

DOKUZ EYLÜL UNIVERSITY
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TRANSLATION STUDIES PROGRAM
DOCTORAL THESIS
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

**PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETERS BRIDGING COMMUNICATION GAPS
FOR SYRIAN REFUGEES IN THE TURKISH CONTEXT**

Aslı POLAT ULAŞ

Supervisor
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Atalay GÜNDÜZ

İZMİR- 2021

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE



DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this doctoral thesis titled as “**Public Service Interpreters Bridging Communication Gaps for Syrian Refugees in the Turkish Context**” has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

05/02/2021

Aslı POLAT ULAŞ

ABSTRACT
Doctoral Thesis
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)
Public Service Interpreters Bridging Communication Gaps for Syrian Refugees in
the Turkish Context
Aşlı POLAT ULAŞ

Dokuz Eylül University
Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of Translation and Interpretation
Translation Studies Program

The need for public service interpreters in Turkey has gradually increased in recent years following the inflow of a large number of Syrian refugees. In the most general sense, public service interpreters are individuals establishing communication between refugees/migrants and the host country's public officials. Turkey does not have an institutionalized public service interpreting policy with comprehensive training programs, certification examinations, accreditation, and professional organizations, since the country has only recently faced such a large mass-migration movement. Yet still certain initiatives have been undertaken to meet Syrian refugees' communication needs, and public service interpreters have been recruited at various institutions to this end. In this regard, the present doctoral research addresses the interpreters bridging refugees' communication needs in the units of the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), in the legal context including courthouses and police stations, and in the healthcare institutions within the scope of the EU-funded SIHHAT project. The study aims to explore the interpreters' social, cultural, educational, and professional backgrounds; the institutional and other external conditions surrounding them; and the implications of the mentioned issues for the

interpreters' interpreting activities and for their attitudes, perceptions and expectations towards public service interpreting. As an agent-oriented study conducting a discussion in the realm of the sociology of translators/interpreters proposed by Chesterman (2006, 2009), the current doctoral research intends to foreground the place and importance of the social context in public service interpreting and to discuss the problem of professional identity formation within this framework. In the study, which adopts a qualitative research method, the data was obtained through an extensive fieldwork conducted in the provinces of İzmir, Mersin, Adana and Gaziantep. Semi-structured interviews conducted with the interpreters in the mentioned contexts are used as the main data source. The descriptive questionnaires for the interpreters, the interviews with the relevant officials/service providers involved in interpreting processes in the mentioned contexts, and the context-specific documents regarding the interpreters' work procedures are used as supplementary data sources. The findings relevant to the research aims are discussed through the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1998, 2000), capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989, 1998), and *illusio* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2000). And accordingly, the present study has revealed that public service interpreting in general is an unrecognized and undervalued service area in Turkey, and most of its practitioners lack the relevant resources to form a professional identity.

Keywords: public service interpreters, Turkish context, *habitus*, capital, *illusio*, professional identity

ÖZET

Doktora Tezi

Türkiye Bağlamında Suriyeli Mültecilerin İletişim İhtiyaçlarını Karşılamanın Toplum Çevirmenleri Aşlı POLAT ULAŞ

Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Mütercim-Tercümanlık Anabilim Dalı

Çeviribilim Doktora Programı

Türkiye’de toplum çevirmenlerine olan ihtiyaç son yıllarda ülkedeki büyük Suriyeli mülteci nüfusunun varlığıyla giderek artmıştır. En genel anlamda, toplum çevirmenleri mülteciler/göçmenler ve ev sahibi ülkenin kamu görevlileri arasında iletişim kuran bireylerdir. Türkiye bu kadar büyük bir kitlesel göç hareketiyle henüz yeni karşılaşmış bir ülke olduğu için ülkede kapsamlı eğitim programları, sertifika sınavları, akreditasyon ve meslek kuruluşları ile kurumsallaşmış bir toplum çevirmenliği politikası mevcut değildir. Yine de Suriyeli mültecilerin iletişim ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için birtakım girişimlerde bulunulmuş ve bu amaçla çeşitli kurumlarda toplum çevirmenleri istihdam edilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, bu doktora araştırması, Sığınmacılar ve Göçmenlerle Dayanışma Derneği (SGDD) birimlerinde, adliye ve polis karakollarını kapsayan hukuki bağlamda ve AB tarafından finanse edilen SIHHAT projesi kapsamındaki sağlık kuruluşlarında mültecilerin iletişim ihtiyaçlarını karşılayan toplum çevirmenlerini ele almaktadır. Çalışma, tercümanların sosyal, kültürel, eğitimsel ve mesleki geçmişlerini; onları çevreleyen kurumsal ve diğer dış koşulları; söz konusu durumların tercümanların çeviri faaliyetlerine ve toplum çevirmenliğine yönelik tutum, algı ve beklentilerine etkilerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Chesterman (2006, 2009) tarafından önerilen çevirmen/tercüman sosyolojisi kapsamında aktör odaklı bir çalışma olan bu

