces of conversation and these multi-layered translation processes can become conceptual and action-guiding for the respective actors? What role expectations and role assignments arise among professionally accompanying and advising persons vis-à-vis "natural" and volunteer, untrained interpreters and what self-image and activity or "professional ethos" do they stand for and represent, what conceptions of translation do they formulate and through what strategies are these implemented?

Our research is based on conversations with local actors in the area of the district of Eichstätt in the form of narrative interviews and guided, topic-centered interviews with consistently open conversation situations, at least that is our joint impression.[4] The interviews were qualitatively processed by means of document and narrative analysis with the transcription and analysis software F4/F5 by means of open coding and evaluated with regard to expectations about the use of interpreters and the references of selection criteria, assessments and experiences as well as self-perceptions of non-trained interpreters or native-speaker counsellors.

This reveals both different self-expectations and different ways of dealing with external expectations of the translation process. The individual conceptions of translation developed from these expectations are to be discussed with reference to the conceptions usually regarded controversially in research and practice under the catchwords cultural and language mediation.

In the following, we therefore speak only indirectly about refugees; the focus of our investigation is not on their perspective, but on the perspective of those actors who interact with the refugees in their social role, primarily linguistically. The aim is to gain insight into the reflections of volunteer interpreters and professional

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[4] In the course of the study, interviews were conducted with seven interpreters and six counsellors. The age of the interpreters ranged from 19 to 75. The educational backgrounds of the participants were very different. Some of the interpreters had lived in Germany for decades or had grown up here, some had completed an academic education here, others had only been in Germany for about a year. All of them gave informed consent to participate in the study.

counsellors, their self-positioning and justification strategies, and how they experience or shape this – mediated – linguistic interaction. Statements about the success or failure of these translation situations therefore necessarily remain subjective and monoperspectival.

2   Everyday and Working Practice: Horizons of Experience and Interpretation of Professional Counsellors

2.1   On the Context on the Ground: Care and Counselling of Refugees and the Organisational Situation (2014–2018)

At the latest with the accommodation of asylum seekers according to a quota procedure in central "shared accommodation" or in decentralized facilities or with the residence regulation for recognized refugees (Integration Act of the Federal Government, 2016, Art. 5, in force since 5 August 2016), migration has also moved beyond the large cities and metropolises as preferred centres and hubs of immigrants. In autumn 2014, a branch of the initial reception centre Bayernkaserne München was established in Eichstätt. In the former Maria-Ward-Realschule, almost 3000 refugees from about 25 nations received short-term accommodation until its closure in July 2019, before they were accommodated as asylum seekers in shared accommodation or decentralized accommodation in various locations in the region after registration and, in the best case, after the hearing or after the application for asylum. The responsible district of Eichstätt decided in particular for decentralized accommodation and for a cooperation partner in asylum-related social counselling. The introduction of the asylum-related social counselling guideline of the Bavarian State Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, which came into force in January 2016 (Guideline, 2016), made it possible to finance professional social counselling and support via the associations of the *Freie Wohlfahrtspflege*. The aims of the counselling were, as was stated, to provide foreigners with orientation assistance "in the area of life and culture that is foreign to them" for the duration of their stay, in order to be able to "better cope with the everyday problems that arise". Furthermore, counselling was to be provided on the basic features of the German community, above all on the subsidiarity of state transfer payments, as well as with information, according to the guideline, "on their situation in Germany and the possible obligation to leave the country in the foreseeable future, as well as recognition quotas in the asylum procedure". Asylum seekers in the asylum procedure

and people in the state of suspension of deportation with a residence permit were to be visited and advised. In this context, cooperation with existing networks of volunteers was called for and, it was stated, "recognized asylum seekers or migrants in particular should also be considered": "Winning recognized asylum seekers or migrants for voluntary work or support in counselling can help to integrate them more strongly into society and build up a 'self-sustaining' system for recruiting staff." The team of such assistants, according to the wording, "may, for example, consist of language mediators and persons with pedagogical or administrative competence as assistants in addition to the asylum social counsellor" (Guideline, 2016). A key of 100 persons to be cared for in the initial reception centres and 150 persons in the decentralized accommodation centres was envisaged per counsellor: However, this was at times exceeded fivefold in 2016.

The institutional, official and content-related structures set up here by the economically oriented state policies of the migration regime become apparent in the described modes of action and practices, the modes of argumentation and the choice of terms of the professional advisors and volunteer interpreters.

2.2   Recruitment and Selection Practice of Volunteer Interpreters

The greatly increased number of migrants to be cared for since 2015 also resulted in an increased need for interpreters. The necessary conversations with employees of the authorities, social workers, treating doctors or even professionally accompanying and advising persons could not be conducted in the respective native languages of the interlocutors. The interpreters were supposed to reduce the considerable language and comprehension barriers that occurred, primarily in the sense of regulatory intentions. The already glaring shortage of professional interpreters for the social, medical and legal fields (cf. Bahadir, 2010) urgently needed to be compensated, especially since it meant that the various institutions involved (hospital, foreigners authority, etc.) were in competition with each other. The recruitment of volunteer translators through networking was therefore an important everyday practice in the areas of social and voluntary work.

For those responsible, it was much more difficult to build up a pool of voluntary interpreters in rural regions than in larger cities, which are usually more attractive to migrants than centres of (post-)migrant life realities. The forced search for so-called "natural" interpreters among the asylum-seeking refugees presented the counsellors responsible with great challenges, not only with regard to the "sponta-

neous" assessment of linguistic competence, but above all with regard to the protection of the privacy and especially the intimate sphere of the interlocutors:

> We always have, (.) the people we organize and quite often it's also the case that the doctors say, "I'm sorry, if you don't bring your interpreter, I won't treat him at all!" Even the police say to us: "Hey, bring your interpreter!", or "Don't you have one?", so interpreters would be nice if they fell from the sky, we often have the problem that we don't know where to get them and even if we do, if we find someone, we often help ourselves by having someone who is also an asylum seeker translate, but of course that has close limits, if it's about personal things, then the person in the next room (.) can't translate, because it's none of his business what has to be said. Medical things, or things relevant to criminal law, or questions about the asylum procedure. That is (.) really difficult. (170906_G, paragraph 22)

Sometimes volunteers also came into contact with the receiving organizations and institutions. The initiative came from individual migrant families who had already been living in Germany for some time or had successfully completed their asylum procedure and who wanted to "show their appreciation" for the support they had received through the voluntary work of individual family members. In addition, there was an exchange of address lists between official and social institutions, including local associations, which were used in the given case.

> So that is again a very heterogeneous field, where we acquire people, we don't have a (.), uh, there is a list where we … there are of course those, especially the volunteer interpreters, who were acquired from outside, who somehow became known to us on their own initiative or through a network. (160728_ B, paragraph 102)

Network knowledge about the qualification and competence of the interpreters and exchange of experiences at team meetings, in which the newly acquired interpreters were regularly introduced, described by one of the persons in charge as "discursive assessment of the interpreters", served to ensure successful or constructive cooperation (160728_B, paragraph 96; 160905_E, paragraph 87).

Numerous volunteer interpreters were selected from among recognized asylum seekers or asylum seekers living in the facility. In the narratives, the selection follows everyday criteria of experience, the respective persons have been known for a longer period of time, they have already made themselves positively felt on their own initiative as linguistic mediators in the case of problems and conflicts in the accommodations. But also the subjective personal assessment of suitability as well as aspects of liking may be seen as factors that should not be neglected.

In addition, however, a (cost) effort-benefit orientation is also visible. The preference for persons with a lower level of education over the better educated and

academics is justified with the reference to the fact that cooperation was more difficult with the latter due to their distinct self-image, their merely "supposedly" higher "social position". The argumentation points to difficulties in cooperation between professional carers and refugees seeking asylum, even in the case of perceived slightly reduced relations of inequality with regard to "cultural" and "symbolic capital", characterized by B. as "*structural arrogance*".

> … *Flüch/Geflohene* ['refugees' with self-correction to politically correct term] who have an academic background, uh, can be, can be used very well in their, in the first phase, in a short time. They can do it very well. Um, because they are very self-confident. On the other hand, they are also picked up very quickly and want to continue their studies or want to be recognized in their position as academics. So that means that, it can be then already that they say, "where, uh, that, uh, for money. I'm just doing this for money." Or "I'm a, uh, I'm an academic, I'm a doctor. I don't, I don't do those kinds of tasks." So that it actually then also fails because of the (.) supposed, uh, social position possibly. That is, uh, at the beginning is, they are motivated and really am/so the longer this takes, the more difficult it is to acquire academics. Uh, differently, possibly the other way round, it goes then with those who are by coincidence recognized as engaged, who due to, uh, lacking vocational training, due to lacking, uh, access to schooling possibly cannot find their footing here so quickly. And then look around for fields of activity and, uh, regard support more gratefully and themselves then thereby can go through an identification process, uh, process and that is also (.) then quite sensible to acquire these people, because one then gives them perspective and also gives them the possibility to develop their own identity, apart from those who are already or those who have been more recognized in advance. (160728_B, paragraph 154)

B. cites factors as guiding and legitimizing the involvement of refugees that are described within the framework of an empowerment approach.[5] The refugees should be strengthened in their position. This happens strategically on two levels: on the one hand, institutionally through the attempt to employ the "acquired" interpreters as marginal employees at the commissioned support institution and to make them available as interpreters at official appointments, if possible for an expense allowance; on the other hand, through comparatively closer social contacts, such as

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[5] The involvement of 'refugees and asylum seekers' was already explicitly desired in the public projects SpraKuM and TransKom funded by the EU through EQUAL. By training them as 'language and cultural mediators', their linguistic and socio-cultural resources were to be exploited, particularly for the areas of health and social care, and their employability increased (Morales 2005). At least, as Bahadır (2010, p. 15) concludes, the clients of the specialist interpreters, who rank lower in terms of power politics, the migrants, would form a (self-)conscious cultural-political identity structure integrated in *community-building processes,* parallel to the *empowerment* of their interpreters as a professional group.

accompanying social workers and joint lunches. The increase in symbolic social capital can then be understood and justified as compensation for the unjust remuneration (160728_B, paragraph 26). The people in charge feel uneasy about the unequal power positions, but at the same time these are internalized and reproduced:

> And we try to strengthen the position of these people […] and to use them for our purposes. (..) That is very self-serving then and they may then, they may accompany us from time to time and if possible we hire them or we try to remunerate them by other means then, uh. (160728_B, paragraph 28)

Especially in the case of young refugees with residence permits or toleration, distanced personal relationships and the position as a person of respect are used to motivate them to translate (160718_A, para. 8, 24, 32, 64, 66, 72ff., 78). Regardless of this hierarchy, win-win situations can occur for both sides. On the one hand, contact to other refugees and the exposed position as mediators and interpreters are mentioned here on the part of the volunteer recruited interpreters. On the other hand, the volunteer interpreter C., who is now recognized as entitled to asylum, emphasizes the advantages of social contact with the professional advisors (160831_C, paragraph 113–115). His narrative of "learning from each other" and his emphasis on friendly relations can be interpreted as a self-interpretation of initial successes on the way towards social participation:

> Why, because when I drive with them, I ask them in English and then I learn German. What is this. Just when we drive. I learn so. […] I ask them different questions about them and Germany, about the culture, about the law, Gesetz. Then what is this in German. "What is this in German?" "Das heißt das." And then it's school for me, they are school for me. They are my friends, they teach me, they help me and then I help them also in what I can. [Original version] (160831_C, paragraph 94-96)

But the counsellors also describe themselves as learners, in the expectation of gaining background knowledge about political and social situations in the countries of origin:

> (…) So these, these (…) um contacts and connections of those that you actually need in order to make sense of it, uh (…) we look for them, we have them, they sometimes come about as a stroke of luck and sometimes, uh (.) only because we put a lot of energy into it and sometimes things go wrong because they don't work out. (170906_G, para 179)

2.3   Role Assignments and Expectations of Interpreters

As a general rule, it emerged from all the interviews with the professional counsellors that the occasion and function or relevance of the counselling or support interview with regard to the future prospects of the refugees were the central argument in the situational selection of volunteer interpreters. To put it briefly: The assessment of the situation and topic is decisive for the selection, difficult topics require experienced interpreters. Assessments of the experience and competence of volunteer interpreters are based on the ideals of neutrality and literal translation. The descriptions of the practice of assistants and "language mediators", as they are called according to the Asylum Social Counselling Guideline (Guideline, 2016), imply that a kind of inverse relation may exist here.

> We also often know or see that the language mediators that we use, um, don't talk much when there's a big problem, talk a lot when there's a small problem. So we know that what we have said is not necessarily what arrives there. (.) And that is very difficult to control then […]. (160728_ B, paragraph 32, 69)

> This means that we say to them, "this is your task: you are not to translate judgmentally, rather you are only to translate to me what is said." (160728_ B, paragraph 51)

> So you notice that when someone has no experience in interpreting and has not actually learned it, (.) then it very often happens that, um, that they don't translate directly, you know, "what am I saying, what is the other person saying", but that they start to explain their own things. (160905_E1, paragraph 75)

> Simply when I tell him something that I want to tell him, but he talks much longer. So I just ask him a question or say two sentences and I have the feeling that he's telling me so much that it can't just be what I've just said. Then I always think to myself, I would just like to understand the language and know exactly what he is telling the other person, but… (160905_E1, paragraph 152)

The explanations of the expectations and demands for correct translation are recounted through practical examples of failure, or at least suspected failure. They reveal a certain loss of power on the part of the counsellor, or a feeling of powerlessness, insecurity and being excluded from communication, which results from the lack of language competence.

> [Once there was an argument in an accommodation and the two who were arguing couldn't communicate with me. Then I called in a third person to translate and then when I went home I thought to myself, now I don't know if I really understood the

argument properly. Because I don't really know which side he was on. So maybe he told me something completely different about one of them. So it would have been better to have a neutral interpreter with me, who could have given me the two correct points of view. And then I wasn't so sure, I went there again with the other interpreter, because I just wasn't sure whether it was really true the way he told me everything. Or whether he perhaps preferred one of them and then helped that one a bit more. (160905_E1, paragraph 93)

The recalled description of the situation indicates a loss of control over the conversation. An adequate understanding of the positions failed, as did successful mediation. The desire for a "neutral" interpreter means retaining a clearly assigned role as an interpreter who refrains from any personally initiated active intervention in the conversation.

At the same time, however, the counsellors also describe conversation situations in which a large part of the conversation is left to the "natural" interpreters as being successful and positive. Reflective self-awareness, attentiveness and patience, and generally empathy, emerge in the descriptions as being fundamental for building relationships of trust with the young refugees working as volunteer interpreters. Trust in interpreters is mentioned again and again in the case of positive translation procedures.

But actually I always had the feeling that I found out what I wanted to know with the help of the interpreter. But often it takes longer, because somehow other things come up, which they discuss among themselves. Especially when the harmony between the two residents and the interpreter is right, it often takes longer for a small question. Because between the two of them there is somehow so much that they talk about. (160905_E1, paragraph 70)

Um, normally it's still not a big problem, because they are people I trust and I know they don't say a lot of crap, but sometimes it's a bit difficult. If I now know that it is about really (.) difficult topics, then I try to take someone with me who then has more experience and knows that he simply has to translate directly and then brings in less of his own. (160905_E, paragraph 79)

In order to establish the most successful communication possible between the participants in the conversation, the professional counsellors try to take aspects of age, gender, religion or political affiliations into account in advance when selecting the interpreters in order to reduce conflict. In this way, the interpreters are assigned specific roles, such as that of the respected person or father figure in this case:

That you notice relatively quickly (.) who is suitable in which situation and that in some situations, for example, you would rather use a male interpreter or a female one.

> Or, for example, I have accommodations with a lot of boys, where I had the problem that there was simply a problem with tidiness and cleanliness (quiet laughter I2) and if I now also take a twenty-year-old interpreter with me, then I now have, I think, the feeling that this will go down well with the others. ...Of course it is often better to have, let's say, an older experienced man with you, who explains to them as a father or elder that it is really important in Germany. To separate garbage, to keep order. Situations like that. (160905_E1, paragraph 99)

For the professional counsellors, the orientation towards literal, non-explicative translation seems to be coherent with the relevance of the conversation for the course of the asylum application procedure, i.e. depending on the situation in which the translation takes place. Thus in the case of the hearing, which is determined by a clear power imbalance, where it is a matter of "finding the truth", where contents and terms can decide on future prospects and thus language translation that is as literal as possible is required, or where in the institutional context it is a matter of conveying administrative processes, regulations and practices of organization, regulation and measures in cases of conflict. The situation is different in the areas of social work or education, where ideally it is a matter of promoting the migrants being accompanied. Here the counsellors also value situational strategies of cultural understanding as competence:

> … there are floating boundaries, you can, I don't think you can define it exactly, but when it comes to a general counselling situation, where I ask "how are you? What do you still need and uh, are your children doing well at school" and so on, that's maybe, that's an area where I can also allow a, a certain interpretation tolerance. But when it comes to criminal offences, to psychiatric problems, to uh, uh procedural practice, so also to serious/also to threatening situations, that is, when deportation is imminent, the asylum application is rejected, or one has to go to the lawyer. Then it is just a fundamentally important uh, uh, matter, then I must see that the competence of the language mediator is very high. (160728_ B, paragraph 57)

Here, "competence" is directly contrasted with "interpretation": a "certain tolerance for interpretation" is only granted when it is not a matter of "fundamental importance"; in these cases, from the counsellor's point of view, the "competence of the language mediator must be very high", i.e. he/she must not interpret [in the sense of 'explicate']. This rather dichotomous definition of translational competence is sometimes interpreted in a more nuanced way by some of the volunteer interpreters, as will be shown below. This is partly due to the fact that they do not only take into account the respective context of action and thus current language use (so-called linguistic pragmatics), as the counsellors do, but also aspects of the abstract language system (i.e. the linguistic inventory and the rules for its use),

especially the relationship between form (expression) and content of a word.[6] This relationship can be very complex and dynamic because most expressions can be associated with different meaning(nuance)s triggered by the context. This makes the seemingly simple requirement of "literal translation" a very difficult task in individual cases, because this relationship between form and content is rarely congruent even in the case of so-called "translation equivalents" in different languages (see Kazzazi, 2019 for an example). This can also affect aspects of meaning that are relevant to linguistic culture, which may then make additional explication appear necessary from the interpreter's point of view. The question of the extent to which such explicitation is to be understood as "interpretation", i.e. as an impermissible addition by the interpreter, is sometimes seen differentlyin the context of the two concepts of so-called language vs. cultural mediation. Our data show that the volunteer interpreters do recognize this problem and develop their own strategies to deal with it.

3   What Does Translation Mean? Understanding Volunteer Interpreters

3.1   Between Language and Cultural Mediation

The volunteer interpreters are aware of the role attribution as "language mediators" expressed and conveyed by the professional attendants with the expectations attached – such as word-for-word, accurate, complete and truthful (171106_F, paragraph 85–87). Without naming and knowing of the scientific discussion about the concepts of language and cultural mediation, they address the ambivalences of the two translation strategies or of an intermediate continuum based on their own experiences of understanding and misunderstanding in the translation process.[7] Some of the volunteer interpreters interviewed formulate the difference[8] by explicitly distinguishing between *formal* expression and *content* correspondence and thus questioning the demand for "literal translation" (see above):

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[6] For a fundamental discussion of this relationship, see, for example, Lyons (1995, p. 22ff.).

[7] For a discussion of language and cultural mediation, see Chap. 1.

[8] The example quoted comes from an interpreter who was already sensitized to this difference through his linguistic training and was therefore the only one who formulated it concretely. But the examples of the other interpreters also point to the struggle with the two sides of a word.

> This is not about me reciting or translating a poem, because in a poem the form is very important. Here it doesn't matter how uh so how the situation is formulated linguistically…Here it's about making the situation clear or conveying it. The facts, the extra-linguistic facts must be conveyed. And there it is actually quite/uh so not quite important how one translates. Although/so that the aim is to convey this fact. (160728_A, paragraph 134-139)

From the interpreter's point of view, therefore, the content, in this case the extra-linguistic "facts", is more important than the form. Depending on what kind of "facts" it is about, such a "mediation" can also include background information in a broader understanding. The volunteer migrant interpreters use their own terms for the latter procedure, for example: "explanation", "explication", "to transfer" (see below); this corresponds to terms used in recent academic literature on institutional translation, such as *explication* (Cosmai, 2019, p. 66) or *explicative extension* (Stolze, 2019, p. 236[9]).

> …by explanation a word gets a certain identity and then the other person can of course understand, yes. (160728_A, paragraph 307)

> It doesn't really work without explanation. Um, I have to explain again and again, especially at the beginning, for example with these/some young people. (160728_A, paragraph 157)

> But it is really very interesting and in my eyes it is really important (…) to take what someone wants to say and to reproduce it in the other language so that it is clear. So word for word, as it was actually already said in school, not translating literally, but transferring, I think that is particularly important in this field of work. Really. Otherwise, mistakes will happen. And I don't want to be the reason that there's a mistake. And in the end it is the interpreter's fault. (160905_K, paragraph 79)

In the last quote, the literal translation, i.e. "word for word", is even identified as a possible source of error, because in some cases it might not reflect "what someone wants to say", i.e. the intended content. This indicates the interpreter's understanding of the influence of different language structures, especially the complex relationship between linguistic form and conceptual content mentioned above.

Languages differ, for example, in the conceptual structures represented in their vocabulary, i.e. how certain lexical fields are divided up by words: Whereas German and English, for example, each cover the lexical field 'food intake' in terms of

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[9] Cf. the concept of explication in recent pragmatic research (Finkbeiner, 2015, p. 78ff.).

meaning by two simple verbs (*essen: trinken, eat: drink*), Persian (as spoken today)[10] uses only a single verb (*khordan*) in which the type of food, i.e. whether liquid or solid, is integrated by an object, e.g. *nān* 'bread' or *āb* 'water': *nān khordan* 'eat bread', *āb khordan* 'drink water'. So all three languages can express the conceptual difference between liquid and solid food intake, but do so in linguistically different ways. This has consequences for translation. For the Persian verb *khordan* is rendered differently in the English translation, contextually, by *eat* or *drink.* In the English verb, one piece of information is made explicit in each case (the type of food), which in Persian is expressed only in the object, i.e. the name of the food. Thus, the respective translation is an explication given by the language-dependent different structure of the lexical field.

What is even more decisive for the question of literal translation, however, is the different possible uses of words in a figurative sense, e.g. in conventionalized metaphors: Persian *khordan* is found as a kind of functional verb, semantically faded, also, for example, in *sarma khordan* literally 'to take in cold; i.e. to catch cold' or *zamin khordan*' literally 'to take in earth; i.e. to fall down'. In the translation process, the question arises whether an expression is to be understood in its actual (so-called denotative) or its transferred meaning; this then has an effect on the 'literalness' of the translation: whereas Persian *nān khordan* can be translated (almost) literally as *eating bread,* i.e. at least the syntactic construction can be retained, this is not possible in the case of *zamin khordan*: the two constituents together form a new, so-called lexicalized meaning, which is to be rendered by the non-metaphorical Gm. *fallen*. In individual cases, the decision may require a high level of linguistic competence on the part of the interpreter. The fact that it is particularly figurative or otherwise extended types of usage that can cause problems is also shown in the examples given by the volunteer migrant interpreters. For example, from the interpreters' point of view, the context-sensitive meaning of certain words, i.e. a meaning controlled by the context of action, requires further mediation, such as the Persian verb *khordan* in the expression for 'catching cold' (see above) or the extended meaning of German *Wurscht* in the following example:

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[10] Theoretical explanations refer to Standard New Persian as it is spoken in Iran today; this is the mother tongue of many interpreters (for a grammatical presentation see e.g. Majidi (1986/1990)). The variety of Persian spoken in Afghanistan is also called Dari and is the mother tongue of many of the refugees. There are sometimes not inconsiderable differences between the two varieties, particularly in the area of vocabulary. For the examples discussed here, however, no explicit distinction will be made.

I1: Mhm (affirmative) Oh yes. And vice versa, uh, are there also certain expressions in German or so, where you then have to explain to the Afghans, or, or explain to the Iranians, what that actually means? For example, what, // is there something? //

F: // Well um (…) // yes, quite a lot, for example, um (.) the person wants to tell even more and then says, "*Wurscht* [lit. *sausage* in the sense of 'doesn't matter'], you don't need that anymore!", for example, so, then I just have to say what that means, for example, that's not so important that you say that too, but say important, more important things. (171106_F paragraph 72-73)

Wurscht here refers evaluatively to a whole statement in conversation, i.e. it functions as a so-called communicative turn (Kempcke et al., 2000, p. 1242 s.v. *Wurst*). Especially such usages are usually language-specific, i.e. this additional function is present only in one language: Two words can function as translation equivalents in the actual (referential) meaning, but not in the extended meaning. In the example above, German *Wurs(ch)t* does not refer in its proper meaning to a concrete object, but expresses the speaker's attitude towards what has been said before (cf. Duden 2016, § 891): this is taken to be a complete irrelevance or irrelevant utterance. The Persian word for a meat product[11] is not possible here because its scope of meaning does not include such a valenced usage.[12] The interpreter apparently solves this problem, as she explains, by a paraphrasing and thus explicative Persian translation, which conveys the following content: "that's not so important that you say that too."[13] However, such a paraphrase only contains the information that certain statements are not considered important. However, the component of the speaker's personal valuation is omitted, which, for example, is integrated into the meaning statement by the dictionary *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* through the personal pronoun *mir*: 'das ist mir vollkommen gleichgültig' (Kempcke, 2000, p. 1242 s. v. *Wurst*). The goal that this translation is apparently intended to achieve is not the reproduction of the source language valuation by the communicative turn, but the action instruction implied by it to omit certain information. The latter goal would be achieved with the paraphrasing translation.

While *Wurs(ch)t* makes the problem of a word-for-word translation seem very clear, this can also be challenging in less obvious cases – e.g. in the case of two words that are translation equivalents in their concrete meaning: when two words can, for example, be used in an additional (so-called connotative) meaning as a

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[11] The corresponding word here would be pers. *sosis* (< French *saucisse*) 'sausage'.

[12] This function is called "expressive" by Lyons (1995, p. 44).

[13] However, this is again a kind of "re-translation" from Persian into German for the interviewer; she does not give the exact Persian wording of her explication.

swear word. For even this does not automatically mean that they are really seman-
tically equivalent in this function as well. On the contrary, precisely in such cases
there is often a difference in intensity. For example, the degree of negative valence,
so-called pejorativeness, can vary. Dealing with such words is definitely perceived
as a challenge by non-professional interpreters:

> Yes, misunderstandings of a linguistic nature always arise when an interpreter trans-
> lates word for word. Then a very disgusting insult perhaps becomes a very cute one,
> a cute title in German. The other way round is also possible, of course. But since I
> often have to deal with people who have to say what they feel, and this is often ren-
> dered in Farsi, and I render it in German, it's important that you don't just render the
> word, but that you add an explanation. (160905_K, paragraph 11)

The interpreter refers here to the pragmatic meaning of Persian *khar* vs. Gm. *Esel*
donkey or Persian *sag* vs. Gm. *Hund* dog in their use as swear words, which she
assesses very differently.[14] The two word pairs in their respective actual meanings
refer to the same concrete concept, a particular animal. Thus, they are semantically
completely equivalent in this context and can stand in for each other in a word-for-
word translation of a description of the respective animal. However, both the Per-
sian and the German words can also be used as swear words, but they are still not
semantically completely equivalent, because the Persian terms *khar* and especially
sag are more insulting than German *Esel* and *Hund.* This negative intensity is re-
flected in the following quotation in a kind of taboo that can prevent speakers from
pronouncing the words at all:

> An Iranian or an Afghan then doesn't dare to repeat these words again and the police-
> man is like: "Yes, you have to say that now!" Yes, really German. And then I have to
> mediate and say: "You may say that now and it's no problem at all. We just need it for
> the record." And then maybe it will be said, even a little more quietly, because it's an
> ugly word. And then it should be translated as "dog" or "donkey". Yes, so we find it
> almost sweet in the German culture, in the other cultures it's just horrible, ugly words.
> And so then just these misunderstandings arise. (160905_K, paragraph 13)

The formally literal translation, which would function without loss or addition of
meaning in the concrete reference to an animal, is perceived as problematic by the
interpreter when used as a swear word, because it would not convey exactly the
same content as the source word, but would have a less evaluatively charged mean-

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[14] Cf. for German *Esel* and *Hund* Kempcke (2000, both svv.); for Pers. *khar* and *sag* Anvari
(1381/ 2002): svv. *khar (*vol. 4, p. 2698–2) and *sag* (vol. 5, p. 4217–2), respectively.

ing. Thus, from the interpreter's point of view, an explanation serves to ensure a semantically equivalent translation.[15]

These examples go to the heart of the above-mentioned question of what is (still) to be understood as language mediation and what is (already) to be regarded as cultural mediation. From a linguistic point of view, the answer depends on how broadly the concept of meaning is understood, i.e. how word meaning is defined. In the broader understanding of meaning advocated here[16], the pragmatic-associative meaning discussed in the above example, for example, is still part of it. This corresponds to a semiotic concept of culture also represented in ethnology. The decisive question then is whether and how such contextually controlled meaning components are made explicit in the translation process.

Some interpreters develop different two-step procedures for such cases, consisting of a literal translation followed by an explanation, which can take place at different points in time:

> A: (..) So I try to translate literally exactly as they tell me, although sometimes (.) then it doesn't come out like that, like that, for carers, or social workers, like that, but then I can, because I know this culture, then afterwards I clarify that it is meant like that, or like that (..) um the person means it. //
>
> I1: // So later // then afterwards, or directly in a two-step process, so to speak, first literally and then explain, or when the Afghans have already left then, do you explain it then, or // directly? //
>
> A: // No, directly // because right after I say literally and I notice that she has not understood, then I say, "So, with our culture, Afghan culture, is (.) one says so, but is meant so.", then the one is also there, then (.) so (unintell.) sit down with each other directly, immediately, we do it. (171106_0226_F paragraph 63-65)

The interpreters create transparency through this procedure and thus reconcile the professional carers' expectation of a literal translation with their own need for additional explanation. In so doing, they address their own lay status in the awareness that this procedure could be a deviation from the "professional" norm:

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[15] The question of how non-professional interpreters can be trained to render different levels of meaning is discussed by Nowak/Hornberg with reference to Larson (1997).

[16] This corresponds to a concept of meaning that encompasses the two types of meaning distinguished by Lyons (1995, p. 44) as "descriptive" and "non-descriptive"; for terminological variants of the same distinction, see ibid. However, such a rather dichotomous view falls short from the point of view of recent research, in which the question of "where to set the boundary between literal and non-literal meaning" is seen as the "problem of drawing the boundary between semantics and pragmatics" (Finkbeiner 2015, p. 76 et seq, cf. Table 3).

B: Well, I'm not a trained interpreter. I can only speak both languages fluently and so it just happened that I started with that. I don't know how it actually works. But I can tell you how I like to do it. (160905_K, paragraph 6)

In certain situations, however, an explanation in the form of a kind of (linguistic) cultural interpretation may be perceived as necessary in advance. This can obviously be the case, for example, if the migrant interpreters, due to their own linguistic socialization, see themselves from the outset as unable to provide a literal translation, or see the conversation as not being possible at all in the form expected by the counsellors. This can concern both the form, e.g. the way the conversation is opened, and the content, e.g. taboo topics, of the conversation.

3.2   Linguistic-Cultural Routines

In these special, difficult communication situations, for example, certain linguistic behaviour patterns, such as linguistic routines, come into play. Theoretically, such a situation can be understood with the new ethnopragmatic approach of Goddard and Wierzbicka, in which "culture-specific speech practices and interactional norms" (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2004, p. 153) are examined. This involves the description of action guidelines of a *tacit knowledge,* which may also include role assignments, as in the case of routines of greeting or etiquette, which can at the same time be expressions of respect and acceptance towards others.[17] In such routines, there are certain expectations within a language community or in a common field of meaning as to how the sequence should proceed linguistically in order to be communicatively successful. For example, a conversation opening[18] may have different degrees of routine in different languages and thus generate different degrees of expectation patterns.

A few, few (stutter) uh weeks ago I was called whether I had time, there's problems. I went and it was about a boy who had offended a bit uh uh so uh yeah uh so something uh uh someone and so on and then the parents come from Afghanistan and uh

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[17]A more recent method of describing such routines linguistically is their representation as so-called "cultural scripts" with the help of "Natural Semantic Metalanguage" (see Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2004; various individual studies can be found, for example, in Peeters et al., 2020).

[18]For an introduction to the method of conversation analysis, see Finkbeiner (2015, p. 111ff.); literature on terminology and analysis of conversation openings e.g. in Luttermann (1996, p. 82, fn. 254).

uh people wanted to talk to uh these and so to speak uh believe so uh to get access to
the child through the parents uh that the parents have to take care of it and so on. And
before that I was there before the parents came and uh the officer said to me, "You
have to say this and this". So I say to him, "Hey, I can't uh uh start like that. I know
the mentality, I have to find another door. If I start like this, they close the door and
they don't uh work together with uh mh so with you guys. I have to grab the family
by their honor. (…) That's important for them." (160728_A, para 119)

Differences relate, for example, to the question of how quickly, i.e. how directly,
the problem is addressed. In the present case, the interpreter assumes from his ex-
perience with the routine of opening a conversation in the two languages involved
that there could be a conflict right at the beginning: "You have to say such and
such" and "If I start like this" refer to the opening of the conversation expected by
the German counsellors and thus prescribed to the interpreter, in which he recog-
nizes a potential for conflict. With the image "other door", he metaphorically refers
to an alternative opening of the conversation that is possible in Persian, i.e. that
enables successful communication.

3.3   What Can Be Told and What Cannot Be Told. The View of the Interpreter

In terms of content, taboo topics can become conflictual for the interpreters. In
each case, existing culturally and socially conditioned boundaries of what can be
told and what cannot be told decide when and to whom something can be told and
in what way. Factors such as age, gender, religion, ethnic affiliation or cultural self-
image of the interlocutors play a role. For the interpreters, the idea and conceptual-
ization of communication about tabooed, shameful topics, such as death, sexuality,
violence, seem to guide their actions:

> E: Yes, the difficulty is with the doctors.
> I: Mhm. Pause.
> E: Because, sometimes, when the doctor tells me: "Pf the child uh has no hope to live"
>   or it is said in German: "seriously ill", that I can of course not say to the parents .
>   (161108_E, paragraph 40-42)

> And sometimes especially in our culture, when we go to the doctor, especially girls,
> they feel something, they want to say something, that they are afraid of saying that.
> And then I motivate them to say what they feel, but it is still a difficult thing to say
> that. Why, because the Eritrean culture is a little bit different from ah European cul-
> ture. (Original version; 160831_C, paragraph 54)

However, since these very topics can be of decisive importance for the success of treatment or an asylum application, the interpreters develop strategies to break down the taboo, sometimes alone, sometimes in cooperation with other participants in the conversation, the doctor and the refugees for whom translation is required:

> D: Something like that, there are also words in Arabic. (.) I am not allowed to say that in front of a woman, when I go to the doctor with a Syrian woman and the doctor asks me a few words in German, I understand what it means, but I am not allowed to say that in Arabic.
> I: (..) Okay.
> D: I'm not allowed to say this in Arabic in front of the woman.
> I: And what do you do then?
> D: I say in front of the woman, I say, "that (.) words, I must not say in front of you." (..)
> I: And then?
> D: She says, "What's he saying? Just say you're just an interpreter."
> I: Okay, then and then, then you do it, right?
> D: I don't say that, then I say. (160901_D, paragraph 518-528)

What cannot be told and cannot be said becomes expressible through the reinterpretation of the situation or the social distribution of roles: the interpreter is either explicitly reduced to his role as interpreter and thus becomes sort of sexless. Or he is (declared) to be a brother and is thus cancelled as a possible sexual partner. This is done by the woman herself; the interpreter takes up this role and is thus able to speak. In the interpreting situation described, the social convention *haram* becomes virulent, which in Islamic understanding marks an inviolable zone of the forbidden and determines clear limits of action. The Arabic term earlier also referred to the 'wife'; and the derivation *mahram* for Muslims means the man for whom she is 'inviolable' (*haram*) through the kinship relationship with him and before whom she is at the same time not obliged to cover herself (Schulze, 2010, p. 123). The Islamic scholar Reinhard Schulze shows the semantic development of the complex conceptual field of *haram,* which can include the meanings 'forbid, taboo, ban, consecrate'. They stem from structural transfers of concepts and meanings of an inviolable zone from cult practice to the dress practice of veiling women and, as a consequence, their assignment to the field of the 'sacred' (cf. Schulze, 2010). The example shows the cultural imprint of the communicative situation based on this concept.

> I: for words that are difficult?
> D: (.) The, not the difficult one. The one that I //may//

I: //No, I mean the ones you don't say (.) can//.

D: //Yes.// The, (…) the, also forgot that word. (…) Every month co.

I: Uh yes, the period for example, something like that, mhm (affirmative).

D: Yeah.

I: Mhm (affirmative). When it comes to such things, that is then difficult for you to translate and uh there are then, but there are no, no female interpreters who can do that.

D: //No, no.//

I: //may do, mhm (affirmative), mhm (affirmative).//

D: Unfortunately, there is not.

I: But if the woman then says, "that's okay", then you do that, then you say that. //That is, she //

D: //Yes.//

I: she has to give her ok.

D: She says, "We're at the doctor's, must I know everything, must doctor know everything too, must."

D: // so (slight stutter). Yes, she says, // "you are like my brother, (.) say." (160901_D, paragraph 533-554)

Another way to make the unspeakable speakable is to obtain the woman's permission at the doctor's direction. The interpreter needs the mutual license to speak:

D: (.) When I go, go to the doctor. Example, the doctor asks me the words says a lot, (.) I say to the doctor "I must not say that to the woman."

I: Mhm (affirmative) and what does the doctor say then?

D: (…) He doesn't say anything, (..) or says, "ask her you may say that or not."

I: Aha, // may, the, the //

D: //because "I// need to know."

D: What she needs, what she has, what she (.)

I: Mhm (affirmative), mhm (affirmative). That is, the, the doctor tells you that you get permission, so to speak.

D: Yes (160901_E, paragraph 562-573)

3.4   Concepts: Between Language and Cultural Mediation

The degree of connotative or pragmatic information conveyed seems to correlate with the different conversational situations: The more administrative the situation, the more narrowly defined the terms are, i.e. the fewer extended and transferred meanings the words have. This results in fewer linguistic-cultural interpretation possibilities or necessities. The "competence of the language mediator" referred to (see section on role assignments and expectations of interpreters) then consists of

knowledge of the precise denotative content of the official terms and the corresponding terms in the other language, i.e. a kind of terminological "expertise" (cf. Simonnaes, 2019). In contrast, interpreters feel a need for linguistic-cultural interpretation in contexts with strong non-explicit, i.e. expressively charged linguistic meaning.

In all the examples presented, however, it is not a matter of a general "cultural" interpretation based on stereotyping patterns or so-called cultural standards (Thomas, 1991; Hofstede, 1997), but rather of the semantic-pragmatic content of words and linguistic routines in the respective specific communication situation. In some cases, the volunteer interpreters then apply a kind of retrospective explanatory procedure. Sometimes, e.g. when linguistic routines such as the opening of a conversation are concerned, an interpretation can also be attempted before the interpreting situation. This then leads to a negotiation of the adequate conduct of the conversation with the professional advisors.

In their descriptions and explanations of interpreting situations and experiences, the voluntary, non-professional interpreters and interlocutors tend towards a so-called equivalent practice of interpreting. In so doing, however, they seek a middle course, positioning themselves between two competing ideal-typical concepts that exist in the voluntary and professional practice of translation as well as in academic discussions: on the one hand, that of so-called *cultural mediation,* and on the other, that of so-called *language mediation* (including Albrecht et al., 2005; Bischoff & Schuster, 2010; Bergunde & Pöllabaer, 2015).

The concept of cultural mediation, which emerged primarily in the first decade of the new millennium, is based on the assumption that interpreters, due to their own linguistic and cultural knowledge or even imprint, "not only" interpret, but also pass on "necessary knowledge about the culture of origin" in the sense of intercultural mediation, draw attention to cultural differences and help to "avoid cultural misunderstandings" (Morales, 2005, p. 70, 74). The attractiveness of the concept needs to be seen in the context of the "culturalization of the concept of integration" (Möhring, 2018, p. 318) diagnosed for this period in politics and public debates, which, focusing on (supposed) cultural differences, placed them in a causal connection with social integration deficits. For as a component of identity politics, cultural characteristics tend to be subject to processes of generalization and stereotyping due to cultures being thought of as entirely different and the assumption of homogenous cultural identities of people, for example, of one area of origin or one religious orientation.

Certainly also in light of this discourse, the UNHCR problematizes the role of interpreters as "cultural mediators" in its self-learning module "Interpreting in a Refugee Context" (UNHCR, 2009). There, interpreters are urged to refrain from

cultural interpretations (and thus categorizing attributions). In addition, the supporting and encouraging role for a successful understanding is emphasized in this context, as it is possible to obtain crucial insights empirically during the conversation. With the role of cultural mediators outlined here, a middle position is basically taken between cultural and language mediation, as also represented by concepts of so-called culture-sensitive translation:

> Community interpreters may also be described as culture oriented, as they may be expected to act as cultural mediators who bridge the gap created by cultural differences between two people who would not be able to understand each other if what they say was literally translated. […] Never assume the role of anthropologist, sociologist or historian. You must draw a line between explaining the cultural value of a word and providing information or an explanation about cultural, political or religious issues. (UNHCR, 2009, p. 18, 82)

> The interpreter shall not provide any kind of sociological, anthropological or historical information based on the case she/he is involved in as an interpreter. She/he shall not act as an expert in any of these disciplines while interpreting, but will encourage the interviewer to obtain such information through the interviewee. (UNHCR, 2009, p. 112)

In the more recent specialist literature on the subject, however, a tendency towards so-called language mediation can be discerned (see e.g. BALLER/OTT in the present volume). Above all, publications for the psychosocial, therapeutic field, which draw on a broad foundation of experience, emphasize that it remains central to align linguistic mediation as precisely as possible with what is spoken: "word-for-word, without comment, and impartial" (Kläui & Stuker, 2010; Kluge, 2017; Kizilhan, 2016, p. 53), on the corresponding bases of "neutrality, abstinence, confidentiality" (Storck et al., 2016, p. 525). The requirements or rules developed for this special, sensitive situation of the therapeutic conversation – translating the person who is speaking (linguistic mirroring), translating completely in style and in adaptation to the language level of the speaker (linguistic style) and translating as literally as possible – pursue the goal of minimizing the presence of the interpreter, even to create the illusion of a dyadic conversation situation, i.e. the absence of the interpreter (Abdallah-Steinkopff, 2017), to make him/her invisible (Morina et al., 2010).[19] This orientation towards "literal", non-explanatory and commenting translation was also more evident among the professional counsellors, the more

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[19] The results of the study by Hillebrecht et al. (2019, p. 119) indicate positive effects of reality generated in this way.

decisive the translation situation was considered to be for the future of the interlocutor.

This approach described for the therapeutic field ultimately presupposes a common understanding of cultural sensitivity in the sense of an attentive, open attitude towards the participants in the conversation, between professional companions (therapists) and interpreters. A lack of sensitivity can, for example, lead to "an interpreter translating statements made by the therapist that are considered impolite in the respective culture in such a way that the patient does not lose face", which could lead to the caregiver losing control of the conversation. However, the necessary translation by the interpreter, which should be as close as possible to the words, presupposes the attentive consideration and observance of possible sensitive topics, which include values, norms or taboos, by the person conducting the conversation (Abdallah-Steinkopff, 2006, p. 291). The ideal-typical strategy of language mediation must therefore be modified if necessary, contexts that are not understandable or misunderstandings based on one's own observations should be clarified (Kläui & Stuker, 2010; Kluge, 2017; Lersner & Kizilhan, 2017, p. 53; Hillebrecht, 2019). For an understanding of the respective view and position of the participants in the conversation, so-called equivalent translation, i.e. conveying what has been communicated in an equivalent manner, is fundamentally advantageous. Equivalent translation includes the successive approximation of what is meant by asking questions, whereas adequate translation results in evident or consciously interpreting modifications or obscuring of one or the other position and thus information may be lost during translation (Mecheril et al., 2010; Kruse & Schmieder, 2012).