doktora araştırması, toplum çevirmenliğinde sosyal bağlamın yerini ve önemini ön plana çıkarmayı ve bu çerçevede profesyonel kimlik oluşumu sorunsalını tartışmayı amaçlamaktadır. Nitel araştırma yöntemini benimseyen çalışmada veriler, İzmir, Mersin, Adana ve Gaziantep illerinde gerçekleştirilen kapsamlı bir saha çalışmasıyla elde edilmiştir. Çalışmada söz konusu bağlamlardaki tercümanlar ile gerçekleştirilen yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler ana veri kaynağı olarak kullanılmaktadır. Tercümanlara yönelik betimleyici anketler, söz konusu bağlamlarda tercümanlarla çalışan görevliler/hizmet sağlayıcılarla gerçekleştirilen görüşmeler ve tercümanların çalışma prosedürlerine ilişkin bağlama özel dokümanlar ek veri kaynakları olarak kullanılmaktadır. Araştırma amaçlarına ilişkin bulgular Fransız sosyolog Pierre Bourdieu'nun *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1998, 2000), sermaye (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989, 1998) ve *illusio* (Bourdieu ve Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2000) kavramları aracılığıyla tartışılmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, mevcut doktora çalışması, toplum çevirmenliğinin Türkiye'de genel olarak tanınmayan ve göz ardı edilen bir hizmet alanı olduğunu ve uygulayıcılarının çoğunun mesleki bir kimlik oluşturmak için gerekli kaynaklardan yoksun olduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: toplum çevirmenleri, Türkiye bağlamı, *habitus*, sermaye, *illusio*, mesleki kimlik

**PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETERS BRIDGING COMMUNICATION GAPS
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CONTENTS

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE	ii
DECLARATION	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZET	vi
CONTENTS	viii
ABBREVIATIONS	xiv
LIST OF TABLES	xvi
LIST OF FIGURES	xvii
LIST OF APPENDICES	xxiii
INTRODUCTION	1

CHAPTER ONE

PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETING AS A MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

1.1. PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETING	17
1.1.1. Definition and Function of Public Service Interpreting	18
1.1.2. History of Public Service Interpreting	21
1.1.3. Professionalism and the Professional Status of Public Service Interpreting	24
1.1.4. The Professional Status of Public Service Interpreting in Various Migration-Receiving Countries	27
1.2. THE MIGRATION PROFILE OF TURKEY AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETING PRACTICES IN THE COUNTRY	32
1.2.1. Syrian Refugees in Turkey	33
1.2.2. The Language Needs of Syrian Refugees in Turkey	37

1.2.3. Public Service Interpreting in Turkey	40
1.3. CONCLUSIONS	46

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. TRANSLATORS AND INTERPRETERS AS SOCIAL AGENTS	49
2.2. RESEARCH ON THE AGENCY OF PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETERS	53
2.2.1. Research on the Roles and Task Boundaries of Public Service Interpreters	55
2.2.2. Research on the Ethical Issues in Public Service Interpreting	62
2.3. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: THE CONCEPTS FROM BOURDIEU'S SOCIAL THEORY	68
2.3.1. Field	69
2.3.2. <i>Habitus</i>	72
2.3.3. Capital	75
2.3.4. <i>Illusio</i>	78
2.3.5. Bourdieu's Concepts in Public Service Interpreting Research	80
2.4. CONCLUSIONS	83