The Code of Conduct for Language Mediators at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees from 2017 (BAMF, 2017) also takes an ambiguous position following the interpreted hearings that came under public criticism. "Absolute neutrality, objectivity and impartiality" refer to gender, age, sexual orientation, national and/or ethnic origin, social, political or religious background in a diversity- and culture-sensitive way, and the BAMF's "Instructions for successful interpreting" (2019), updated in 2019, call for the necessary self-reflection on one's own social location and positioning among and in relation to the participants in the conversation, referred to here as "examination of interpersonal understanding" with regard to conflicts of interest in family, religious and ethical contexts.

The metaphor that language mediators act as a "mouthpiece" between decision-makers/hearers and applicants, as used in this BAMF handout (2019, p. 8), on the other hand, is misleading for the translation process, since it is not a matter of acoustic stimulus transmission for physical hearing, even if in everyday language *understand* is used for *hear* and better hearing is regarded as automatically mean-

ing better understanding, but there it refers to experiential knowledge about the physiological prerequisites for understanding spoken words. The statement on the cover of the *training manual for interpreters in the asylum procedure,* "It is a fiction that I am neutral and invisible", can therefore be understood as a counterposition to the demand for neutrality. Epistemologically, it is conclusive (Bergunde & Pöllabauer, 2015). This position demands the competence to be self-reflectively aware of the genuinely interpretative character of the reconstruction of what is spoken in the translation process, by interpreters as well as advisors. "Absence", "invisibility", "lending someone one's voice" then do not describe an idea remote from reality, but possible perceptions and thus realities of the interlocutors and can be interpreted situationally as signs of a successful understanding.

It remains noteworthy that the concerns expressed by non-professional interpreters about unreflected word-for-word translation and the strategies they have developed are increasingly discussed not only in research on language pragmatics (cf. e.g. Finkbeiner, 2015), but also in recent translation studies research. Thus, they illustrate Bahadır's "discomfort" of interpreters, which leads to "marginal phenomena" such as "preinterpreting actions, attitudes, framings", which, in her opinion, have received too little attention so far. As examples of the self-positioning and self-reflection of non-professional interpreters, they also show why, as Bahadir (in this volume) notes, "the field of 'nonprofessional translation and interpreting' "... has breathed new life into interpreting research": they openly problematize "professional standards such as neutrality".

3.5   Outlook: Cultural Sensitivity

In the foreign language context, non-understanding and misunderstanding can be experienced more clearly. "Strategies for *Fremdverstehen* ['understanding the strange'] taken for granted – and thus imputation practices – become problematic" (Kruse & Schmieder, 2012, p. 264). Epistemologically, foreign language situations are of particular importance, because linguistic uncertainties can lead to increased requests for explanations of what is meant, misunderstandings can lead to further exchanges and open up other subject areas. "Not understanding" would thus be the "catalyst for further communication – and not understanding" (Luhmann, 2004 cited in Kruse & Schmieder, 2012, note 18, p. 264). A language mediation in the sense of equivalent translation takes up this experience in remarkable agreement with the ethnomethodological approach: Ethnomethodological indifference demands that the researcher does not interpret the everyday actions of persons on the basis of prior or background knowledge of social structures, abstains from "all

judgments about their adequacy, value, significance, necessity, practicability, success, or consequences" (Garfinkel & Sacks, 1976, p. 139).[20] However, this kind of translation does not have to completely exclude consideration of the cultural dimension of language, as the concept of culturally sensitive language mediation shows. It takes into account both the cultural, supra-individual dimension of language, pronounced above all in its inventory and its rules, but especially in the lexicon and the linguistic routines of different languages, as well as the individual linguistic freedom of each speaker in the selection and use of these means, e.g. in the choice of words. If one understands cultural sensitivity as a transcultural attitude, which is characterized by openness and a respectful attitude towards people, then individual life paths, biographical experiences and needs are perceived attentively in their cultural and linguistic-cultural character and in their individual differentiation, without stereotyping, categorization and determination on the basis of assumed cultural patterns or classified standards, which always resonate in the concept of cultural mediation. Diversity characteristics are neither leveled nor overemphasized. This means that in culturally sensitive language mediation, the consideration and explication of language-cultural practices is the prerequisite for understanding.

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[20] This corresponds to modern social and cultural history's understanding of historical representational work. Representation in its compelling linguistic, visual, material mediatedness, Chartier argues, is characterized by two central dimensions: a transitive one, in that representations represent something that has been, in our case, what has been said, and a reflexive one, in that representations represent themselves as representing something, i.e. rules and claims of their representational work are revealed. In this way, an "adequate" representation would be achieved, Chartier (2014, p. 9) referring to Port Royal and Paul Ricoeur.

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Role Relations in Interpreter-Assisted Psychotherapy

Frauke Baller and Brankica Ott

Abstract

Many therapists still react with scepticism and reservations to the use of interpreters in psychotherapy. Doubts about the correctness of the translation are often cited as the first obstacle to cooperation. As justified and important as the requirement of a correct linguistic transmission is – the difficulty seems to lie more often in the act of relinquishing control. And even among interpreters there are often still inhibitions and uncertainties about working with therapists. Often these are based on a lack of knowledge about mental illness and treatment methods, so that the work context is not always easy for them to assess. How can a sustainable, trusting therapeutic relationship be built up and made use of? Guidelines developed from practical experience are presented on how to deal with each other when working in threesomes. These are based on a clear distribution of roles.

In interpreter-assisted psychotherapy, the therapist is responsible for the therapy and the interpreter is responsible for language mediation. It is that clear and simple. Or is it? In the following, we, an interpreter and a psychotherapist, endeavour to take a closer look at the challenges, chances and possibilities of interpreter-assisted

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psychotherapy. We pay special attention to the relationship between therapist and interpreter and the interaction as well as the stumbling blocks during the therapy process. What remains crucial is the understanding of one's own role and its continuous reflection in the threesome of interpreter-assisted psychotherapy.

In interpreter-assisted psychotherapy, special attention and sensitivity to the existing power imbalances and the role of the interpreter are important. The distribution of roles with a clear power structure is given. There is the supposedly omniscient therapist[1], who is allowed to know and ask everything, but hardly reveals anything about themselves, and the patient with problems, who needs help, who makes him/herself vulnerable. If the patient does not speak or hardly speaks the language of the therapist, he/she needs support. The decision whether a person is called in for interpreting and, if so, which one, is usually incumbent on the therapist and not least also on the authorities, to whom the costs can be applied for. He/she can involve family members, ask his/her receptionist to "translate for a moment" or decide to apply for a professional interpreter to cover the costs. This puts the therapist in an even stronger position of power. As the client and speaker of the majority language, he/she can refuse an interpreter if he/she is not satisfied. In case of difficulties with the interpreter, the patient must have the courage to address them and trust that they will be translated.

Interpreters in the psychosocial field are mostly freelance. The fee is low, in many cases they only receive an expense allowance. Supervision or further training support or obligation is not given in most cities and *Landkreise* (Gm. districts). So the law of supply and demand applies.

Based on the conviction that the interpreter and the therapist must form a unit in order to enable a promising therapy, we developed a concept for a joint workshop in which the participants of the two professional groups get closer to each other and develop more understanding for each other. On the basis of our many years of experience in interpreter-assisted psychotherapy and the experience gained from the workshops, we explain below what we consider to be the central aspects for a successful three-way therapy.

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[1] The gendered pronouns in this paragraph should not hide the fact that there are still more men than women interpreting in the psychosocial field, although there are more women than men working in translational sciences. The situation is similar for psychological and medical psychotherapists. More women than men study and work in this field, but publications and supervision in transcultural psychiatry tended to be male-dominated until about 10 years ago. The structural power relations described above apply to all those working in the field, regardless of gender.

Interpreter's View: Brankica Ott

I had already worked as an interpreter and translator for 10 years. I was familiar with the profession and already had routine in my work. I was very often on duty at courts and in various authorities, I helped marriages and divorces, gave children into the care of foster families, visited prisoners in prisons. I have also done a lot of written translations, in all kinds of fields: Deeds, certificates, employment contracts, medical certificates, divorce decrees, indictments. The work was enjoyable. I had my own official stamp, as I had passed the interpreter and translator examination, after which I had myself sworn in before the Hanover Regional Court.

Even back then, when I worked as a trainee in a translation agency during my studies, I was taught by my supervisor that despite my young age – or even because of it – I had to appear confident and behave professionally during my assignments. That meant that I had to be on time for my appointments and not have any conversations before or after the appointments with the clients, defendants, accused. After 10 years, I was already of the opinion that I was doing my job quite well.

One day a cautious request came asking if I would also interpret for patients in psychiatry. At first I didn't understand why the question was asked so cautiously. Of course I would, that is my job after all. The client was happy about my acceptance, but said that many interpreters would refuse this work because they could not distance themselves from the traumatic narratives. I was simultaneously offered to attend a workshop that addressed interpreting in the psychosocial field. I went to the workshop and was one of about 10 participants. We listened to some lectures and did some obligatory role plays. One role play stuck in my mind. We were shown where we should stand during a medical examination, for example. I was asked to imagine interpreting for a male patient undergoing a urological exam. The very thought of this scenario brought drops of sweat to my forehead. It was quite an unpleasant idea. I've never had anything like this before. Can I really do this? Translate such intimate things for a complete stranger as a woman? At least if I knew him. No, that would be worse. So, what do I do? I openly expressed my fears and doubts, and they were taken seriously. One workshop participant was supposed to play the patient, another was the doctor. I was shown where I should stand at the bedside, at the same height as the patient's upper part of the body. He was supposed to see me and, most importantly, he was supposed to be able to see clearly and know what I was

seeing. This event made me realize a certain difficult situation. But more importantly, this event made me think very carefully about the work I had been doing routinely up to that point, and raise my consciousness to consider, for each individual case: What really matters?

Interpreting in psychiatry, psychotherapy and in the psychosocial field in general became my preferred field of activity. I have noticed that my work undoubtedly contributes to the well-being and even the recovery of patients. By strictly following the interpreting rules, which are explained in more detail below as the Interpreting Agreement, one helps the patients to strengthen their own self-confidence and to believe in their own strength. By this I mean, for example, the rule of translating what is said without comment or explanation. Thus, I was able to sign the Interpreter Agreement with the Network for Traumatized Refugees in Lower Saxony (NTFN e. V.), my new ordering customer, with understanding and agreement (NTFN, 2018). The following statements are based on this agreement of the network.

1   Professional Interpreters

It is expected that the interpreters are professional or have received special training. Especially in psychotherapy, interpreters may experience so-called secondary traumatization, as the stories they hear and translate are either cruel and frightening or have been experienced in the same or a similar way by the interpreters, who may be refugees or tortured persons themselves. Ordering customers should ensure that supervision is provided for interpreters – as well as for practitioners – to help them process what they have heard.

For these reasons it should be strictly forbidden that e.g. children act as interpreters.

2   Professional Secrecy/Confidentiality

The core of such an interpreting agreement is the duty of confidentiality. It is important for the reason that interpreters and patients sometimes move in the same social circles. I interpreted for a man in psychotherapy, where he told his life story, which he had probably never told anyone before. When I met him in another con-

text, he turned pale as a sheet. His fear that I would chat about his life with other people was impossible to miss. It helps that in the first session therapists inform not only interpreters but also patients that interpreters are also bound by confidentiality and are liable to prosecution if they disclose anything to the outside world. When the aforementioned patient saw that I behaved, according to the rules of confidentiality, as if I did not know him at all, he was visibly relieved. When I meet patients or clients on the street, I never greet them first. If they are in company, for example, it is possible that the companion does not know that the person concerned is in therapy. I would possibly put them in trouble by explaining who I am.

3 Preservation of Neutrality

Although I am commissioned by therapists, doctors or counsellors to interpret, this does not mean that I represent them in any way or share their opinion. This is also how I behave towards the patients or clients. These are mostly my compatriots, but that does not mean that I stand up for their affairs.

I am neutral when translating and do not take sides. Maintaining neutrality and impartiality or all-partiality should be an imperative. To ensure this, I do not, for example, come to the appointment together with the patients, nor do I leave the room together with them after the appointment. In this way I also avoid situations in which I could become involved in personal conversations. I refuse any kind of private relationship building. More and more therapists have understood this, so that they offer me a separate waiting room, if the circumstances allow it. I often hear from colleagues that they are drawn into conversations against their will because they feel it is impolite not to answer the questions asked.

4 Respectful Treatment

Admittedly, it is not always easy to avoid the clients' questions without appearing dismissive. I use a magazine or my mobile phone as a distraction while waiting. When the questioning begins, I smile briefly in a friendly manner, answer very briefly and turn to the magazine or the phone. I find the friendly smile enormously important. I don't want to come across as arrogant, however, I give a clear sign by my behavior that I am not interested in chatting. And that works. I always say affectionately: "I educate my clients". I can do this consistently, because I am firmly convinced that this does no harm to the patients.

5   Expectations and Demands on Each Other

Should I step out of my professional sphere and establish private contact with the patients, I would create expectations in them that I am available to them beyond my actual work. This would certainly overburden me, make me look frustrated and annoyed and thus become a disadvantage for patients. In one case I had given my phone number – in agreement with the doctor – to a patient, because she was heavily pregnant, did not speak German and could have needed an ambulance very urgently. The result was that months later I was called by her husband in the evening. I think he was standing at a supermarket checkout and said to me, "Can you just tell the cashier that I need €5 credit to recharge?" I amicably replied that I would do that this time as an exception, but that in the future, if he needed my translation services, he would have to please contact me through the interpreting service.

6   Responsibilities of Therapists and Interpreters

6.1   The Therapist Bears the Responsibility for the Therapy

In order to create a clear division of roles, the therapist should use the first session to introduce the patient/client and the interpreter to each other and explain the ground rules. If the therapist clearly states for example that the interpreter is contractually forbidden to disclose private telephone numbers, this prevents patients from getting the feeling that the interpreter does not want to help them.

6.2   The Interpreter Is Responsible for Ensuring that the Translation Is as Faithful to the Original as Possible

Everything that is explained in such a conversation is of course translated, as literally as possible. I prefer translations in the first person, as this makes interpreting faster, minimizes misunderstandings and allows the interlocutors to communicate more directly with each other. Consecutive interpreting is especially necessary in psychotherapy. Simultaneous interpreting would appear chaotic and unsettled. It is important that everything that is said is translated, nothing is left out and nothing is added, even though it is not always easy not to intervene when interpreters notice that something has not been understood or has been misunderstood. If a situation exceptionally requires an explanation or a question is asked, everything must be translated so that there is transparency.

7   Knowledge and Understanding of Each Other's Performance

The therapist should always pay close attention to the level of comprehension of the patient or client, and should choose the language level that best suits their needs.

Once a psychotherapist used a fantasy journey as a therapy technique in her therapy session. She explained to the patient the meaning of such a method. The patient nodded to indicate that she understood. When the therapist asked her to close her eyes and imagine a beautiful and safe place, such as an island with palm trees and flowers, the patient was startled and said, "But I want to stay in Germany!" She thought that if she imagined such an island as a safe place, that she would be deported there. Without me intervening, the psychotherapist realized that the method she had chosen was not adequate for this patient at that time because of the threat of deportation. We then also discussed this in our follow-up talk, which we had after the session without the patient being present.

8   Attitude Towards the Patients

The therapists try to address the patient directly and establish eye contact. I am of the opinion that I as a person or as a personality have no role in the conversation. I know that as a person I radiate a certain presence in the room and create an effect without saying anything at all. Nevertheless, my aim is to withdraw in such a way that therapists and patients can speak directly with each other and thereby perceive the facial expressions and gestures of the other. By avoiding eye contact with the patients, I "force" them to look at the therapists and thereby tell the therapists, and not me, their story of suffering. This is not easy, but it works after a while. Non-verbal or paraverbal communication is especially important in psychotherapy. I feel that my work is successful when I notice that both parties keep eye contact with each other while talking and even "forget" me. Since patients usually automatically look at me while speaking, it is helpful if therapists ask the patients to look at them and not at the interpreter. Here, too, it is important for me to make sure that I do not come across as dismissive or arrogant to patients. My empathetic appearance and complete clarification on the part of the therapists make it possible for patients to understand and comprehend the situations described.

Therapist's View: Frauke Baller

Since I studied my subject psychology abroad in other languages, I was able to gather my own experiences with multilingualism. I was allowed to experience and learn to appreciate moments of uncertainty, searching for words, misunderstanding and laughing together once the language chaos was understood, word jokes and commonalities recognized. In everyday life it is not about literal, correct one-to-one translation, but about the relationship and the desire to understand the other.

In my first professional experiences I was able to experience that people trust you less because you don't speak the language like your mother tongue. Some colleagues recognized my accent and drew conclusions about my origin and the personality supposedly associated with it. Often patients from "my country of origin" were assigned to me, because "we" would surely understand each other better, after all we were of the same descent. Differences in gender, age, level of education or migration process were usually not taken into account. I often found these generalizations and attributions offensive, but sometimes it was also nice to be "different". For example, when patients wished to be accompanied by me, because I spoke "just as funnily as them", because they also had other mother tongues. It is always a question of who you orient yourself towards.

However, I lacked the linguistically conspicuous "migration bonus" with patients with a migration background in Germany. Here I became the "representative of the majority society", as colleagues with a migration background repeatedly explained to me. In the clinic I met interpreters who had already lived in Germany for decades. While I had gone abroad with the desire to study psychology, none of these people had come to Germany to be asked to interpret in psychiatric-psychotherapeutic conversations. In most cases, interpreting was more of a stopgap, a flexibility that was required of them due to their socio-economic situation. Many of them had completed professional training or studies in other fields, were family men, and were significantly older than me. In response to my uncertainty, I read up on theories of working with interpreters, memorized seating arrangements and rules, and insisted on "my word-for-word!" translation (cf. NTFN, 2018; Kluge, 2018; Salman, 2016). Fortunately, the workload in mental health clinics is high and requires a lot of flexibility from its staff, so I had to give up this "stubborn phase" relatively quickly and, with the help of some experienced (and patient) interpreters and colleagues, came to understand more. For example, that an interpreter's concentration drops significantly after two

therapy sessions and that I should take this into account when working together and planning therapy sessions. Or that theories about seating arrangements are justified, but just not always feasible and not always ideal. Rooms and furniture change and patients have different complaints and needs. Regardless of this, the first step is always to build trust (cf. Behrens & Calliess, 2011).

9   Trust

9.1   Establishment of a Sustainable Therapeutic Relation ship

Depending on which school of therapy the therapist belongs to, this process is named differently, but the essence is: In order to support someone therapeutically, he/she must be able to open up to me. The therapeutic relationship is the strongest effective factor in psychotherapy (Schmidt-Traub, 2003; Orlinsky et al., 1994).

It is usually easier for people to get involved with a new situation and new people if they know what to expect and what is expected of them. Clarifying rules and laws, as described above, is the first step. To clarify who has which role, it is important that the therapist explains how to work together. With this he/she already signals: "I am responsible for the course of the therapy". This is important information for the patient.

The clarification of the different roles is a confirmation and perhaps also reassurance for the interpreter(s). For many people who seek help in psychosocial centres and psychiatric hospitals have good reasons for doing so. Some are severely traumatized, some have hallucinations, some have severe obsessive-compulsive and/or anxiety disorders, are hurting themselves or others; and many do not know whether or how to go on living. Absorbing all of these emotions and information while interpreting correctly, as verbatim as possible, is very challenging. The interpreter must be able to concentrate on their translation. For this he/she must be able to trust that the therapist has the patient's condition in mind. And as a therapist I have to be able to trust – especially in difficult situations – that the interpreter will do his/her best to convey everything as word-for-word and coherently as possible – even with the knowledge that these very ideals may come into conflict.

If the therapist and the interpreter radiate this trust in each other, the third party, who is the main target, can more easily get involved in the situation.

9.2   Preliminary Talk with Therapist and Interpreter

We, the authors, have been working together regularly for more than 5 years. Our preliminary talks now usually consist of a friendly greeting and the handing over of a glass of water. But the signal effect remains: We begin the therapy session together.

In new constellations, the preliminary talk serves to get a first impression of each other and to briefly clarify the role, the goal and the expectations of each other. Often colleagues reply that there is "no time for that". Our experience shows that this is too short-sighted. We recommend again and again: Take a few minutes at the beginning to at least have had a look, a small moment of connection with each other. If this does not happen, misunderstandings and irritations can cause the conversation to fail, prolong it unnecessarily or at least make it very exhausting. Of course, the patient also feels this.

9.3   Follow-Up Discussion with Therapist and Interpreter

While in the training sessions therapeutic colleagues often consider the preliminary talk to be less practicable, the interpreters often resist the follow-up talk. The patients might get the impression that they may be bad-mouthed after the session. Here, too, clarification and transparency help.

Trust in each other does not develop within seconds. I must be able to rely on the interpreter and he/she on me. Both of us will always be unsettled in therapy processes, and this is part and parcel of therapy. In my experience, trust is built by talking openly about insecurities and irritations and finding a way to deal with them together. The experienced and patient interpreters mentioned above translated whole sentences back to me in follow-up talks and explained language structures. Not because I wanted to learn the languages, but because I wanted to make sure that I was "in control" of the therapy situation.

Many therapeutic colleagues fear that too much is lost in translation, that they no longer lead the conversation and do not get a feel for the patient. Unfortunately, this partly justified fear is often wrapped up in accusations and insinuations against interpreters, who understandably feel badly treated as a result. This is often carried over into the therapy – with unfavourable effects for the atmosphere. On the other hand, interpreters can also address questions and hints about mental illness and treatment techniques in the follow-up talk. Some symptoms and behaviours of the patients can be unsettling. Likewise, the behaviour of the therapist can be irritating for the interpreter. A good example of this is the suicidality assessment. I know of

hardly any culture or society in which suicide is discussed easily, openly and respectfully. Suicidality, however, is an important issue for many people, and one with which they often feel left alone. Not being able to talk openly with others about life-weary desires, ideas and fantasies, or pressing plans increases loneliness, so the likelihood of suicide tends to increase, whereas asking open, non-judgmental questions about suicidality has been shown *not to* "give people the wrong idea". Suicides are not committed because someone asked us about it (see Blades et al., 2018; Kerkhof & van Luyn, 2010). However, many interpreters find it difficult to deal with this topic, some even experience it as a sin to say these words and ask these questions, and some point out in the follow-up talks the taboo that exists "in their culture" in this regard. The expression of these uncertainties and doubts in the follow-up talks is important for the therapeutic cooperation. It can be a helpful hint from the interpreter that this is judged differently in the patient's life context. However, if he/she interjects this in the session with the patient, this is a disruptive factor. Because there it is exclusively about how the main person (the patient) feels the questions and reacts to them.

10   Duty of Care

The so-called suicidality assessment is part of my therapeutic duty of care. From the first session on, I have a responsibility towards the person who comes to me for treatment. I must not harm them, must weigh up which therapeutic techniques can be used when, and must also protect them from themselves in an emergency (e.g. by admitting them to hospital). However, the autonomy of the person must always be preserved as far as possible. Thus, interpreters who refuse or paraphrase questions about suicidal thoughts in the sessions prevent me from doing my work. But also interpreters who give advice to patients or do not respect the obligation of confidentiality or abstinence bring me into conflict with my professional ethics and order.

In therapy training courses, trainee therapists are now routinely made aware of the risk of becoming mentally ill themselves, e.g. of developing burn-out or of being secondarily traumatized. There are some studies that confirm the risk, but also indications that therapists trained in trauma therapy in particular are better able to protect themselves from this nowadays, as they have learned techniques for self-protection and self-care in the training courses (cf. Daniels, 2019 and Spangenberg, 2019). Nevertheless, there is a consensus among therapists that regular inter−/supervision and further training are important. With all this knowledge, I need to be aware that in therapy with three people, I have another person involved who may not know all these techniques and exercises, but who not only hears all the trauma

narratives (including experiences of torture, abuse, loss of family members), but also translates them into another language. I need this person in order to be able to treat. And the patient needs the possibility to name/express their experiences. This is only possible if the interpreter is also treated with care (cf. Schriefers & Hadzic, 2018).

In psychotherapies, a lack of self-care and mindfulness often come up. The principle of "learning from the model" helps here. A mindful and respectful approach to oneself and one's (interpreting) colleagues is part of the therapy. And: Distancing, relaxation and stabilization exercises are done by everyone, because they are not only good for the patient.

11   Self-Efficacy

An important step in the recovery process is the strengthening of self-efficacy. Ideally, the patient's understanding of him/herself and his/her illness increases during the course of therapy and helps to bring about the changes he/she needs. This strengthening already begins in small, everyday steps. For this it is important for the patient to have enough contextual information and understanding to recognize their own possibilities of action. Therapists and interpreters make this possible if they also give them the space to decide and act for themselves. An interpreter who automatically makes appointments for the patient, even after years in literacy courses, because the patient is not able to do so, does not contribute to the promotion of independence.

Self-efficacy in a three-person setting also begins in the first few minutes as a threesome. All three people in the room agree on a "stop sign", e.g. a hand signal from team sports. Each person in the room may indicate if the other person is talking too much, if a translation is needed or if a break is required. All three are responsible for the flow of the conversation.

12   Therapy Process

Therapy processes are usually not straightforward. Often phases of stabilization are followed by phases of uncertainty and change. Therefore, in the following we have created only a rough subdivision of the complex therapy process, on the basis of which we want to describe the dynamics in the therapy with three people.

The first thing is to develop a feeling for the setting and the other people. How long do the conversations last, how similar is the dialect of the language, how does

the voice sound? How does the language sound? How many minutes without translation can I stand? How much does the third person resonate? How much can the interpreting person remember, who is looking at whom? In this initial phase, continuity is particularly important. Frequent changes of interpreters lead to uncertainty, but also inconsistent behaviour on the part of the therapist or interpreter is noticeable and confusing. If interpreters and therapists agree on their different roles and behave accordingly (and can reflect together), this phase offers a good opportunity to observe the patient's interactional behaviour, to draw diagnostic conclusions and to take therapeutic action. However, this also requires the willingness of the interpreter to expose themselves to a situation in which the interaction with him/her is discussed, i.e. in which the interpreter is consciously used for the therapy (cf. Kluge, 2018).

Ideally, this is the phase of adjusting to each other or also of swinging along, of getting into a common rhythm, in which the basis for a successful therapy is created.

In dealing with therapy offers for refugees in recent years, it could be noticed how solution-oriented and manualized many approaches are. Sometimes it seems as if one wants to counteract the suffering experienced with as many effective techniques as possible and free people from the consequences of trauma in the shortest possible time. Apart from the fact that it is a presumptuous idea that one can resolve suffering from massive human rights violations and inhumane migration policies within short-term therapies, an important part of psychotherapy is often misunderstood. The part in which doubts are raised about the possibilities of therapy, unpleasant feelings and thoughts are projected onto the other person and conflicts by proxy are fought out. Defense mechanisms and resistance are familiar to every therapist. In the case of post-traumatic stress disorder, the avoidance behaviour of the patient is even a criterion for the diagnosis of the illness (DSM-V). Unreliability in keeping appointments or in doing homework in behavioral therapy is therefore part of the therapy. The art here is to awaken and maintain the hope and motivation of the patient, even if treatment successes are minimal at first. This is sometimes difficult to endure. For everyone involved.

It is important for interpreters to be prepared for this. An interpreter who makes an annoyed face because the patient "tells the same thing again["] or explains my question to him/her again because he/she does not answer it (these could be signs of avoidance behaviour, does he do it consciously or unconsciously?) puts the patient under pressure rather than helping. Also, fraternizing of the interpreter with the patient against the therapist so that he/she finally understands how much the patient is suffering does not usually lead to a more effective therapeutic relationship.

In order to increase motivation or to clarify processes without appearing to lecture, some therapists use the so-called Socratic dialogue. Also, when I want to find out how my patient thinks about certain topics, I sometimes ask questions that may seem unnecessary or even uneducated and ignorant to an interpreter. However, these are not requests for the interpreter to give me short lectures in the presence of the patient, e.g. about "Islam" or "Oriental Culture". I am interested in my patient's point of view and world of experience at this moment and the interpreter ideally enables him/her to tell me about it. If there are questions for the interpreter or if the interpreter wants to convey important information, this is possible during the follow-up talks or preliminary talks. However, care should be taken that this does not lead to generalizations about certain groups of people (cf. Hegemann & Oestereich, 2009; Wolf & Özkan, 2012).

If concerns and doubts about the therapy can be resolved or at least alleviated, a more honest, confrontational phase follows, in which traumatic experiences (if any), experiences of discrimination, fears and problems are brought up. Since these are usually shame- and guilt-ridden topics, the professional attitude and unity of interpreters and therapists is enormously important. In the preliminary talk and follow-up talk, the focus is then more on therapeutic techniques, i.e.: What is planned for the session, what is important. It is often helpful if the interpreters can prepare the translation of an instruction before the session. For example, the classic stabilization exercises for traumatic memories are worded in a particular way and relatively long. Translating this extemporaneously and getting the tone, speed and volume right is a major challenge for many interpreters. In trauma confrontation techniques it is important to agree beforehand what the goal is and how the interpreter can protect him/herself during the confrontation. Especially in this situation it is good that the interpreter's gaze is not on the patient. This can make it easier to distance oneself from the trauma content, because the interpreter does not automatically mirror the patient's facial expressions and body posture and can remain more "with him/herself".

When interpreting a trauma narrative, such as a report of torture, I have to keep my patient focused and get the most important things translated (i.e. also be able to stop the report and prevent flooding). The interpreter must be prepared for this, as must the patient. Some interpreters switch to indirect speech when interpreting trauma content in order to create more emotional distance. Used consciously, this can be a good method. Therapists should address this change in the follow-up talk and clarify whether it was a conscious decision that increased the interpreter's ability to control the situation.

13 Opportunities of Psychotherapy in Threes

With good preparation and follow-up of this kind of therapeutic work with interpretation, a surprising dynamic can result: The therapeutic effect is even multiplied by the third person in the room! Especially after traumatic experiences, the recognition of the suffering as a need is often in the foreground. The possibility to report these experiences in the mother tongue, to find words for what has been experienced and then to have someone who finds even more words for it, even conveys it in another language, is something valuable. What was experienced is expressed in both languages, making it audible and more understandable. These moments are usually touching and special for all three. The best healing opportunities after traumatic experiences are positive relational experiences. This is a particularly positive, appreciative experience. Enduring the sadness and heaviness in the room together – and then also finding lightness again together, that is great.

Celebrating successes together is just as valuable. Sharing joy with two people, proudly reporting progress, hearing the positive resonance of the interpretation – or even being able to say to the interpreter: "I can say that myself" – these moments are the treasures of psychotherapy with three people.

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Interpreting in Asylum Hearings: Findings of the "Berlin Initiative" and Their Transfer to Other Settings

Henrieke Markert

Abstract

The article presents the Berlin Initiative and its work. The initiative is a free association of professional interpreters and other experts who are committed to good interpreting in the community, with the aim of promoting equal, linguistically accurate and culturally appropriate communication. What this means in the concrete interpreting situation and how this can best be ensured in an area in which mostly untrained interpreters work has been the focus of the initiative since its inception. For the pilot project at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), the general quality standards of interpreting were reflected upon with regard to the situation of asylum hearings and the knowledge gained from this has since been further developed for other settings in the community.

1   Introduction

What does professional interpreting in community settings mean and why is it important? What do the ethical principles of the profession mean for the practice of such settings? Since 2016, the Berlin Initiative (BI), a group of professionally trained interpreters, has been addressing these questions. Based on their own expertise, fed by academic knowledge, practical experience and current research,

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they reflected on the professional ethical principles of interpreting with regard to asylum hearings and developed a training concept for lay interpreters that can also be applied to other community interpreting. The practical examination of professional ethical principles is indispensable for their deeper understanding and implementation. Only by observing them can communication between the parties involved be as direct as possible. As direct as possible because interpreters are present with their voices, bodies, feelings and thoughts and thus automatically influence the situation. According to the BI and the professional associations, the interpreter's task is to translate what is said into another language as impartially and without judgement, as precisely and completely as possible. In order to perform this task well, he/she needs a high degree of self-reflection and a clear understanding of his/her own role.

The necessity for authorities, but also for non-governmental agencies, to communicate with speakers of a language other than the official language is derived from the recognition of the European Convention on Human Rights, the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and from the claim to enable social equality and participation for all.[1]

2   The Berlin Initiative

The Berlin Initiative for Good Interpreting in Asylum and Migration was founded in 2016 as a voluntary association of academically trained interpreters. At the time, the increased number of asylum applications raised the question among colleagues about the qualifications and working methods of interpreters in the authorities dealing with migration. After an initial appeal among colleagues and in the professional associations BDÜ (Bundesverband der Dolmetscher und Übersetzer e. V.) and AIIC (Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence), the conference interpreter and AIIC mandate holder for interpreting in the refugee sector Kristin von Randow (2019) initiated a self-organised group that set itself the goal of supporting lay colleagues interpreting in the migration sector in their work by imparting professional knowledge. This is because, to date, most of them are self-taught, as there are very few trained interpreters in Berlin and Germany for the language combinations needed in the work with refugees. Trained means that the interpreters have a university degree in interpreting or have passed the state interpreting ex-

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[1] All considerations and findings presented here are a joint product of the BI members.

amination in a federal state. Without training, there is a risk that an interpreter will not grasp the complexity of her task, will not have clarity about her own role, and will not be able to represent it to the parties to the conversation. A lack of expertise can lead to uncertainty, which increases the risk of being pressured into taking on roles unrelated to interpreting. If one does not know what frameworks make for good interpretation, one cannot demand it. In addition, interpreting in CI settings, i.e. interpreting in community and health care settings, is often not yet perceived and recognised as a professional service.

This view is also reflected in academic conference interpreter training, where the field of "community interpreting" is hardly taken into account. Nevertheless, some graduates of this subject later work in community settings and must know how to deal with the social complexity and hierarchical constellation of such conversations. These include police interrogations with rape victims, help conferences at the youth welfare office with addicted parents, or doctor's consultations in which an incurable diagnosis is communicated. And even if an interpreter has never interpreted in an official or community setting, he or she will sooner or later have to deal with interpreting situations that can be emotionally very stressful, such as an award ceremony for committed journalism at which a film about genital mutilation is shown, or a conference on the anniversary of the genocide in Rwanda at which witnesses of a massacre give their testimony. These are just a few examples from the practice of BI members.

Even though many trained interpreters are not adequately prepared for such situations during their studies, they have a basic understanding of the role of interpreting compared to their non-trained colleagues, are proficient in the technique and know the ethical values of integrity and confidentiality, neutrality, precision and completeness. The aim of the initiative is to reflect on and apply these values and knowledge with regard to the specific challenges of the asylum hearing setting.

3   The Asylum Hearing as a Special CI Setting

The interpreting setting of an asylum interview belongs to so-called Community Interpreting (CI),[2] which is primarily assigned to settings in the institutional, official sphere such as court, police, youth welfare office, job centre, school, hospital, etc., but which also includes non-official matters such as the conclusion of tenancy

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[2] In the German-speaking world, there is still no consensus on a German equivalent of this English term that covers the many different areas. (Cf. Pöllabauer, 2005, pp. 50). For this reason, the English term is now also increasingly gaining acceptance in German.

agreements or psychotherapy treatment.[3] These settings differ from classical conference interpreting in that there is a more or less strong asymmetry of power, which of course also affects speakers of the official national language, but is even more pronounced in the case of minorities whose origins may be tainted with prejudice.[4] This asymmetry is most obvious in the field of the judiciary and the authorities, but in all CI settings the hierarchy continuously plays into the relationship level of the actors. In addition, there is the information gap between the representatives of the authority or institution and the private person, who has less knowledge about the legal situation, procedures and institution-specific technical terms. For the speakers of the official languages, these are sometimes just as difficult to understand, but the latter are nevertheless better able to inform themselves about their rights and are generally more familiar with the respective system.

In the asylum interview, this power and information imbalance comes to the fore in an exacerbated form, since the decision of the authority is of existential importance for the applicant. Pöllabauer (2005, pp. 53) describes the effects of this structural inequality on the communication situation, whose actors pursue different goals in the conversation. The primary goal of the decision-makers can probably be considered to be fast and efficient communication leading to the establishment of institutionally defined, objective facts. The primary goal of the applicant is the credible presentation of his/her situation and the recognition of the refugee status. The primary goal of the interpreters can be assumed to be smooth communication. The representatives of the authorities are responsible for conducting the conversation and can repeat certain individual steps until the desired information is available. They alone have the authority to define the statements of the applicant as truth: "While the representatives of the authorities are allowed to treat all statements of the clients with mistrust, the clients are expected not to doubt the truthfulness of the statements of the representatives of the authorities" (Pöllabauer, 2005, p. 64). Pöllabauer (2005, p. 71) refers to the strict regulation of the procedure, the question-answer structure, which usually only allows applicants to answer questions initiated by the other side, and the resulting limited room for manoeuvre, as a coercive situation.

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[3] However, there is no consensus in research as to whether court interpreting should not be regarded as a separate field of activity, since on the one hand there is a certain prerequisite (swearing in) and on the other hand a certain professionalisation has already taken place. (Cf. Pöllabauer, 2005, p. 22).

[4] Not only the language barrier contributes to the power imbalance to the disadvantage of the asylum seekers, but also the extent to which the person is familiar with the argumentation structures of the host country and can thus sketch an adequate picture of a refugee. (Cf. Barsky, 1996, pp. 59).

For interpreters, such a power imbalance means a continuous oscillation between two diametrically opposed stances, both of which they are expected to represent with equal commitment and to which their own is added. In this regard, Bahadır (2010a, p. 28) points out an aspect that has received little attention in interpreting studies: "The interpreter perceives, listens, sees and speaks in the name of the other, but in both the language of the symbolically and/or practically oppressed Other and the language of the oppressor. As there can be no neutral part in mis/communication and as there is no objective way of perceiving, analyzing, and processing information and emotions […], the professional interpreter has to position herself." A large power imbalance between the parties to the conversation increases the doubts of both sides towards the integrity of the interpreter. Both fear that she might ally herself with the other side and thus act to their own disadvantage. For successful interpretation, however, the trust of both parties is indispensable.

In her study of interpreted asylum hearings in Austria, Pöllabauer (2002, p. 7) was able to demonstrate that interpreters in asylum hearings often take on discrepant roles that cannot be clearly delineated from one another and that rarely correspond to those defined in the professional codes.

From a professional point of view, the question arises as to how the professional values and standards of interpreting can be implemented in CI settings, where it is much more difficult to comply with them than at conference level, because here the interlocutors usually communicate on an equal level and have similar motivations, and emotionally stressful situations tend to be the exception. Here, both parties are usually equally interested in understanding each other. In addition, in conference settings the interpreter is seen much more in her role and function and is expected to perform much less, if at all, non-interpreting tasks, such as helping to explain the issue on the one hand and helping to assess a statement on the other. In the case of simultaneous interpreting, the interpreting booth or a tour guide system already creates a spatial distance, sometimes even so great that the users of the interpreting service cannot see the interpreters, so that direct interaction between them is not possible at all.

In community interpreting, on the other hand, interpreters are much more challenged in terms of professional ethical values. From a professional perspective this seems self-evident, but it is neither for untrained users of interpreting services nor for lay interpreters. Due to the fact that one party is always in a precarious supplicant position and the other always in an examining decision-maker position, there is a much greater danger that interpreters will be expected to perform many more and more far-reaching tasks, such as taking on the role of comforter, teacher, defender, expert witness, judge or even detective. In addition, the divergence of inter-

ests or the power imbalance between both parties has an effect, since the success of linguistic communication is not of vital importance for one party (representative of the institution). In this situation, it is therefore all the more important that interpreters have or develop an awareness of their role and the ethical aspects of their profession, so that they can always find the balance between empathy and distance and interpret in an impartial manner.

4 Pilot Project at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF)

4.1 Concept

After an exchange among the BI members about their own experiences in the CI and with colleagues who had already interpreted in asylum hearings, as well as a discussion of the relevant literature[5], questionnaires and feedback forms were developed to describe the interaction in the interpreted asylum hearing. Subsequently, a series of observation sessions took place at a field office of the BAMF in Berlin. This served to review the need for training as well as to better assess the challenges of this setting. The observations showed that the confidentially developed questionnaires and feedback forms, with some adjustments, were suitable for examining the setting with regard to aspects relevant to interpreting. In the run-up to the project, there was also the question of whether it was possible to observe and train independently of language, since the mentor pool was largely made up of interpreters of the "major" languages, i.e. English, French, Spanish and Italian. It quickly became clear that even without knowledge of one of the two interpreted languages, the mastery of the interpreting techniques and the understanding of the role could be assessed to a high degree and additionally checked in a follow-up interview. This finding encouraged the BI to develop a concept for a mentoring programme and its members to qualify as mentors. The fact that the BAMF commissioned the BI project executing agency (DoM Gesellschaft für Dolmetschmentoring gUG, Society for Interpreting Mentoring) with the implementation of a mentoring pro-

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[5] These included academic publications on interpreting in general and on community interpreting, interpreting techniques, the role of interpreters, professional ethics, intercultural communication, stress management and trauma prevention, as well as the professional codes of conduct of the professional associations. For the German-speaking world, the most important references on the topic of community interpreting were the publications by Şebnem Bahadır (esp. 2010b) and Sonja Pöllabauer (esp. 2002).

gramme was also a consequence of the fact that the agency's interpreting services had already come under public criticism several times at the time and that it was seeking an improvement in this area.[6]

The Berlin Initiative based the content conception of the mentoring primarily on the value ethics of the UNHCR Manual for Interpreters in Asylum Procedures,[7] as well as on the professional ethical obligations for interpreters of the UN Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.[8] These duties had already been included in the BAMF Code of Conduct[9] for language mediators in asylum procedures and established a certain standard for practice. After the observations in the run-up to the project, this standard was further developed into a coherent professional role model of the interpreter and put into a record sheet. Based on the above-mentioned UN templates and the intensive dialogue with the BAMF and its interpreters, the values developed by the BI are: Precision and completeness, neutrality, confidentiality, integrity. They concern the interpreter as a person as well as the exercise of his/her activity. In order to convey these values, the following training topics were defined: Preparation and follow-up of the interpreting assignment, ethics, role and tech-

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[6] For example, there have been accusations against BAMF interpreters of serving as informers for the Turkish government https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/tuerkei-bamf-mitarbeiter-sollen-tuerkische-asylbewerber-bespitzelt-haben/20455958.html, Accessed: 4th Nov 2019. In this case, the interpreters had violated their duty of confidentiality. In another case, an interpreter suspected of being loyal to the regime is alleged to have deliberately filled out asylum applications incorrectly (https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/asylverfahren-in-der-hand-des-dolmetschers-1.3143237, Accessed: 4th Nov 2019).

[7] UNHCR Austria, ed. 2015, *Training Manual for Interpreters in the Asylum Procedure*. Linz: Trauner Verlag. https://www.bfa.gv.at/files/broschueren/Trainingsprogramm_WEB_15032016.pdf, Accessed: 4th Nov 2019.

[8] ICTY-United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. 1999. *The Code of Ethics for Interpreters and Translators Employed by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.* https://www.tradulex.com/Regles/ethICTFY.htm, Accessed 4th Nov 2019.

[9] However, the code of conduct also contains the regulation on the duty to cooperate, with whose signature the interpreters commit themselves to immediately inform the employees of the BAMF of conspicuities and discrepancies of a linguistic nature that relate to the presented origin of the asylum applicant – also in geographical terms. Because the interpreters are supposed to take on the role of linguists, for which they are not qualified, the BI has spoken out against the obligation to cooperate. Nevertheless, a deletion could not be achieved, but in practice it is no longer actively demanded. This is an example of what happens when the role model of the interpreter is not taken into account by interpreters. Cf. *Code of Conduct for Language Mediators at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees*, as of 09.06.2017, https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Downloads/Infothek/Das-BAMF/verhaltenskodex-dolmetscher.pdf?__blob=publicationFile, accessed: 4th Nov 2019.

nique of interpreting, intercultural communication, stress management and trauma prevention. For the area of intercultural communication, the only thing that could be done within this limited framework was to raise awareness of the fact that communication problems could also be caused by cultural differences.[10]

The contents were worked out by everyone together. There were working groups that fed their results back into the group. One aspect that seemed to have received little attention in training measures for CI interpreters so far was the psychological stress that is particularly high for interpreters in asylum hearings, where reports of flight, torture, rape and war are commonplace. Therefore, strategies for trauma prevention and stress management were also included in the training programme. The psychotraumatologists Ulrich Keller and Dieter Schwibach from Munich had already participated in the observation sessions and on this basis and on Peter Levine's body-oriented trauma therapy developed a concept for trauma prevention for interpreters (2007, 2010).