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1. THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH	86
3.2. THE FIELD WORK	93
3.2.1. Data Collection Methods	94
3.2.2. Data Collection Process	102
3.2.2.1. The NGO Context	104
3.2.2.2. The Legal Context	114
3.2.2.3. The Healthcare Context	126

3.3. THE PROCESS OF ANALYSIS OF THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH THE PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETERS IN THE THREE CONTEXTS	136
3.4. CONCLUSIONS	147

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NGO INTERPRETERS: RESTRICTED AGENCY UNDER THE INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY

4.1. THE MOTIVES DRIVING THE PRACTITIONERS TO THE INTERPRETING JOB AT THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION	149
4.2. THE INTERNALIZED LIMITED AUTHORITY OF THE INTERPRETERS	156
4.2.1. The Role of Transmitter	157
4.2.2. Reducing Refugees' Expectations	160
4.2.3. Responsibility Towards the Agents with Greater Authority	164
4.2.4. Exercising Restricted Agency	167
4.2.4.1. Avoidance of Expressing Own Opinions	167
4.2.4.2. Avoidance of Engaging in Dialogues with Refugees outside Interpreting Tasks	172
4.2.4.3. Avoidance of Undertaking Initiative	176
4.3. THE INTERPRETERS' AWARENESS TOWARDS THE TRADITIONAL ETHICAL PRINCIPLES	183
4.3.1. Impartiality	186
4.3.2. Accuracy	189
4.3.3. The Use of First-Person Pronouns	195
4.3.4. Emotional Stamina	197
4.4. THE PRACTITIONERS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE INTERPRETING PROFESSION	203
4.4.1. The Practitioners' General Perceptions of the Interpreting Profession	203
4.4.2. The Practitioners' Perspectives on the Professional Development	204

4.4.3. The Practitioners' Perspectives on the General Awareness Towards Interpreting and the Recognition of Interpreters	207
4.4.4. Maintaining <i>Illusio</i> and Perspectives on the Sustainability of the Interpreting Job	214
4.5. THE FORMS OF CAPITAL (UN)AVAILABLE TO THE NGO INTERPRETERS AND THE (NON)FORMATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY	217
4.6. CONCLUSIONS	225

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LEGAL FIELD INTERPRETERS: INTERVENTIONIST ACTORS AGAINST RESTRICTED AUTHORITY

5.1. THE MOTIVES DRIVING THE PRACTITIONERS TO THE INTERPRETING JOB	229
5.2. THE INTERPRETERS' AWARENESS TOWARDS COURT ETHICS AND LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY	236
5.2.1. Court Ethics	237
5.2.2. Legal Responsibility	244
5.3. THE INTERPRETERS AS INTERVENTIONIST ACTORS AGAINST RESTRICTED AUTHORITY	249
5.3.1. The Restricted Authority of the Legal Field Interpreters	249
5.3.1.1. Reducing Refugee Expectations	252
5.3.1.2. Avoiding Dialogues with Refugees out of Interpreting Tasks	255
5.3.1.3. Restricted Agency in the Courtroom	259
5.3.1.4. Supremacy of the Court and Its Officials	261
5.3.2. The Interventions by the Legal Field Interpreters Within the Scope of the Interpreting Job	265
5.3.2.1. Corrections	266
5.3.2.2. Changes in Messages to Be Interpreted	268

5.3.2.3. Summarization	271
5.3.2.4. Giving Advice and Guidance	273
5.3.2.5. Explanations	276
5.3.2.6. Dialogues Held with Refugees During Interpreting	280
5.3.2.7. Reflection of Emotions	283
5.4. THE PRACTITIONERS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE INTERPRETING PROFESSION	287
5.4.1. General Perceptions of the Interpreting Profession	287
5.4.2. Perspectives on the General Awareness Towards Interpreting and the Recognition of Interpreters	290
5.4.3. Perspectives on Professional Deficiencies	293
5.4.4. Maintaining <i>Illusio</i> and Perspectives on the Sustainability of the Interpreting Job	300
5.5. THE FORMS OF CAPITAL (UN)AVAILABLE TO THE INTERPRETERS AND THE (NON)FORMATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY	304
5.6. CONCLUSIONS	310