4.2   Implementation

The pool of qualified interpreting mentors was recruited from the members of the Berlin Initiative. The prerequisite was a diploma or master's degree as a conference interpreter or proof of having passed the state examination as an interpreter. All mentors received training in trauma prevention, feedback and intercultural communication. Before the start of the project, situations and problems were put up for discussion and common positions were developed. It was important to the initiative to approach the mentees with an appreciative and collegial attitude, to build on their competencies and to learn from their experiences. This was because most of the mentors were not yet familiar with the specific setting of the hearing from their own experience, even though all of them had already interpreted in emotionally stressful situations and had informed themselves about the hearing process. The aim of the mentoring was to empower the mentees and to strengthen their self-reflection in order to perform more professionally in assignments and to comply with quality standards in interpreting. From September 2017 to May 2018, the interpreting mentors accompanied the interpreting mentees in more than 300 asylum hearings and closely followed their working style and work situation. During the hearings, the mentors recorded their observations of the interpreting situation on a data entry sheet, which formed the basis of the subsequent feedback interviews with the mentee; both sheets and interviews were structured according to the train-

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[10] Reference was made to Heringer 2017, among others.

ing content. Each mentor-mentee pair completed ideally six hearings together over 3 days, followed by a feedback discussion. In addition, all mentees were also accompanied once by another mentor to a seventh hearing in order to check and secure the observations. The mentors regularly participated in supervision during the mentoring program in order to reflect on their role as mentors and to exchange observations.

5   Findings from the BAMF Project and Follow-Up Projects

For reasons of confidentiality, only general observations made in CI settings can be discussed here. Since the BAMF project, the BI has networked with a large number of governmental and non-governmental actors in social work and health care who work with interpreters. Further observations and exchanges with interpreters and representatives of counselling centres, integration projects, neighbourhood initiatives, etc., have confirmed and expanded the observations from the BAMF project.

The BI examined how the professional ethical values of integrity, confidentiality, neutrality, precision and completeness interact and sometimes collide in this area, or cannot be achieved due to a lack of preparation for the situation, the role, divergent expectations of the other party and a lack of intercultural sensitisation, resulting in suboptimal understanding, which unfortunately cannot be discussed in more detail for reasons of confidentiality.

When it becomes emotionally stressful for interpreters, they easily lose their dynamic measure of empathy and distance and no longer interpret neutrally. Interpreters should not take on the role of helper, comforter, teacher, advocate, defender or even judge: This responsibility does not belong to them. In our observation, roles that are assigned to interpreters in addition to the professional model serve to relieve the interlocutors who ascribe these roles to them. Untrained interpreters often do not know their role exactly and therefore adapt more easily to the false expectations of their interlocutors than trained colleagues.

Integrity is defined by the UN ethics as the interpreter's inner respectful and sincere attitude towards the parties to the conversation as well as towards herself/himself. The promise kept by every professional interpreter to respect the dignity of the interlocutor without forfeiting his or her own and not to profit from the interpreted situation creates the basis for communication between the three. Integrity can be violated by bias, for example, if the interpreter is not in control of his/her own emotional expressions due to a lack of self-reflection and thus hurts one of the parties to the conversation or does not take them seriously. Integrity can also mean

that the interpreter steps out of his/her role in the event of discrimination against one party by the other and is thus no longer able to fulfil this role. The duty of confidentiality can be derived from the guiding value of integrity. Especially in situations with stressful content, it is not always easy for interpreters to maintain confidentiality, as what they have experienced and heard cannot simply be put away. In this respect, supportive supervision would be important in order to alleviate this burden, as confidentiality is indispensable in order to maintain the trust of the interlocutors. The BI understands the guiding value of neutrality as an intersubjectively sensitive attitude in the sense of impartiality as well as all-partiality. The interpreter creates neutrality by actively creating a dynamic measure of empathy and distance towards the interlocutors. An impartial attitude towards them is a prerequisite for this. The values of completeness and precision are derived from this. Only if nothing is left out and nothing is added on either side, if linguistic expressions equivalent in meaning and register are used for both sides, will interpreting be done with equal commitment for both and thus as neutrally as possible.

In the case of non-academically trained interpreters, the clients of interpreting services must reckon with the fact that insufficient knowledge of German, a lack of specialist terminology and poor interpreting technique may have a negative effect on the completeness and precision of the interpretation. The same applies to a lack of self-reflection with regard to one's own interpreting quality and resources. Without conscious output control and an internal quality benchmark, these criteria are difficult to meet over time. An unclear understanding of the interpreter's role, e.g. through unauthorized, unidentified enquiries, can lead to taking on non-interpreting roles and tasks. The interpreter then becomes a helper, expert, traitor, co-advisor, co-therapist, teacher and no longer interprets with equal commitment for all parties, he/she is no longer neutral and cannot distinguish him/herself sufficiently from one party. Finally, the lack of self-reflection regarding ethical aspects can lead to bias and a breach of confidentiality.

What is therefore necessary for better interpretation in CI?

1. strengthening the competence of the users to lead conversations.
2. strengthening the reflective competence of the interpreters.

The conclusion of the BI is: The less interpreters are trained, the more users have to be sensitized for working with them, as the users are responsible for leading the conversation. They are responsible for creating a trusting framework for communication and establishing contact with clients or applicants, as well as pointing out the role of interpreters.

6   Status Quo of Professionalisation in Germany

The German authorities are increasingly dependent on interpreters in their communication with people in Germany, as are hospitals and the social and counselling services of welfare organisations.[11] But so far there is no unified official position on what expectations, requirements and tasks these interpreters actually have to fulfil, nor how they should be commissioned and paid. Only in the area of justice and at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees is the use of interpreters prescribed by law and their remuneration regulated. In order to work for the police and courts, interpreters must be sworn in by the state. At the Federal Office, no such qualification has been required so far, however, except for languages that are rare in Germany, i.e. languages for which no state examination for interpreters is offered in Germany, interpreters now have to provide at least the language certificate C1 for German. In all other areas (hospitals, youth welfare offices, job centres, psychosocial services, etc.) there are officially no fixed requirements. And even fewer set rates. Unfortunately, it is still often assumed that it is sufficient to have knowledge of two languages in order to be able to interpret, regardless of the situation. The BDÜ, on the other hand, has long been pushing for a legal regulation on the financing and quality assurance of interpreting services in the health sector.[12]

The lack of standards has created a situation in which interpreters and users often have their own ideas about what constitutes "good" interpretation. In order to counteract this unsatisfactory situation, the Department of Intercultural German Studies in Germersheim, under the direction of Şebnem Bahadır, has been dealing with the specific requirements of interpreting in the CI field for a long time and offers an innovative didactic method for strengthening the necessary skills with "interpreting enactments" (Bahadir, 2010b). In comparison to classical interpreting teaching, the interpreter's body and the context of the interpretation take centre stage here, i.e. "the emotional, non-verbal and irrational dimensions of

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[11] The provision of an interpreter is legally required in Germany only in investigative, criminal and asylum proceedings, as well as in administrative proceedings in which the authority interferes with the rights of a person who does not speak the language, or if administrative proceedings cannot otherwise be conducted fairly and in accordance with the rule of law, or if this is required for reasons of constitutional law or international law. Cf. *state of affairs "Entitlement to an interpreter vis-à-vis public authorities"*, file no: WD 3 – 3000 – 106/17, German Bundestag 2017.

[12] Cf. BDÜ position paper "On the financing and quality assurance of interpreting services in the healthcare sector", as of July 2019. https://bdue.de/fileadmin/files/PDF/Positionspapiere/BDUe_PP_Dolmetschen_Gesundheitswesen_Finanzierung_Qualitaet_2019.pdf, accessed 4th November 2019.

communication as well as the social, cultural, political but also personal factors that influence interpreting performance are given equal status alongside the verbal factors in the teaching."[13] In addition, guidelines and best practices have been oftentimes developed in many places themselves, where German-speaking professionals and people with no knowledge of German are supposed to communicate with each other.[14]

7   Outlook

Since the conclusion of the pilot project at the BAMF, the BI has continued to network and develop. A mission statement has been developed to represent the initiative's concerns to the outside world.[15] At the same time, the members of the BI continue to train methodologically and in terms of content. With the help of case studies and role plays, concrete options for implementing the principles of professional ethics in CI settings are tried out and defined. In Berlin and other locations, the initiative has already conducted workshops and training sessions for interpreters and users in the field of migration, e.g. for integration initiatives, but also in social institutions such as women's shelters, the gay counselling service or at the violence protection hotline, etc. The BI's aim is to make the findings from the pilot project fruitful for all CI settings, to raise awareness of the importance of good quality interpreting and to lobby in this regard.[16] This also includes the demand for an appropriate payment for interpreters, which could be based, for example, on the

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[13] Cf. https://deutsch.fb06.uni-mainz.de/dolmetschinszenierungen/ziele-inhalte-herangehensweise/. Accessed: 18th March 2020.

[14] There is an extensive international literature on interpreting in psychotherapy (studies, guidelines and articles). The training of interpreters is not officially regulated in Germany. Some psychosocial centres offer self-developed training modules. The EU project ImPLI (Improving Police and Legal Interpreting) 2010/11 aimed at introducing interpreting standards in the field of police, but here too without aiming at a nationwide qualification of the training. The project website (www.eulita. eu/LIT materials/European projects) provides access to six training videos, which are intended to familiarise interpreters with police interrogation methods on the one hand and the police with the role and techniques of interpreters on the other.

[15] Information on the goals of the Berlin Initiative at https://berliner-initiative.org

[16] For more information and contact, visit https://berliner-initiative.org

rate for interpreting in court.[17] For many organizations that rely on grants and donations, this is too much at this point in time. Ultimately, it is a question of social and political will to recognise the value of good interpretation and to remunerate it appropriately. The possibility for both parties to the conversation to speak their own language strengthens their cultural and linguistic self-worth on the one hand, and on the other hand enables both parties to learn something about the culture and language of the other party and to perceive these as valuable and of equal value if, for example, certain idioms and realia shine through in the interpretation.

For the interpreting profession, the BI calls for an active engagement with the above-mentioned values in order to enable a clear ethical orientation in practice. This includes the development of strategies and solutions for tricky situations. Understanding the ethics of the profession helps every interpreter to make decisions. Therefore, the ethical values should also become generally binding for the field of CI, differentiated and weighted for the various fields of activity. This will create the conditions for interpreters to be held accountable and responsible.

Even if lay interpreters are not considered members of the profession, the BI advocates that their work be seen as nothing less than interpreting and that ethical guidelines be provided to guide them on the path to professionalisation. The discussion of these standards also shows BI members that they are just as relevant for ethically critical situations in conference interpreting.

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[17] The German Judicial Remuneration and Compensation Act (Justizvergütungs- und Entschädigungsgesetz, JVEG) provides for a fee of 70 € per hour for assignments on behalf of the public prosecutor's office and 75 € per hour for simultaneous interpreting. The hourly rate for interpreting services provided by the police without a mandate from the public prosecutor's office is €45 plus a flat-rate travel allowance of €10 for the state of Berlin.

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Translational Processes as a Research Object and Premise.
A Research-Practical Approach to Interpreted Help Plan Discussions

Carolyn Hollweg

Abstract

Despite their constitutive character, translation processes do not receive particular attention either in the increasingly multilingual contexts of action in child and youth welfare or in their social scientific exploration. But especially when interpreting and translating services form both the object of research and a central component of the research process itself, the reflexive examination of them is of essential importance. This article explores this on the basis of a research project on interpreted help plan discussions. It sheds light on the hitherto hardly illuminated intersection between translation processes as a research object and as part of one's own research practice, in order to sensitize for the (im)possibilities of a practical approach to research and to reveal its epistemological potential.

1   Introduction: The Intersection Between Research Object and Premise

Although the use of interpreters is considered to be of central importance for successful assistance processes in child protection (cf. Jagusch, 2012), the handling of interpreting processes in pedagogical contexts is an essential research desideratum.

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In translation theory, the generic term *Community Interpreting* has become established for such non-professionalized translational[1] actions between immigrants and institutions. This comparatively young field of research is increasingly dealing with the role of the interpreting person (cf. Ahamer, 2013; La Gro, 2019). In child and youth welfare, however, there is a lack of an established procedure on how, on the one hand, pedagogical processes can be designed within the framework of Community Interpreting, and on the other hand, how they can be made accessible to analysis from within the social-pedagogical discipline. As the development of a practical approach to research presented for discussion here shows, the research field and research practice thus face very similar challenges (Fig. 1).

Both in the field of study itself and in social science research contexts, the search for an appropriate way of dealing with linguistic heterogeneity initially encounters monolingual notions of norms (cf. Sects. 3). They go hand in hand with the fact that qualified language mediation is often not sufficiently secured finan-
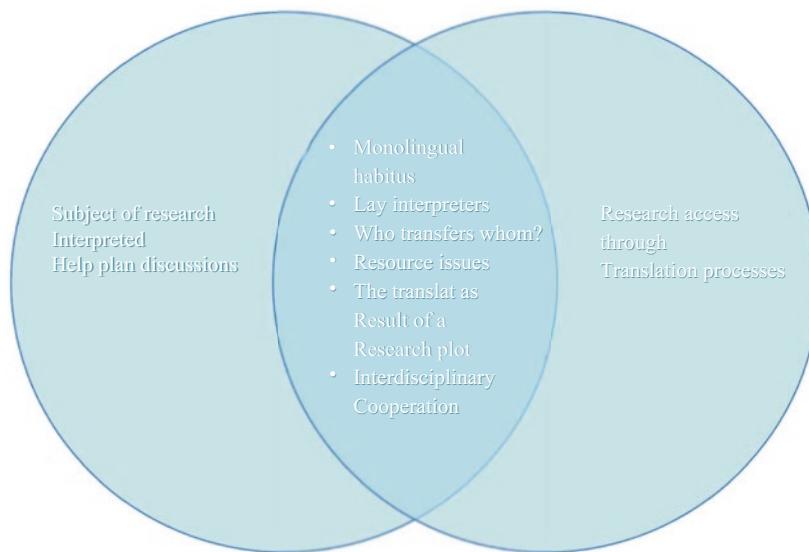

Fig. 1 Own illustration "The intersection of research object and approach", Hollweg

[1] In academic discourse, the term translation (Latin for transfer, transposition, translation) is the generic term for interpreting (oral translation) and translating (written translation). In principle, it can be understood as any kind of transfer of communicative units (cf. Kvam et al., 2018, p. 13).

cially either in the practice of child and youth welfare or in (social) scientific research programmatics. At the same time, the decision as to who translates or interprets whom is often not incumbent on the persons designated as foreign-language speakers, but on the pedagogical or scientific specialists (cf. Sect. 5). This manifests power-related asymmetries that need to be particularly reflected upon in the course of research ethics considerations (cf. Sect. 4). It is not uncommon for the use of interpreters to be problematised – both in professional practice and in the course of research – and for multilingual professionals to be advised instead (cf. Kappel et al., 2004, p. 41). The reasons for this lie in the limited possibility of being able to comprehend and influence the translation process in situ, "'You are relatively at their mercy.' (Interview BSA/D [district social worker, note by the author])" (Kappel et al., 2004, p. 38). At the same time, many research processes fail to address this (cf. Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2009). These paradoxes between one's own feeling of being at the mercy of others on the one hand, and the invisibility of interpreters and translators on the other, need to be addressed in the development of a practical approach to research. Reflexively applied, the analogies shown in dealing with interpreted or translated interaction processes in the field and in research (cf. Fig. 1) can ultimately be made fruitful for the (further) development of qualitative research processes (7). To this end, we will first look at the subject of the study on which this paper is based (2).

2   Translational Processes in Aid Planning: The Object of Research

Although an increasing need for language mediators[2] has been noted in official social work since 2005, there is a lack of structural regulations to ensure their services. Not infrequently, relatives or acquaintances of the addressees are called upon for language mediation (cf. Uebelacker, 2007). Especially in the context of assistance planning, the key process of child and youth welfare, differentiated translation processes become necessary. In assistance planning, a legally prescribed procedure of public youth welfare agencies is concretized, through which an adequate assistance for upbringing is to be guaranteed to the beneficiaries (cf. Bagljä, 2015).

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[2] Although the translational process of interpreting does not differ from that of language mediation, the field-specific term "language mediators" is used here. It marks the difference between academically trained interpreters and – primarily used in child and youth welfare – less qualified language mediators, who often perform this work on a voluntary basis and without compensation, despite the same requirements.

The central professional control instrument of every educational assistance is the help plan discussion. Its framework is formed by legal requirements (§36 SGB VIII). They conceive the discussion as a joint negotiation process, in the course of which the service provider (youth welfare office specialist), the service provider (specialist of an independent agency) and the beneficiary (addressee) agree on their individual problem definitions as well as the type and scope of the required assistance. The participation of the addressees is legally binding (cf. Merchel, 2006). But what if there is no common language available for communication with them?

Based on the service triangle under youth welfare law, Fig. 2 shows the relationship between the actors involved in the help plan discussion (cf. Münder & Tammen, 2002; Eubel, 2019). If the language mediator is added, it becomes clear that he or she can influence both the relationship structure and the communication between professionals and beneficiaries. A first relevant legal expertise elevates language mediation to a fixed component of child and youth welfare services (cf. Münder, 2016). This makes it a legal entitlement, provided that the respective goal of the service can only be achieved for the addressees through it. Both in research and in practice, however, there is a lack of a well-founded exchange on how the
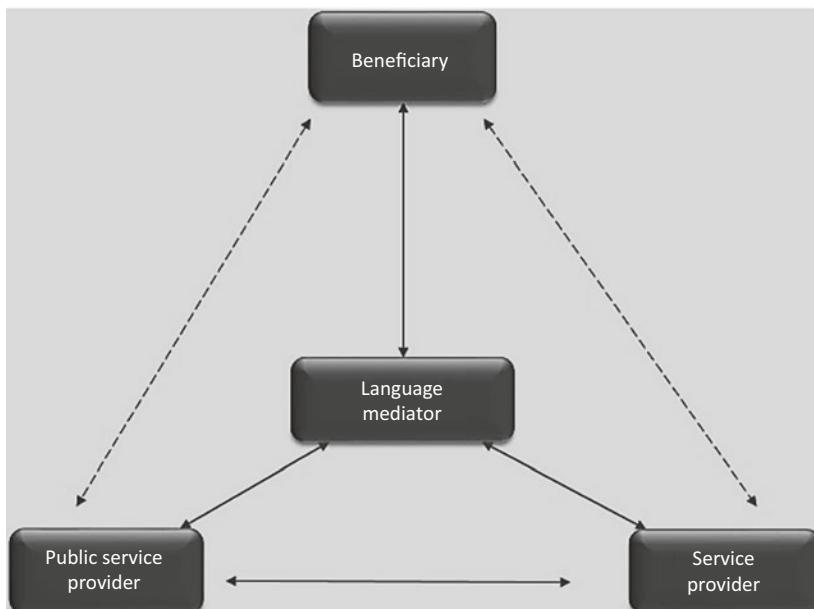

Fig. 2 "The multilingual triangular relationship", Hollweg

multilingual interaction between addressees, pedagogical professionals and language mediators can be designed in a way that is appropriate for the addressees in a help plan discussion (cf. Eubel, 2019).

The research project outlined here addresses this topic. It asks under which participation frameworks and role constellations the actors organize their interpreted reality of enforcement in situ. For this purpose, interpreted help plan discussions were collected in the field using a videographic approach and evaluated within the framework of a modality-specific extended discussion analysis (cf. Deppermann, 2008). However, this was preceded not only by methodological but also by conceptual considerations. How can the interpreting process be conceptualize? What is the underlying conceptualization of language? As will become clear in the following, these questions are inevitably linked to both linguistic and political discourses.

3   Linguistic Homogeneity Expectations in the Research Field…

> That won't be an issue anymore soon, they'll all be learning German.
>   (youth welfare worker)

As this statement by a youth welfare office specialist suggests, translation processes in pedagogical work with 'foreign-language' addressees are at best attributed a temporary relevance. The reasons for this seem to lie in a widespread language-political phenomenon – the self-evident expectation of linguistic assimilation to German, the language accepted by the majority society (cf. Boeckmann, 2008, p. 8). While German is thus considered the only legitimate language, other languages and their speakers are seen as inferior. Such a functionalization of language as a category of difference (cf. Dirim, 2016, p. 198) indicates that even processes of linguistic transmission in a help plan discussion are not free of hegemonic constructions. Thus, the social constellation in the institutional context of the youth welfare office is particularly characterized by a monolingual hierarchy. Public youth welfare agencies are legally required to communicate institutionally in German, the official language, both in general and in social administration procedures (§19 SGB X; §23 VwVfG). Accordingly, applications for social benefits in a language other than German, for example, are only deemed to have been submitted if the authority is able to understand them by means of translations (§19.4 SGB X, cf. Tigli, 2007, p. 211). In this way, linguistic homogeneity in the procedures of public youth welfare is presented as an unquestioned norm, multilingualism, on the

other hand, as an undesirable hurdle. This is also the conclusion reached by Tigli (2007) in her study of bilingual counselling in a Berlin youth welfare office. The employees consider multilingualism less as a potential, but rather as a trigger of an unsatisfactory communication practice (cf. Uebelacker, 2007). Tigli (2007, p. 197) associates this outdated rejection of linguistic hybridity with the so-called *monolingual habitus* (Gogolin, 1994). This ideology of monolingualism is historically rooted in the formation of European nation-states, through which nation, people and language were constructed into a homogeneous entity (ibid.). National languages were created, not least to establish territorial affiliations (cf. Gogolin, 2010). On the one hand, this makes clear that language as a social construct is inseparable from its respective context (cf. Bakhtin, 1986). It is a means of social recognition and social action at the same time. On the other hand, the term monolingual habitus draws attention to the centrality of the German language as an unreflected scheme of thought and action, which was first demonstrated for the German education system as a whole and recently also specifically for the elementary sector (cf. Gogolin, 1994; Akbaş, 2018). Among the traces of this linguistic homogeneity expectation are pedagogical programmatics that focus solely on the acquisition of the German language. Such a traditional linguistic self-image excludes both the multilingual lifeworld of addressees and the necessity of qualified language mediation. In public institutions, therefore, there is a widespread ignorance of the complex requirements of interpreting (cf. Ahamer, 2013; Uebelacker, 2007). Ahamer (2013) even assumes that community interpreting is not infrequently regarded as an obstacle to integration, since speaking the German language is regarded as a yardstick for the ability of migrants to integrate (cf. Ahamer, 2013, p. 368). Mastery of the German language is also established as the norm in the present data material. Thus, the professionals reduce the role of the language mediators to reacting to a signaled lack of understanding on the part of the addressees (see also Hollweg, 2020). Basically, they encourage the addressees to speak in German ("Tell me […]. In German. Explain in German." (C_00:44:03)). If the German language becomes the only legitimate lingua franca, this leads to specific power asymmetries between majority and minority languages and their respective speakers in addition to the hierarchy between addressees and pedagogical professionals. In the academic discussion of this complex situation, linguistic expropriation processes, as they are forced by the pressure to assimilate in pedagogical dispositifs and power-political constellations, should therefore not be excluded (cf. Enzenhofer & Resch, 2011, p. 8). While conference interpreting is held in high esteem due to the high prestige of colonial languages, the position of community interpreters is sometimes compromised by the social status of the addressees and

the low prestige of their minority language (cf. Obermayer, 2012). Although language mediators are supposed to enable the building of trust between professionals and addressees, they sometimes encounter a traditional mistrust towards 'speakers of other languages' (cf. Gogolin, 2010, p. 534). Similar concerns can also be found in academic discourse. It is not uncommon for translation processes to be considered a threat to scientific quality, since, at least in interpreter-assisted interviews, the quality of research results is directly linked to the quality of the interpreting interaction (Kruse et al., 2012, p. 49). However, there is also the purely linguistically justifiable concern that information of a semantic-conceptual nature is lost through the translation process, because a 1:1 translation is not always possible, quite independently of the competence of the interpreter(s) or the social prestige of the languages involved. This is a linguistic-systematic argument, not a language-political one, but one that is given too little consideration in the social science debate.

… And the Illusion of Monolingualism in Research Practice

Although language forms an indissoluble part of the subject matter in qualitative social research, its inherent language choice and translation processes are often made invisible both to the researchers themselves and to the subsequent readers (cf. Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2009, pp. 159). The image of the interpreter as an invisible mouthpiece, which widely prevails in interpreted interactions (cf. Allaoui, 2005), thus continues in the academic context. Translation processes then appear as neutral, universal and decontextualized acts of communication. They serve to create a particular mirror image of the original, capable of dissolving the voice of difference into that of sameness (cf. Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2006). Finally, the linguistic homogeneity expectation of the research field is also found in the basic concepts, theories and methods of research. Languages are then understood as static units that can be delimited from each other, bundled in dichotomies such as first and second language, language of origin and target language (cf. Gogolin & Neumann, 2009). Thus, speakers can be assigned to individual languages and are, as it were, subject to a standard of linguistic competence based on the construct of the native speaker. In this habitually naturalistic notion of language, people are 'born into' a language and endowed with a degree of perfection in linguistic competence that can never be achieved by non-native speakers. Along certain (extra)linguistic factors, a differentiation is made between legitimate and illegitimate speakers of a language (cf. Khakpour, 2016, pp. 211). Under terms such as 'double semilingualism', multilingual people are virtually imagined as several monolinguals and stigmatised against the background of this evaluation foil. This manifests a monolin-

gual perspective that describes multilingualism exclusively as switching from one language system to another (code-switching) (cf. Garcia & Wie, 2014, p. 12).[3] Research, theoretical and didactic models from this tradition focus on the individual cognitive performance of the interpreter and focus on issues of equivalence and fidelity of translation between source and target formulations (cf. Wadensjö, 1995, pp. 112; Apfelbaum, 2004: p. iii; Sator & Gülich, 2013, p. 169). They go hand in hand with a monological transfer model, which conceptualizes interpreting as a unidirectional transfer process from one language to another. However, the speaking individual is thereby conceived out of his or her interactional context into a social vacuum (cf. Wadensjö, 1995). This approach constitutes a normative role expectation and locates the interpreters outside the interaction between the actual main actors (ibid.). Thus, in many linguistic studies, the main actors are referred to as "primary practitioners" (Ahamer, 2013, p. 84), which in turn positions the interpreters on a side stage. However, this prevents the interpreters from being perceived as independent interlocutors (cf. Apfelbaum, 2004, pp. 1). For the analysis of an interpreted help plan discussion, however, an interactionist approach is required. This approach constitutes a paradigm shift in Translation Studies and understands the interpreting process as an active co-construction between speakers and listeners in interaction (cf. Wadensjö, 1995, p. 114). The focus here is on the social constellation under which the interpreting person is placed in relation to others and his or her role is evolved. Language is thus conceived as a social phenomenon that frames language use as a social activity (cf. Wadensjö, 1998, pp. 40). The action of the interpreter, however, is not reduced to the translation service alone, but always implies a certain mediating function going beyond this (cf. Wadensjö, 1995, pp. 112). A poststructuralist understanding of language highlights that translation processes should not be reduced to a mere linguistic tool, even in the research process. Rather, the inherent processes of language choice, interpretation and translation can be used in the research process to raise awareness of the inherent power asymmetries in the role constellation of the interpreted help plan discussion via reflections from a postcolonial perspective (cf. Sect. 5). At the same time, they make a confrontation with one's own place-boundness as a researcher indispensable. This confrontation becomes particularly virulent in the context of field access. How can the consent of the addressees be obtained if there is no common language available?

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[3] In the concept of *translanguaging*, a specific multilingual perspective, the boundaries between individual languages dissolve. Instead, multilingual people have a linguistic repertoire that they use strategically to communicate successfully (cf. Garcia/Wei 2014, p. 12).

4   The Field Approach as a Reflection Foil

The dependence on translation processes is not only the starting point of my research interest, but also the framework of my own field approach. As a monolingual German-speaking researcher, I am just as dependent as the pedagogical professionals on the interpretations of the language mediators in order to establish contact with the addressees. At the same time, I am directly involved in the power relations outlined above. Without the language mediators, informed consent of the addressees would be impossible (cf. Friedrichs, 2019, p. 68). In addition to organisational issues, this leads primarily to research ethics considerations. Which person can be used for language mediation and how can the research relationship be structured?

The answers to these questions cannot be seen independently of the respective institutional framework conditions of the help plan discussions. For reasons of data protection, it was initially only possible to establish contact with the addressees via the specialists of the youth welfare office. Two of the addressees were already of age. For the participation declaration of the third addressee, a young person aged 17, the presence of his guardian was required in addition to a language mediator. For practical research reasons, the language mediators used for interpreting the informed consent were therefore the same as those consulted in the respective help plan discussion (cf. Sect. 5). At the same time, the interview took place immediately before the survey at the same location. Together with the language mediators, the young people had to be informed about the voluntary nature of their participation and the confidential handling of their personal data. It was important to reassure them that their (non-)participation would have no influence on the course of their help. They should be given the opportunity to stop the data collection at any time or to leave the room. In addition, there was a need for an opportunity for the young people to ask questions before signing the relevant consent form. The consent form was translated by me into English, my only foreign language, in order to be able to offer the addressees an alternative language. However, it was only easier for them to give their consent after the language mediators had interpreted the document from German into the respective source language. Reflecting on this procedure, it seems indispensable for a secure understanding to have the declaration of consent additionally translated into the corresponding language of the addressees. The described process proves the necessity of multilingual information and documentation material, for a diversity-sensitive opening of youth welfare institutions as well as for qualitative social research (cf. Kappel et al., 2004; Stegmaier, 2013).

For the interpreted consent interview, recommendations for dealing with interpreter-assisted research processes can be drawn upon which primarily relate to interview research (cf. Inhetveen, 2012). First of all, the reciprocal expectations between the researcher and the interpreter must be explicitly disclosed. The interpreter should not be given an unspoken double role due to their linguistic-cultural affiliation, which attributes to them, for example, an easier contact with the young person or a better understanding and explication of their perspective (cf. Brandmaier, 2015; Enzenhofer & Resch, 2011). Due to the limited time resources of some language mediators, not all of them found the time to discuss the specifics of the consent form in a short preliminary interview. However, the reliance on volunteer language mediators and the lack of a preliminary interview ultimately reproduced the conditions whose implicit dilemmas the present study attempts to reveal (cf. Sect. 5). Reflecting on these framework conditions, it therefore seems advisable to decouple such an interview for informed consent from the actual survey, to let the addressees choose the time and place themselves, and to resort not to volunteer language mediators, but to at least semi-professionally trained people.

Nevertheless, the interpreter-assisted conversation on informed consent ultimately offers the opportunity of a reflexive perspective on one's own research object, because it allows the complexity of an interpreted interaction to be experienced directly, for example in how I as a researcher signal interpreting-relevant points to the person using the language without speaking about the young person in the third person. Given multiple addressing, the decision must be made in each speech turn as to whether I am addressing the young person directly, but indirectly addressing the language-mediating person, or vice versa. How can I direct my main attention to the young person without making the person using the language invisible? How can I make it clear that I want to continue my speech after the interpretation? How can I mark relevant content as such? Should the person interpreting sit next to the young person or next to me? How can I ensure that the young person understands everything? These questions are also encountered by the educational professionals in the interpreted help plan discussions. In this respect, the field approach ultimately sensitizes the young person to the very specifics that characterize the object of research under investigation.

If we look beyond the field approach, the composition of the sample also opens up a critically reflective perspective on the research object.

5   Who Interprets for Whom? Sampling Issues

Which linguistic contexts should be focused on in the study? The research interest is not based on a linguistic perspective, but is focused on the social order of interpreted help plan discussions. Nevertheless, the question of a suitable data basis seems to be initially conditioned by linguistic variables. While from a linguistic perspective it seems advisable not to include too many different languages in the data corpus due to the different language-related phenomena,[4] the sample of the study on which this study is based is not oriented towards specific languages. German language competence is also not intended to be a criterion for determining the data selection in more detail. On the one hand, this avoids stigmatising the German language competence of the addressees or language mediators as insufficient and systematically excluding them from the study on the basis of their German language level. On the other hand, a language-related restriction of the sample does not do justice to the heterogeneous linguistic landscape in child and youth welfare and hardly adequately covers the social reality. On the contrary, the exclusion of a language, for instance due to an assumed low number of speakers, is tantamount to a linguistic and intentional marginalisation and thus epistemic violence. As part of a deliberate, criterion-driven case selection, care was also taken to include interpreters with as many different qualifications as possible in the data corpus (cf. Glaser & Strauss, 2005). In this way, statements can be made about the role of the language mediators in the interaction that are transverse to their respective interpreting-related qualifications. Which person is used for language mediation, however, is determined by the field itself. For it is already here that the interest in knowledge about how the participants ensure the interpreted interaction begins. Following on from this question, interviews were conducted with the participating youth welfare office staff and language mediators in order to gather information about their cooperation and the respective case. As ethnographic additional data, this information allows a critical look at the underlying interaction conditions of the help plan discussions. First, they reveal quite divergent contextual information. While the Youth Welfare Office worker C states that he has already called in the language and cultural mediator of an independent agency several times in the case of this young person C, the language mediator reports that he knows neither the young person nor his previous history. The youth welfare office employees also seem uncertain about the professional background of the language mediators. Thus, Youth Welfare Office employee B, when asked what role the language

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[4] These include lexis (vocabulary), idiom (idiosyncrasies such as idioms), sentence structure and grammar.

mediator plays in her everyday work in the youth welfare institution, states "I believe social work". The decision about which person is called in for the language mediation in the interview is incumbent on the youth welfare officers. Here, the person of the language mediator seems to be systematically excluded, as often neither preliminary nor follow-up talks between the youth welfare office specialist and the language mediator take place. A preliminary discussion between the language mediators and the addressees is not taken into consideration. Sociocultural characteristics of addressees and language mediators are overlaid by the category of language. In order to establish a fit between the expertise of the language mediators and the language mediation needs of the participants, a language assumed to be common between language mediators and addressees seems to be sufficient. In this process, homogeneous language relations are constructed, which obviously assume shared life-world references between addressees and language mediators. On closer examination, however, they share neither the country of origin nor the linguistic varieties. Thus, the sample (Table 1) is as follows:

In this respect, the hegemonic language relations between majority and minority languages are already reflected in the institutional decision-making authority over who is able to interpret whom. The fact that Sudanese Arabic is a linguistic variety different from Moroccan is apparently neglected in shaping the conditions of interaction. As the following insight into the translations of the data material reveals, this can certainly lead to problems of understanding.

Table 1   "The sample of interpreted help plan discussions" Hollweg

	Conversation A	Conversation B	Conversation C
Qualification language mediator	Community interpreter	Pedagogical assistant in the youth welfare institution	Language and cultural mediator
Country of origin language mediator	Tunisia	Morocco	Ethiopia
Country of origin addressees	Syria	Sudan	Eritrea
Language(s) of the youth welfare officers	German, Turkish	German, Turkish	German
Other parties involved	Supervisor	Supervisors	Guardian, future guardian, caregiver

6   Literal Reproduction or Subjective Interpretation? The Function of Translation in the Research Process

Multilingualism is a particular challenge not only in pedagogical settings, but also in research processes, which makes translation processes indispensable (cf. Schittenhelm, 2017). However, dealing with this varies depending on the research method and interest (cf. Brandmaier, 2015, p. 131). While in interpreter-supported interview research it is problematized that the interpreters' subjectivity and system of relevance in the interaction with the interviewees elude the researchers' reflection and control (cf. Kruse et al., 2012, p. 49), the conversation-analytical approach pursued here has the potential to reveal precisely such patterns of orientation of the language mediators. Videographic data collection makes it possible to survey the construction of social reality in such a way that the constitutive speech mediation performances therein become visible without already directing one's own research view of the conversation events too strongly. Nevertheless, this interpreted interaction can only be made accessible to analysis if the multilingual video recordings are transcribed in both languages in a second step, and finally the foreign language passages are translated into German. For the analysis, this means that in the sequences that are foreign to me, I can only examine the translation and not what was actually said. There are certainly different proposals for the analysis of translated research data. Oevermann (2008, p. 151) pleads for excluding the circumstance of translation as far as possible "and treat[ing] it [the translation] under the presupposition, however artificially naive, that it [the translation] is consistent in itself like a native-language datum" (Oevermann, 2008, p. 151). This provides the chance of not having to constantly relativize one's own interpretations to a presumed translation error. Oevermann (2008) assumes that skewness in translation only becomes apparent when it is treated like a primary text. In contrast, Schittenhelm calls for translations to be taken seriously as such. This means consciously shaping their conditions of origin, taking translation processes into account in data analysis, and enlisting the help of native speakers or translators (cf. Schittenhelm, 2017, pp. 105) For the transcription of data, this means first mapping them in their respective source language in order to make the subsequent transfers transparent (cf. Enzenhofer & Resch, 2013, p. 208). This enables a constant recourse to the 'original text', which is indispensable for the analysis (cf. Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2009, p. 171). For this very reason, the transcription of the data material on which this study is based was carried out in the source languages Arabic and Tigrinya by external transcription agencies. The conversation-analytical transcription system GAT 2, as used for the German-language passages, could only be applied to a limited extent, however, because of the writing systems used for Arabic and Tigrinya. Beyond the Latin writing system, the transcription conventions for things

such as lengthening, accentuation, word slurring, and overlapping could hardly be applied in consultation with the transcribers. Consequently, the transcription of these passages is less precise and differentiated; therefore, they cannot be analyzed with the same depth as the German-language sequences. Nevertheless, in order to gain access to the phonetic and prosodic features of the utterances, including, for example, pitch movements, changes in volume or tempo, it was always possible to fall back on the video in the analysis. To disregard the passages that are foreign to me, i.e. to analyse the interpreted interaction only in parts, would not only generate a misleading illusion of linguistic homogeneity. Such a neglect seems inadmissible both with regard to the research project's epistemic interest and with regard to the required proximity to the research object. It would deny the non-German conversational sequences per se a significance for the course of the conversation. It is therefore necessary to obtain the translations of the corresponding passages and to include them in the analysis of the conversation. However, it must always be reflected that this additional level of interpretation was not available to the interactants in their references to each other. In this respect, the translations represent a semantic background knowledge in the analysis. For the inclusion of this contextual knowledge, it remains to be considered in principle to what extent it systematically shapes the course of the conversation (cf. Deppermann, 2008, p. 88). Regardless of this, the translations of the data material have another function. From the perspective of Postcolonial Studies, it becomes clear that their potential would be missed if they served solely to transfer the voice of 'other speakers' into that of German speakers, to transform difference into sameness, and to dissolve multilingual conditions into a monolingual illusion. Rather, it is precisely the mapping of linguistic diversity that should illuminate the fact that translation processes can never create the mirror image of an original (cf. Gutiérrez Rodriguez, 2006). They represent a process of approximation that cannot achieve absolute adequacy, but at most relative adequacy, manifesting itself at the level of content or form (cf. Prunč, 2007, p. 179). If the study is based on an understanding of translation studies that views interpreting as an interactive co-construction, the person of the translator cannot simply be ignored (cf. Prunč, 2007). Consequently, the translation process must also be understood as a communicative action, under which the translator makes interpretative and subjective linguistic-pragmatic decisions. As the theory of scope accentuates, the purpose of translation is of crucial importance in this process (cf. Reiß & Vermeer, 2010). Thus, it is not so much a matter of achieving the greatest possible equivalence between source contribution and translation. Rather, the focus in the translation process is on adequacy and thus on the question of how appropriate the translation presents itself with regard to its goal and the respective situational context of the collected interview material (cf. Enzenhofer & Resch, 2013, p. 208). This question enables a systematic reflection on both the translation goal in the course of the research and the situational conversational context of the col-

lected data. Ultimately, the translation goal in qualitative research processes is guided by the intended depth of analysis in addition to the epistemological interest of the respective study (cf. Brandmaier, 2015, p. 138). At the same time, the considerations regarding the function of translations in the research process indicate that cooperation with translators is also highly relevant.

Working with Translators as a Process of Understanding

If the interviews with youth welfare office staff and language mediators reveal that there is hardly any exchange between them for the preparation or follow-up of the interpreted interactions (cf. Sect. 5), this blind spot raises awareness for cooperation with translators in one's own research practice. For the Arabic-German translation, recourse was taken to a transcription agency that assigns the translator a dual role. He is both transcriber and translator. While the requirements for the transcription are often clearly outlined, the demands on the translation are pushed into the background (cf. Enzenhofer & Resch, 2013). Thus, it is important to discuss one's own expectations, goals and functions of the translation process together with the translator in the context of a job interview. It was agreed with the respective translators of a transcription or translation agency to consciously disclose the ambiguity of terms and idioms, to name possible alternatives, to document one's own procedure, to mark terms that only exist in the source language and to visibly mark a change of languages (cf. Schittenhelm, 2017, p. 108). The following insight into the underlying data material shows how this takes shape empirically:[5]

WO(B)   °h so: racist debate then: NOT

LM(B)   هي تسأل ولا إنت تعاركت ولا كان عندك مشكل مع الأولاد التانيين

        she asks if you had a fight or if you had trouble with the other boys?

YP(B)   هنا ولا في مكان ثاني؟

        here or somewhere else?

LM(B)   هنا   هون لا هنا.

        here here no HERE.

YP(B)   لا، ما عندي مشكلة معهم

        no, I have no problems with them.

LM(B)   no: I have no problems=

YP(B)   أنا مالي بدون طبخ عملت معهم مسلمين

        ?I not without cooking do something with them muslims?

---

[5] WO(B) = youth welfare officer, LM(B) = language mediator, YP(B) = young person.

For the translation of the last sentence, the translator offers several alternatives at this point:

> Without cooking I do nothing with them muslims
>   Maybe: What am I supposed to do with them if I don't cook/if there is no cooking, (we are/were) Muslims).

At the same time he adds a commentary to these offers of interpretation:

> The problem is that the sentence makes no sense, the sense I made is pure guesswork, the version between question marks is the literal order, as good as you can render that in German at all. Acoustically I could determine the sounds, but the speaker is obviously not a native Arabic speaker and speaks very brokenly here, so I rendered it that way.

As this comment highlights, several levels of an interpretative process manifest themselves in the translation process. Beyond the literal order (so-called interlinear version), the translator searches for the meaning of the sentence in its contextual reference. At the same time, he thus makes clear that this meaning is by no means an objective quantity, but rather the result of a subjective construction process. By searching for the social world of meaning of the young person, the translator in this process already takes on tasks relevant to research. By expressing his own irritation, he clearly marks the limits of his translation process, which here leave him only the possibility of 'pure guesswork'. He does not seek reasons for this in the sound quality of the video recording, but in the linguistic competence of the young person, YP (B). By positioning the young person as a non-native speaker, contrary to the contextual information at hand, he introduces his own interpretive foil into the analysis. On the one hand, it makes the young person's level of Arabic relevant and sensitises to the linguistic fit between the young person and language mediator. On the other hand, however, such an assessment carries the danger of denying the young person not only his own language, but also his origins and thus the representation of his individual flight story. This suggests a political dimension of language as category, which apparently also shapes the translation process. Paradoxically, the translator evaluates the young person as a non-native speaker, while he himself also did not grow up with the language of Sudanese Arabic. In the analysis, both the fundamental ambiguity of the translation and the accompanying evaluation of

the translator lead to irritation. It highlights the need for the perspective of language experts in the study, here for both Sudanese and Moroccan Arabic. In a dialogue with native speakers, their potential knowledge of the context-specific meaning of terms can be obtained, thereby enabling textual interpretation (cf. Schittenhelm, 2017, p. 108). However, this cooperation should be rewarded accordingly, the exchange should be well prepared and the time resources should be discussed together. The search for appropriate German- and Arabic-speaking or Tigrinya-speaking people took some time. In the end, it was possible to work with a refugee who speaks Syrian High Arabic as well as specific varieties of it, and with a volunteer language mediator who translates into German and Tigrinya. After consultation, her fee was based on the hourly rate for voluntary language mediation.[6] The exchange brought to light another textual interpretation of the sentence quoted above, which draws attention to the specifics of Sudanese colloquial language. Thus, after repeated listening to the sequence, the native speaker was able to pick out a Sudanese word for 'mate' and translate the young person's statement as follows:

مالي زول بفهم منيح معاهم .. مالي زميل

I don't have a buddy to get along with.

Although both translations refer to the social isolation of the young person, they have different connotations. While the first translator invokes cooking as a common activity and religion as a relevant category, the second translation addresses the quality of social relationships. This had to be verified in the further course of the analysis, where the latter reading ultimately proved to be (more) accurate.

If we look at a second translation example from the available data material, we find not only subjective relevance settings of the translator, but also of the language mediator:

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[6] Interpreters who work voluntarily in an association or community interpreters sometimes receive an expense allowance of 10–30 € per hour.

LM(B) exactly;

     I think he also saves a bit, ((laughing))

WO(B) ah nice,

                                        all look
                                        to YP(B), YP(B)
                                        looks
                                        towards the
                                        table

LM(B) mhm;

     يعني اه سألت عن ال ال المصاري تقول ويش هي تكفيك ولا لأ بتضيعهم (-) قالت هي
     لا، إنت بتوفر كمان شوية

     so uh,

     she asked about the money,

     asked whether it is enough for you or if you squander it (-)

     she said you you even save a bit.

YP(B) <<quiet>mhm>

                                          YP(B) looks
                                        at LM(B)

LM(B) «laughing>yes: (.) I like saving>

The first thing that stands out is that the language mediator takes part in the conversation as an independent actor. On the one hand, she confirms what has been said before "exactly" and thus positions herself as a contact person with specific contextual knowledge. On the other hand, she initiates a contribution of her own, with which she appears as an expert of the young person's lifeworld. In doing so, she continues the social categorisation of the caregiver of reference, who previously related how well the young person can handle money. Since the language mediator also works as a pedagogical specialist in the residential group in which the young person lives, her double role manifests itself at this point. What is irritating now is how she transmits the young person's answer, as he obviously only reacts with a short feedback signal, "mhm". To investigate this, I asked the translator to listen to the sequence again. He then explains:

> YP(B) doesn't say anything, it's just an mhm, nothing more; the word for "save" contains a plosive and a fricative, that would have been noticed in Praat (phonetic program), but it's just a long sonorant, regarding the amplitude just a labial nasal. The interpreter often interprets freely, she is not a professional interpreter, but interprets a lot in addition, she interprets very emotionally, maybe she lets in gestures that indicate this meaning? Maybe YP(B) makes a hand gesture, I strongly assume that with his language barrier he expresses a lot non-verbally.

As the translator's explanation reveals, the interpreter's interpretation "I like to save" can certainly be interpreted as an independent addition to the initial contribution. This procedure gains particular explosiveness from the fact that, spoken in the first person, it constructs the illusion of direct speech, but remains opaque to the other participants. However, while further analysis aims to examine the function of this independent addition, the translator introduces his own interpretation. On the one hand, he evaluates the interpreter's professionalism, referring less to the sequence at hand than to the data material as a whole. Secondly, he formulates questions for the further research procedure that could support his subjective evaluation. In doing so, he explicitly discloses his own perspective on the material. Although the reference to the possible relevance of gestures can be quite insightful and body language behaviour forms part of the subject matter in the modality-specific extended conversation analysis applied here, this should not, however, serve to verify the translator's interpretations. Rather, it is important to steer clear of his normative evaluation of the language mediator, since the research work does not aim precisely to categorize the actions of language mediators as (un)professional. Instead, the focus is on what the actors themselves treat as equivalent to the initial contribution, what forms and functions are associated with it. Against this background, it ultimately becomes clear that research into interpreted interaction is not only able to reveal the subjective relevance of the language mediators. Similarly to the language mediator's coordinating intervention in the conversation in this sequence, the translator also intervenes in his own process of analysis. Paradoxically, he criticizes the interpretative performance of the language mediator as unprofessional, while he himself adds interpretations that lie outside his translational activity. Once again, this finally manifests the parallels between the object of research and his analysis. If the interpreting process appears as a subjective action, the translation process presents itself as a first level of interpretation and construction of meaning. Making the translation process the object of analysis in the course of research can thus enrich the view of the data material.

7   Identify Intersections: Conclusion

Against this background, it becomes clear that the challenges of interpreted help plan discussions correspond in several respects to those conversations that need to be dealt with in researching the former. Thus, it is not only necessary to overcome expectations of linguistic homogeneity, but equally to address the underlying power asymmetries (Sect. 3). The latter shape both the interpreted interaction itself (Sect. 5) and the analytical view of it (Sect. 6). At the same time, a particular epistemological potential arises from these intersections. Dealing with multilingualism in the research field becomes a foil for reflection on interpretation and translation in the research process and ultimately on one's own research practices. The blind spots of the interpreted help plan discussion reflect, as it were, the blind spots of the research process. In order to work on these blind spots and to make qualitative social research language-sensitive, the same strategies are needed that are also significant for sensitizing the research field. First and foremost, there needs to be an awareness of the need for qualified language mediation and of the complex requirements of interpreting and translating. For this purpose, the cooperation between pedagogical specialists and language mediators should be institutionally anchored. In addition to pre- and post-talks, which relate to the specifics of the respective conversation, spaces for a joint exchange can synergetically bring together the expectations, perspectives and knowledge of those involved. At the academic level, too, cooperation between social scientists and translation scholars can make the perspectives on interpreted interactions fruitful for each other. Here, a stronger interdisciplinary exchange would certainly be profitable. In order to do justice to the multilingual object of research, the perspective of multilingual people should be systematically included in the research process. A stronger networking of multilingual interpretation groups can contribute to this, as can fairer remuneration in the cooperation with interpreters and translators. Here it remains to be asked how the academic system can mobilise resources to ensure qualified translational services in the research process. This could also prevent the choice of language mediators being made solely on pragmatic grounds. The cooperation between researchers and language mediators – as well as between pedagogues and language mediators – needs an active shaping of common working conditions. Although the sovereignty of interpretation is ultimately incumbent on the researchers, language-sensitive social research has the potential to rethink the form of the presentation of results in a scientific language that is abstracted in technical terms. In view of this, it is precisely the realization that one does not speak the language of the people whose interaction one is investigating that can be profitable.

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The Political in the Voice and the Gaze of the Field Researcher/Interpreter

Şebnem Bahadır

Abstract

In my paper I start from a comparison between interpreting and fieldwork. My focus is on the actors, i.e. the interpreters and the field researchers – on the influence and impact of their voice and gaze, on their roles, functions, actions and behaviours. My starting point is an aporetic situation that relates to any manifestation of translation and interpreting and that is a generic characteristic of translation: On the one hand, translation is expected to pretend that it is not secondary but original. On the other hand, the stigma of an auxiliary tool is attached to any translation – an instrument that is supposed to function as unnoticed, interference-free and transparently as possible, allowing the original to shine through. My aim is to outline a framework for a politics of interpreting in which interpreters act as performers in the space of the As-If and interpreting is seen as a performative political act. This understanding of the politics of interpreting is based on the conception of any translational act and especially of any interpreting as a 'performance'. Factors such as neutrality, professionalism, power, fear and discomfort in interpreters/field researchers, which are often assigned to the field of ethics, are read as characteristics of the politics of interpreting/field research.

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Preliminary remark or Footnote to the English version: This text is the result of a human-machine-cooperation. Upon the publisher's initiative, the first English version was produced as a machine-translated rough text. The editors undertook the first post-editing. As the author I edited the English version in comparison with my original text in German. And then, last but not least, a professional proofreader, my colleague Sophie Staud, put, as the third human actor in this process, the finishing touches to the text. All quotes from German sources are presented in English translation. Quotes from German translations of sources originally written in English are taken from the English originals. In the case of some sources there are references to the English originals as well as to the German translations.

Interpreters do not represent the original speakers. They do not reproduce the original speeches. They only pretend to do so. They play one or more roles. They act as performers who move in a space of the As-If. The naive notion of representation, i.e. a superficial unidirectional understanding of transfer coupled with a perception of translation as a secondary, derivative activity has been critically reflected upon in Translation Studies for over three decades (cf. among others Arrojo, 1997, Arrojo & Ahrens, 1997, Arrojo & Ammann, 1997; Venuti, 1995, 1998; Cronin, 2000a, b, 2002; Dizdar, 2006, 2009, Tymoczko, 2007; Wolf & Vorderobermeier, 2008; Wolf, 2012). In this context, Dizdar (2014) shows how the perspective of the applied field (in the sense of market) on translation, which emphasizes the instrumentalization, the marketability of the activity and the product, can also be observed in Translation Studies. Two characteristics ascribed to translation lead to an aporetic situation (cf. Vermeer, 2006): On the one hand, translation is expected to pretend that it is not secondary but original. On the other hand, the stigma of an instrument, an auxiliary tool that is supposed to function as imperceptibly and transparently as possible, clings to every translation: "It is welcome as long as it is purely instrumental (meaning also transparent), but because it never is 'purely' instrumental/transparent (the interpreter cannot make herself disappear, after all), it is always suspicious" (Dizdar, 2014, 2020).

The aporia between the indispensability/necessity of translation and the accompanying undesirability/disruption makes no distinction between written and oral performance. A time-delayed act of translation, i.e. consecutive interpreting or translating, is just as much under the influence of this notion as simultaneous interpreting. Nor does it seem to make any difference whether translation is performed by humans or machines. Languages, text types, styles, conversation types, people involved, interaction contexts and communication spaces do not matter either, i.e. it is irrelevant whether it is a matter of interlingual or intralingual translations of literary, economic or technical texts, simultaneous interpretation of highly

specialised expert discussions or consecutive interpretation in therapy and counselling situations with refugees.

The claim to represent and reproduce an original speaker, while pretending that this act of translation does not change, distort, shift or twist anything, but happens invisibly, has not only ethical but also political implications. This paper aims to read the aporetic situation in which interpreters act and adopt attitudes as a political act. This reading takes as its starting point the consideration of translational action and posture as performance in Schechner's sense (Schechner, 2002/2014, p. 28): "Performances mark identities, bend time, reshape and adorn the body, and tell stories. Performances – of art, rituals, or ordinary life – are "restored behaviors," "twice-behaved behaviors," performed actions that people train for and rehearse."

1   Translation as Performance

Translation as performance occurs in a space that Schechner calls "As If" (Schechner, 1985). In this space, the interpreter does not imitate – she performs, she enacts. She acts as the Other. She performs the Other. The space of the "as if" shows us the performance character of translation and thus the potential of deviation, change and completion. This space between the spaces of diverse realities causes divergence, since the interpreter can only act in the as-if space after she has observed, perceived, taken in, interpreted and cognitively, intellectually, emotionally, physically processed all that has been previously said and done. The interpreter, like the performer, does not reproduce but transmits. She disseminates what she has observed, perceived, recorded, in another language. The interpreter's action can also be described here as the result of work on the original, comparable to the work of actors on their role, text or script. A comparison of the work in the translation process with the work in the rehearsal process is obvious:

> In the rehearsal process – more so than in the performance – certain questions about work in theatre are condensed: the relationship between material and repetition, the differentiation of various professional fields and activities, the location of theatre in the field of tension between productive and reproductive art, and the temporal process. (Matzke, 2012, p. 19)

Theatre, too, must always deal with the question of whether it 'merely' reproduces a dramatic text in another space and thus exhibits a certain repetitive character, or whether it creates something new, something of its own, something different. No actress/actor turns into Lady Macbeth, because Lady Macbeth, as she is described in Shakespeare's text, does not exist. I am not talking about a historical Lady

Macbeth. The Lady Macbeth in the play by Shakespeare does not exist. She only becomes Lady Macbeth in the portrayal of the actor/actress Berta or Anna or Eylem or Ali. The actor/actress tries out and performs one or more possible ways of portraying Lady Macbeth. The result of this very idiosyncratic work on Lady Macbeth always bears traces of herself/himself. The performative act of interpretation is a practice in which the simultaneity between the authenticity (of the 'real' Syrian refugee or the 'real' head of the delegation from China) and the translation (by the volunteer language mediator or the conference interpreter) is just as incommensurably staged. However, this act of interpreting also shows how translations simply happen as performative acts, and how they are empirically lived and experienced (cf. Bahadır, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2017). Translators (like actors) promise to represent others by taking on the role and voice of others. But they play this role with their own body. It is their own voice that resounds when they let the Others speak. The promise of translation thus makes possible what is posited as impossible. The possibility of translation is in fact theoretically questioned. Despite this, translation itself still occurs in practice (Dizdar, 2006, 2009; see also Derrida & Lüdemann, 2003). The instrumental aspect of translation, according to Dizdar (2014, 2015), thus requires that it negates itself in the consummation, in the performance, in the event. Heller speaks of "performative inconspicuousness" as a property and problem of translation (2013). This performance practice between self-positioning and self-negation is particularly conspicuous in interpreting through the immediately observable bodily practice. Interpreting acts as "performance" in Schechner's (2002) sense, i.e. as enactments (see also Bahadır, 2010b, 2011, 2017) that are more immediate and situational. They can be observed while participating in the complex interactions and can thus be experienced to a certain extent in the moment of the event.

2 The Voice and the Gaze: The Discomfort

In interpreting, voice and gaze play a special role. Interpreters lend their voices and their gaze to the others. The voices of the others are performed with this borrowed gaze and the borrowed voice of the interpreter. The interpreting situation takes the form of a polyphonic performance practice: interpreters sometimes speak with the voice of a ruler and sometimes with the voice of the ruled. In every interpreting situation, those whose language is not accessible to all speak with the voices of the interpreters who are not themselves the oppressors or the oppressed, the powerful or the powerless. They lend their voices while hiding behind the shield of distance and neutrality. But because this protective shield is not impenetrable, they

experience a "discontent" (a disposition I use in reference to Bauman and Schmaltz (1999), who in turn discusses Freud in his reflecions on discontents) that is inherent in interpreting. They arm themselves with the protective shield of neutrality that promises impartiality, objectivity and, above all, detachment, but their bodies feel and react. They develop emotions and thoughts. They experience. Before, after, or even during the interpreting, they continue to think about what is being said, what is happening. They connect already existing thoughts and feelings with what they are currently hearing and experiencing. Thus, they interweave previous voices they had interpreted, their own voice and the current voices.

These cognitive-bodily states, which are 'normal' in everyday life, become a problem because they are viewed through a certain professionalization filter. The discomfort arises the moment the interpreters perceive and define these reactions as a breach of norms, as a break with the 'super norm' of interpreting: neutrality and the associated conduit metaphor (cf. Dizdar, 2006; Zwischenberger, 2015 specifically on simultaneous interpreting). Only the knowledge and acceptance of this norm, i.e. the notion of translation as flowing smoothly through a conduit, either as common knowledge or in the context of professional awareness-raising, leads to the experience of this dilemma. Both the experience of lay people and experts, as well as the remarks of trainers and theorists of interpreting (cf. e.g. contributions in Biagini et al., 2017) show that objectivity, neutrality and similar 'virtues' are basically nothing more than unattainable ideals, ideological constructs or beliefs that those concerned need – not in order to be more expert, but to feel better, calmer and more comfortable, to believe and trust that there is an ideal, a standard to follow. However, professionalization serves to reduce uncertainty not only on a psychological-personal level, but also from the point of view of profession politics: standards and norms suggest a supposed control over unpredictable, unplannable and thus untrainable events in interpreted interactions (cf. Bahadır, 2007, 2010a, b).

Professionalization, then, does not bring true order, standardization, and controllability, but spreads an illusion that is stylized into an ideology for political reasons. In this frame of thought, the claim to representation through translation appears as hybris, disempowerment and appropriation (cf. Spivak's now classical text in postcolonial studies: "Can the Subaltern Speak?"). The interpreter who speaks as someone's voice does not experience a 'transubstantiation', a 'transformation of personality': She does not become the president, the chairman of the works council, a social worker, a tortured person, a policeman, a judge, a rapist, a bomber. She remains an interpreting person with her own name – the interpreter Johanna or Sibel or Yang. Her voice remains Johanna's voice. At the same time, she performs as one or many others with this voice – to a certain extent, since the

blending of voices or the audibility of the other voices depends on empathy and identification with or distancing from these others.

Field researchers also speak in their records with different voices, as and for different voices. They are on site here and there and then again somewhere else. They immerse themselves, become embedded. They observe, record, document, classify, order, translate into another system, and convey this to their own people by becoming the voice of others again (cf. Geertz et al., 1987; Geertz & Pfeiffer, 1993; Clifford, 1988, 1990, 1999, Crapanzano et al., 1983). But their own voice shines through. With the voice of the field researcher, another perception, culture, society, order also seeps through. What is observed, analyzed, systematized is filtered. The gaze alone, the non-verbal gesture of looking with the aim of understanding by comparing, recording, classifying and categorizing changes the original voices.

Despite this scientifically founded and critical viewpoint, which is confirmed by everyday experiences, we still like to fall prey to the reassuring illusion that field researchers only document and convey what they see and what is there. We are similarly reassured by the belief that interpreters only speak what has been said, only more or less delayed and in a different language. Thus it seems too exaggerated, too dramatic and too far-fetched to us to have to think about the 'complicity' of field researchers and interpreters. It seems too exaggerated to ask whether a glance, the observation, the physical presence of field researchers and interpreters is enough to be involved in the destruction and annihilation (which was seen, observed and mediated) in order to be complicit.

Interpreters in colonial, postcolonial and neocolonial times, in the colonized countries of Africa, in Iraq, in Afghanistan, in Kosovo, in Palestine, in Syria 'discover' and uncover, enable not only access and communication, but also lead to the breakdown of communication (cf. Lawrance, 2006; M'bayo, 2016). In these translational acts, the destructive nature of discovery also unfolds again and again. Interpreters watch. They are witnesses when decisions about destruction, killing and extermination are made. It is often their voices that articulate these decisions, announce them. The everyday work, the practice of interpreting, takes place in a balancing act between professionalism and complicity. Reflections on the obstructive, disturbing, and even destructive exploratory roles of interpreters in political, cultural, and economic contexts are an important corrective to a tendentially euphoric view of the translator as a discoverer of new worlds and cultures (cf. Kelletat & Tashinskiy, 2014).

3   The Political Aspect of Interpreting: 'Being Embedded'

Every interpreter, whether medical, conference, or delegation interpreter, public authority interpreter or court interpreter, is embedded in contexts as a person. She is an enculturated and socialised person, has a certain perspective on events in her environment and, as a person, represents a position. Perspectives and positioning depend on situational factors. The embeddedness of the interpreting action and the interpreter causes irritation, for practising interpreters themselves as well as for interpreting trainers and researchers and most of all for the non-interpreting participants, because this positioning means dependence on hierarchies, power relations and social, political, cultural variables. The political and social actors in the field of interpreting often and willingly cling to universalizing postulates of neutrality, because interpreting and an interpreting person mean a linguistic wall that is impenetrable for the other participants and thus entails a loss of control. If in addition to the linguistic opacity, there is the idea of a situation-specificity of the interpreting action and a situativity of the interpreter, the discomfort grows because the comfortable dichotomy and teleology between the linguistic and cultural starting point and the other-language/other-culture target point, i.e. the thinking of equivalence, transfer and fidelity in interpreting, is shaken on other levels as well. Language and culture are 'politicized' and 'pluralized': With embedding in different situations, culture can only be used as a plural word. It is a constantly changing space of diverse affiliations.

Even though people still like to talk about interpreters as bridge-builders and cultural mediators whose mission it is to bring cultures closer, to facilitate intercultural communication and to clear up cultural misunderstandings, in Translation Studies the discussion about the concept of culture has now become so differentiated that approaches are emerging which refrain from describing the interaction partners of translators as representatives of delimitable communities with definable, fixed characteristics (cultural parameters/patterns in the sense of Matzke, 2012; Hofstede, 1984). The project of 'cultural mediation' as emancipation from the reduction to linguistic transfer is critically discussed in Translation Studies today. Even in teaching, the 'peace mission' of translators is no longer the only focus: interpreting and translating can lead to understanding, but also to conflict. Enabling communication through translation does not mean that all points of friction are eliminated, that no breaks are allowed and that dissonances are harmonized. Interpreters operate between cultures in which diverse affiliations vie for supremacy and which are riddled with contradictions and ambiguities: "When we

look at the word 'culture' we should see it as the site of a struggle, a problem, a discursive production, an effect structure rather than a cause" (Spivak, 1990, p. 123).

Interpreters are not immune to these struggles of different cultural and political dimensions within their own identities and the identities of others involved in the interpreted situation. They perceive relationships, evaluate communication contexts, decide on their interpreting strategies and interpret. For a more complex and political view of the interpreter's work the following questions are of great importance: Whether and in what way factors such as belonging to an ethnic group, to the majority or minority in a culture, to a sexual orientation, to a religious community, to a specific professional and/or political socialization influence interpreting behavior, to what extent these factors make the specific interpreting action possible in the first place or to what extent they prevent or limit certain aspects of the interpreting activity. A comprehensive, in the Foucauldian sense archaeological, reading of diverse interpreting acts in different situations (and not separated according to interpreting types or techniques) becomes necessary (cf. Foucault, (1995 [1961]), in order not to only recognize differences in the technical surface structure of interpreting acts and to make all too easy categorizations, such as conference interpreting or simultaneous and consecutive interpreting in conference situations on the one hand, and all the rest on the other, which are so difficult to grasp and thus categorize.

The politics of interpreting takes place on several levels in all forms and phenomena of interpreting: The first political level of the 'translation proper' of interpreting (cf. Dizdar, 2009) includes, for example, the word, the act of speaking and silence, the sounds, the posture, the body language, the voice production, the terminology, the style, the discourse, the speech and the language of the interpreter and thus of all other participants who are being interpreted. Other political dimensions that come into play are, for example, the politics of the profession and the professionalization of interpreting, the politics of the pedagogy of interpreting and the politics of migration, the migration society or the politics of multilingualism in a society. But the political in interpreting does not only take place on the levels of professional, pedagogical and scientific framing of this activity. The everyday, nonprofessionalized part of interpreting, the so-called 'natural interpreting', reveal a different, new approach to the politics of interpreting and allow for a critical distance and a deliberate way of dealing with the filtering through the professional eye (in the sense of Leiris' "ethnographic eye" in Leiris & Wintermeyer, 1985).

The field of "nonprofessional translation and interpreting" (cf. especially Antonini et al., 2017) has brought a breath of fresh air into interpreting research. In Translation Studies, an interdisciplinary approach to translation as a social, human

phenomenon is on the rise: I would like to refer here to Dizdar as an example, who examines translation as a cultural technique in its everyday manifestations, thus opening up an approach to the politics of translation via everyday life (cf. Dizdar, 2015). I read this effort in parallel to the concern of political scientist Bargetz (2016), who establishes a new theory of the political based on a critical conceptualization of everyday life: Everyday life is thereby posited as ambivalent and changeable, as dependent on relations of power and domination. In this way, social critique can take everyday life as its point of departure. In this context, Bargetz interprets everyday life as a political site of struggle (2016, p. 34) and conceptualizes the political in everyday life as an event of interruption (ibid., p. 60). If this line of thinking is used for interpreting research, research (but also teaching) can focus on precisely these 'interruptions' in the everyday work of interpreting. These are 'marginal phenomena' that have received little attention to date: pre-interpreting actions, attitudes, framings (e.g. contacts of the interpreter with the participants in the conversation, relations and position of the interpreter within the communities involved, previous experiences, affiliations/roles of the interpreters outside their professional identity), post-interpreting behaviour (e.g. follow-up conversations, aftercare of delegation members, the joint dinner after diplomatic interpreting assignments), 'interruptions' during the interpreting process, i.e. the inconspicuous slips or seemingly unrelated additions or even conscious and unconscious interventions. Looking at these 'states' and 'events' outside or alongside the 'narrow' acts of interpreting enables a conceptualization of interpreting beyond the mix of myth and instrumentality.

4   The Political of Interpreting: Crisis and Demystification

The point of departure for my portrayal of the interpreter as field researcher and my analogy between interpreting and participant observation is Göhring's notion of a translator as an ethnographer who conducts field research using the method of participant observation and interviews with "natives" (Göhring, 1977, 1980; cf. also Bahadır, 2004, 2007). Göhring himself does not equate the translator directly with an ethnographer, but in his essays he repeatedly emphazises that foreign language teachers and learners, experts in intercultural communication, i.e. translators, should be trained with the curiosity, sensitivity and perspective of the cultural anthropologist, the knowledge and methods of a sociologist specialising in cultural comparison (cf. e.g. 1998). For Göhring, the field researcher-interpreter immerses herself in the culture to be researched and, with the help of her most important

intellectual tool, cultural relativism, 'works out' access to the various dimensions of this culture – comparable to a child-like enculturation and socialization process.

Göhring's enlightened, culturally relativistic field researcher-interpreters have meanwhile had to experience the so-called "crisis of representation" (cf. Marcus & Fischer, 1986, p. 7, Schupp, 1997, p. 63). Humanistically oriented anthropology has been afflicted by radical changes in the political and social structures of the cultures that anthropologists have traditionally studied for their research. Postcolonialism has left deep scars. The result has been a profound questioning of the objective mediator identity and the politically neutral observer position. It is no coincidence that the cultures recorded ethnographically in the first half of the twentieth century were mostly parts of a colonial world order, and it is no coincidence that field researchers penetrated these cultures with the consent, if not on behalf, of colonial administrations (cf. Leiris & Wintermeyer, [1950] 1985; Asad, 1975; Clifford, 1988; Schupp, 1997). With decolonization, a disorientation and a questioning of the raison d'être of a scientific field that was so closely linked to colonialism spreaded within discussions of postcolonial theorizations. There is a renunciation from the illusion and myth of the benevolent, humanistic, enlightened ethnographer (the myth refers almost exclusively to white men). Fieldwork and its written-down form, ethnography, also the translation of fieldwork into theories, are recognized (and accepted) as perspectival, ideologically underpinned, i.e. political works. The representation of the indigenous perspective, even of that one indigenous person who is seen merely as an informant, through ethnographic fieldwork is diagnosed as an impossible undertaking. The project of critically reflecting on the influence of ethnographers on their observations, on their so-called data material and on their so-called native informants is integrated into the subject area of ethnography. The authorial or authorized voice, the authority and authorial activity of the ethnologist is now looked at more closely and examined in terms of ethical and political-ideological aspects (cf. Clifford, 1988, p. 21; Crapanzano et al., 1983, p. 9).

The interpreter's professional image, and even more so her self-image, has also been facing such a turning point for some time, saying goodbye to reductionist ideals such as invisibility, objectivity and neutrality (cf. Rudvin, 2002, 2015). It addresses how these ideals lead to a kind of dehumanization of professional standards for interpreting and, at the same time, to a mystification and mythologization of the interpreter without her own gaze and voice. The fact that humanity and being human for interpreters in psychotherapy or medicine or in migrant contexts in general (cf. Pinzker, 2018) is brought into focus seems plausible. However, more and more didacticians and researchers in the field of conference interpreting, such as Boéri

(2010), Boéri and Jérez (2014) or Duflou (2016), stress the need for a similar change of direction.

This new reading of professionalism could be compared to the experimental moment in ethnography and anthropology (cf. Rabinow, 1977; Marcus & Fischer, 1986; Crapanzano et al., 1983; Clifford, 1988, 1999). Viewpoints such as Crapanzano's oblique gaze in considering the ethnographic encounter and his ethnographer whom he describes as no more privileged to have insight into the happenings than were the passionate heroes of Racine's tragedy (1983, pp. 9–10, 15) might serve as 'tools of reflection'. Interpreters are at the mercy of restrictions in their mediating activity that are similar to the conditions of ethnographers conducting fieldwork. Participant observation and mediation, i.e. the transmission of what has been observed to others, requires a balancing act between empathy and the elimination of one's own intrusive presence, as Crapanzano aptly characterizes his appearance as an ethnographer (Crapanzano et al., 1983, pp. 11–12).

The interpreter as a kind of ethnographic mediator of recorded data, experiences, insights is also caught in the dilemma of the internal versus external perspective. Both are caught in Geertz's dilemma between emic and etic perspective ([1973] 1987). They are supposed to be able to look into their working cultures from the outside and observe them, i.e. evaluate them – but without being involved in what is happening – and at the same time to be inside and observe and participate in what is happening as insiders. Subsequently, they should transmit and communicate to third parties what they have observed, interpreted and categorized as outsider-insiders. Because there can be neither a completely etic nor a completely emic interpretation, i.e. one that is (in)dependent (of/)on the culture studied, Geertz modifies this claim to absoluteness and introduces the descriptive terms *experience-near* versus *experience-far* (Geertz et al., 1987, p. 291; Marcus & Fischer, 1986, p. 28, 30 footnote 6). In terms of his interpretive anthropology, he proposes to oscillate between these conceptual levels:

> If we are going to cling--as, in my opinion, we must--to the injunction to see things from the native's point of view, where are we when we can no longer claim some unique form of psychological closeness, a sort of transcultural identification, with our subjects? What happens to *verstehen* when *einfühlen* disappears? [translator's note: German in original] (Geertz, 1974, p. 27, 28).

The occasion for Geertz's essay on the problem of ethnological understanding was the posthumous publication of Malinowski's (field) diary, in which not only the 'true' character of Malinowski as the human being became obvious. For Geertz, this (self-)demystification of the 'great' ethnographer and anthropologist, who had foregrounded scientificity but also physical presence on the ground in ethnography,

does not entail a moral questioning, but nevertheless an epistemological one – he asks himself how ethnological knowledge of how natives think, feel, and perceive is then possible? (Geertz et al., 1987, p. 290).

5   The Political Aspect of Interpreting: Professionalism

I see more than an epistemological problem in this pendulum movement between involvement and distance in interpreting: the way this movement is handled, the decisions interpreters make to position themselves, i.e. to interpret in one way or another, makes interpreting a political act – whether in the booth at a specialist conference or at the side of a state president or during a product presentation on a factory floor or at an asylum hearing in the BAMF (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees in Germany)**.** Equating professionalism with inconspicuousness, invisibility and the greatest possible distance is a dangerous reduction of the complexity of interpreting, both in conference interpreting and in interpreting in other settings. The idealization of neutrality is at the same time a simplification. It is necessary, because of both ethical and political implications, to resist such simplistic notions of professional standards, as they not only tend to, but in fact propagate, casting interpreting into a transparent, fully analyzable and predictable mold. In this framework, an awareness of the problem of interpreting authority or the 'authoritative' voice and the 'authoritative' eye of the interpreter is required. The parallelism of ethical dilemmas and political effects between ethnographer and interpreter is striking. Especially in crisis and stressful interpreting situations, it becomes even more apparent that participant observation and interpreting irrevocably mean 'physical presence' and involvement.

Most interpreters are hardly aware that denial or repression of the unchangeable physical presence can create an even more difficult communication situation. Even telephone and/or simultaneous interpreting in a booth, where the interpreter is not a face or a body but a 'voice of', can lead to such a paradox. The voice, with all its physical peculiarities, which, when used correctly, can lead to a wide range of psychological, emotional, but also rational, intellectual reactions in listeners, is a powerful paraverbal means of communication. Although in telephone interpreting the range of means of communication is reduced, the voice can communicate more (than the whole of a body) when it is the only stimulating, physically perceptible factor, the only medium of communication available. Everything depends on the voice. The voice is the sole channel of transmission. At such moments the voice takes the position of the whole body, it is the substitute of the body. This problem is no less explosive when interpreting in the booth, where there is no longer even the possibility of questions, i.e. of a dialogue, but listeners are exposed to a single

voice, i.e. the interpreter's voice and the content communicated by it, as well as emotions and associations. Here the voice of the interpreter takes over the body of the speaker. The interpreter's voice speaks through the speaker's body – directly into the listener's ear. The type of interpreting that is perceived as the most distant from a spatial-technical point of view, simultaneous interpreting in a booth, is, from this perspective, the most intimate. In whispered interpreting (a variation of simultaneous interpreting), this becomes particularly apparent when the interpreter 'blows' (or 'breathes') the interpretation into the neck of one or more people.

6   The Many Voices of the Interpreter

Since the crisis of representation in the 1980s, the critical field researcher has abandoned the notion that he or she can capture and reproduce lived experience or authentically transmit it. All empirical data that are collected, classified, evaluated and used as reference values are now texts of the field researcher. The interpreter's text is also situated, produced in a particular context, from a certain position. Ethnographies are "tales from the field", told by a "biographically situated researcher". Thus, "the politics and the ethics of research" are complemented by the aesthetics of ethnographies, the way of telling (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 28, 30). Of course, the voices of the dialogue partners are also present in this field text. These voices in turn tell their stories. Multiple perspectives, however, also go hand in hand with a variety of methods and instruments that exist and can be applied in parallel. There is no absolute and correct approach (ibid., pp. 37–38).

Interpreters also tell the story(s) of others. The interpretation is comparable to a field text. There is no single or only true interpretation. Here, too, multiple strategies, techniques and motivations are at work. Madison emphasizes the confrontation with the positionality of the field researcher, as this self-reflexivity is linked to another main goal of contemporary research: "[…] we also understand that critical ethnography requires a deep and abiding dialogue with the Other as never before" (2005, p. 8). Following Bakhtin, she cites an interesting idea in this context, which also constitutes the ethics, but also the politics of interpreting: "Moreover, it is through dialogue and meeting with the Other that I am most fully myself" (ibid., p. 9). Only in dialogue, in the confrontation with the voices of the Others, which are repeatedly 'synthesized' in the interpreter's voice in the act of interpreting, does the voice of the interpreter come into being. By contextualizing their positionality, i.e. dependence on an individual perspective shaped by their specific interpreter identity, and no longer presenting it as absolute and untouchable, they make their interpreter identity accessible, transparent, disclose it and thus become vulnerable (cf. Madison, 2005, p. 8). Despite all this, of course, the eye, the gaze of the

field researcher as well as the interpreter remains the main filter through which all other voices and perspectives are channeled. This filter cannot be removed. There is no way to establish a direct line.

It is not exactly the voices of the Others that become audible in an interpreted speech. Even the other actors in the situation who speak and whose voice the interpreter becomes do not have just one voice, one speech. There are many different voices speaking through the migrant who has been in Germany for many years, who has left his village and his family, who has only ever worked in the factory, who is now seriously ill and has become a nursing case. The interpreter interprets his narrative, in which his wife, who died at an early age, sets the explanatory, rational footnotes, the son, who travels all over the world on business, always contributes a dissenting voice, and the daughter, who married a German and has hardly any contact with him, throws tantrums. On the other hand, when people speak, they can't explain, describe, verbalize everything. Their accounts are always incomplete, they always tell stories with blanks. These incomplete stories are therefore the data that the field researcher/interpreter collects with the help of techniques such as participant observation, and from which she then writes her research/interpretation text that she transmits.

For critical ethnographers, empirical today means that researchers are "on the ground of Others" and that they do not observe and describe from a distance, from their desks. In their resistance to domesticating and assimilating descriptions, they acknowledge their ethical responsibility and attempt to excavate the previously unheard and unseen through their research in order to question "institutions, regimes of knowledge, and social practices that limit choices, contain meaning, and denigrate identities and communities" (Madison, 2005, p. 5). Critical interpreters also take on the responsibility of excavating alternative bodies of knowledge through the analysis of the cultural, social, individual circumstances of the 'interpreted people' in order to reveal hidden structures of power and dependency (cf. again Foucault & Wehr, 1978).

In the narrative of the seriously ill migrant, the people who have influenced him throughout his life speak. Especially in the case of patients who trigger feelings of pity or despair in the interpreter, it can quickly happen that the interpreter disempowers and dominates the interpreted. It is therefore a matter of dealing sensitively with power asymmetries and of perceiving and disclosing assimilating transference or representation mechanisms. And it is a matter of taking a differentiated view of the persons to be interpreted, of developing an awareness of mechanisms of appropriation and dispossession in communication. This differentiation in the gaze and in the voice, the (self-)reflexivity in the action refers to the politics of interpreting. How can the interpreter be professional, i.e. so distanced that she is not biased, and yet so close that she can develop empathy?

Professionalism thus proves to be not only an ethical principle, but also a political project. It is not only in extreme situations, such as asylum hearings, therapy interviews or war tribunals, in which abuse of power, the use of violence, brutality, pain and similar stressful emotional and cognitive constellations provoke obvious reactions in interpreters and influence the interpretation, that the political aspect of interpreting comes into play. Any interpreting, i.e. any speaking for the Other in a language that is not his or her own, is a condition that entails empowerment. The interpreter's commitment to the Other occurs the moment when she sees, hears, perceives, interprets, processes, speaks with her voice in the language that is not the Other's. Thus, the most minimal performance of interpreting, the verbalization with/in the voice of the interpreter, is already a controlled form of intercession. However, as soon as the interpreter steps out intellectually and emotionally from their protected space of controllable parameters and variables, from their 'interpreting laboratory' or 'mental interpreting booth' and enters the field with a certain commitment, a new solidarity develops, an intimate relationship, which, if it is not cushioned by a responsible interpreting policy and a reflexive interpreting ethic, can easily lead to assimilating, constricting and manipulative acts of interpreting.

Clifford here points to yet another aspect in the polyphony of voices in the field text: This field, now observed, recorded, and shared, has long since ceased to be untouched and uncultivated. Today, field researchers inscribe themselves in their texts about the field, writing about the same field with other texts and other authors. And it is not only the voices and texts of other researchers that populate the field of research, making the complete or entirely new ownership of this specific field by these researchers impossible. Clifford emphasizes how these field texts are home to many languages, that is, voices of other participants. However, these voices are often smoothed out in the communication of the field research, the dissemination of the field report, the richness and diversity of the discourses minimized for very practical reasons of intelligibility (1990, p. 58).

Interpreters also constantly experience the disappointment of the impossibility of grasping the complexity of the interpreted person. Any act of mediation through a particular voice is reduction. Interpreting means taking a decision. Every decision means crossing out other possible decisions. However, this cannot and should not be understood as a complete rejection of either fieldwork or interpreting. With a shift from the "study of the object," to use Devereux's term, to the study of the "observer" himself, we can gain access to the "observational situation" (Devereux, 1967, p. XIX, 27). In the case of the interpreter(s), this would mean: It is not enough for interpreting pedagogy and ethics to deal with abstract rules and instructions for interpreters. The existence, the position of the interpreter, her behaviour as the observer: Her fears, her defensive manoeuvres, her interpreting strategies, her 'choices' (i.e. the meaning she ascribes to her observations/interpretations) need to be taken into account.

7 Fear and Power of the Field Researcher/Interpreter

The fact that perception (in the preliminary phases of the translation process) is already subjective is repeatedly addressed in Translation Studies by Vermeer (cf. 1996, 2006). In the social sciences, too, it is known that the personality of the scientist is relevant to science insofar as it is responsible for the distortion of the material that can be attributed to his intrapsychically determined lack of objectivity (Devereux et al., 1998, p. 65). Devereux speaks of an anxiety that certain research projects trigger in anthropologists when repressed experiences or longed-for feelings are evoked by the research. Processes are set in motion in the subconscious through which the researcher experiences defense or seduction. Devereux pleads for making these processes conscious, for active involvement, i.e. an honest dealing with these states in research (cf. especially 1998:40ff.), by issuing the following warning:

> The scientist who studies this kind of material usually seeks to protect himself against anxiety by the omission, soft-pedalling, non-exploitation, misunderstanding, ambiguous description, over-exploitation or rearrangement of certain parts of his material. (Devereux, 1967, p. 44)

This is exactly what happens in interpreting. The fact that the eye, the ear, the mouth and the voice of the interpreter determines everything, brings with it a great burden (see also Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 31). If the eye has so much power to create, then there will be abuses of power, transgressions, and boundary violations. In the act of observation and interpretation, both interpreter and researcher in a sense exercise violence by categorizing and ordering. Every looking and seeing, i.e. perceiving, already implies this process of appropriation and classification. If there is not even such a thing as innocent observing, the question of innocent speaking as someone's voice is superfluous.

8 Interpreting as a Performative Political Act

I would now like to conclude by returning to my central statement at the beginning of my text: Every act of interpreting is a performative act. The performative realisation of the Other requires an intimate relationship with the Other, and only then opens up ways of expressing and conveying what has been experienced and observed in a different way than merely through a standardized text. Interpreting acts

are enactments. Only with a view to the performative can ritualized processes and forms of expression, ruptures and events in these processes be perceived. Madison takes up Turner's idea of humans as "performing animals" and claims that we are still "homo performans" rather than "homo sapiens", i.e. that "performance" is important for our survival in social systems (2005, p. 149). She speaks of a "performance ethnography", in which what is experienced is only transformed into experience by being expressed in "performance":

> This is due to the belief that we come to simultaneously recognize, substantiate, and (re)create ourselves as well as others through performance. Furthermore – in this process of recognition, substantiation, creation, and invention – culture and performance become inextricably connected and mutually formative. (Madison, 2005, p. 150)

The text of interpreting is a dramaturgical text. In this text, memory, recollection, experiences and emotions of the observer, the observed, and the recipient of the articulated observations are equated with the actions that happen and are observed in the field. Thus, multiple levels of representation emerge: "Working from the site of memory, the reflexive, performed text asks readers as viewers (or co-performers) to relive the experience through the re-created experience with the performer. This allows them to relive the experience for themselves." (Denzin, 2003, p. 471).

"Performance" is much more than imitation: Madison speaks of "poiesis" and "kinesis". It sets in motion processes on not only a cognitive-mental, but on a bodily level, thus creating ruptures and contradictions (Madison, 2005, p. 171). A performative representation of social events and experiences demands a more mobile, flexible, precisely performative interpretation. Thus, interpreting as a performative act allows for levels of sensation and cognition, does not get caught up in the discourse of neutrality, opens all channels of perception, preverbal, verbal, nonverbal. The body moves into the centre. The sensitivity and the communication competence of the body are perceived and accepted.

The final consequence that could be drawn from the polyphony of the act of interpreting would be an open commitment to (political) engagement. The researcher/interpreter inscribes herself, visible and vulnerable, as a body with a head, together with the Others, but seen from their perspective, in their research/interpretating text. The starting point for professionalism would then be a sensitisation to the 'applications of power' that can emanate from interpreting. Power relations are viewed from different perspectives in order to be able to question them and turn them inside out. If one becomes aware of one's own power and the power

of others, one can set oneself the ideal of not suppressing – and this in a double sense: in the communication or interpreting context, not suppressing one's own power, in the sense of denying and repressing it (because it then 'erupts' all the more violently, usually unimagined and elsewhere), and not suppressing others with this power. Power, according to Foucault, can be positively channelled, for example, into an "insurrection of subjugated knowledges", which could lead to the excavation of "buried" historical content. This refers to the "disguised" or "subjugated" knowledge that points to ruptures and struggles that are, however, merely present in a buried form in "a functional coherence or formal systematization" of knowledge of historical content. This subjugated knowledge also refers to ways of knowing that are classified by the scientific establishment as "naïve knowledges", thus "even directly disqualified knowledges", e.g. "such as that of the psychiatric patient, of the ill person, of the nurse, of the doctor – parallel and marginal as they are to the knowledge of medicine" (Foucault, 1980, pp. 81–82). Thus, it would be precisely ruptures and states hitherto neglected as extra-, non- or 'uninterpreted', even censored, in the sense of interruptions, interventions, side conversations, personal addresses, expressions of opinion, etc., that would have to be looked at more closely in interpreting, in order to search for 'buried knowledge' in the moments of interpreting that are not 'appropriate'. In the context of such a politics of interpreting, the potential of the interpreter as a 'disturbing third party' and as a participating observer in the field, which has so far not been perceived as sufficiently 'qualified', is re-read on the level of the interpreter's position/identity.

The starting point for a new ethics of interpreting is thus the political demand to reveal the complexity of interpreting. The ethnographer/interpreter experiences and reflects on what interpreting means, what risks she takes on, how much and what kind of responsibility she must/can/will bear. This reflection is a political positioning, which means participation. Such a consciousness gives the interpreter a mouth, a voice and an 'ethnographic' eye of her own. But this liberation from non-being does not only mean freedom for the interpreter. The freedom of their voice is always inextricably interwoven with the responsibility for the voices of the many others. The unapproachably neutral and unshakably objective interpreter is an idealistic project, a myth, similar to the culturally relativistic ethnographer. Myths are stories with a claim to truth that are told again and again and passed on from generation to generation. An aura of timelessness clings to them. Myths resist rational, scientific analysis. Until demythicization sets in and begins to direct critical questions at them. The politics of interpretation is the space in which these critical questions are asked.

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