CHAPTER SIX

HEALTHCARE INTERPRETERS: ACTIVE ACTORS IN THE WORK SETTING

6.1. THE MOTIVES DRIVING THE PRACTITIONERS TO THE INTERPRETING JOB	315
6.2. THE INTERPRETERS AS ACTIVE ACTORS IN THE WORK SETTING	320
6.2.1. Additional Tasks Performed by the Interpreters	323
6.2.2. The Relationships Established with Refugees out of Interpreting	328
6.2.2.1. Pre-interview Dialogues	329
6.2.2.2. Explanations	332
6.2.2.3. Recommendations and Advice	334
6.2.3. Interventions During Interpreting	339

6.2.3.1. Explanations	339
6.2.3.2. Dealing with Misstatements	342
6.2.3.3. Modifications and Omissions in Messages	345
6.3. THE INTERPRETERS ACTING UNDER CHALLENGING WORKING CONDITIONS	351
6.3.1. Gender-related Issues	352
6.3.2. Shortage of Interpreters and Increased Workload	355
6.3.3. Bias Towards Refugees	357
6.3.4. Tense Atmosphere	360
6.3.5. Refugees' Problematic Expectations	364
6.4. THE PRACTITIONERS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE INTERPRETING PROFESSION	367
6.4.1. General Perceptions of the Interpreting Profession	368
6.4.2. Perspectives on the General Awareness Towards Interpreting and the Recognition of Interpreters	370
6.4.3. Perspectives on Professional Deficiencies	378
6.4.4. Maintaining <i>Illusio</i> and Perspectives on the Sustainability of the Interpreting Job	383
6.5. THE FORMS OF CAPITAL (UN)AVAILABLE TO THE INTERPRETERS AND THE (NON)FORMATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY	388
6.6. CONCLUSIONS	396
CONCLUSION	403
REFERENCES	412
APPENDICES	

ABBREVIATIONS

ADÜ Nord	Assoziierte Dolmetscher und Übersetzer in Norddeutschland e.V.
AFAD	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
AIIC	International Association of Conference Interpreters
ASAM	Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants
ATA	American Translators Association
AUSIT	The Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators
BDÜ	Der Bundesverband der Dolmetscher und Übersetzer e.V.
CHIA	California Healthcare Interpreters Association
DGMM	Directorate General of Migration Management
DPSI	Diploma in Public Service Interpreting
EU	The European Union
FIT	International Federation of Translators
FRIT	Facility for Refugees in Turkey
HIN	Healthcare Interpretation Network
IMIA	International Medical Interpreters Association
ISO	The International Organization for Standardization
JCCD	Judicial Council on Cultural Diversity
MMIA	The Massachusetts Medical Interpreter Association
NAATI	The National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters
NAJIT	National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators
NCIHC	National Council on Interpreting in Health Care
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NRPSI	National Register for Public Service Interpreters
NSGCIS	National Standard Guide for Community Interpreting Services
NSW	New South Wales
NSW HCIS	New South Wales Health Care Interpreter Services
PICTES	Promoting Integration of Syrian Children into Turkish Education System
RID	The Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf

SIHHAT	Improving the Health Status of the Syrian Population under Temporary Protection and Related Services
STOF	The Swedish Association of Interpreters
TÖMER	Turkish and Foreign Language Application and Research Center
UK	The United Kingdom
UN	The United Nations
UNHCR	The United Nations Refugee Agency
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
US	The United States

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Remarkable Ethical Requirements in Legal and Healthcare Interpreting	p.63
Table 2: The NGO Interpreters' Demographic Profile and Social Background	p.105
Table 3: The Legal Field Interpreters' Demographic Profile and Social Background	p.115
Table 4: The Healthcare Interpreters' Demographic Profile and Social Background	p.127



LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: The Ten Provinces Where the Largest Syrian Populations Reside	p.34
Figure 2: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Gender of the NGO Interpreters	p.108
Figure 3: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Nationality of the NGO Interpreters	p.108
Figure 4: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Native Language of the NGO Interpreters	p.109
Figure 5: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Working Languages of the NGO Interpreters	p.109
Figure 6: The Questionnaire Results Regarding How the NGO Interpreters Learned the Working Languages	p.110
Figure 7: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Educational Background of the NGO Interpreters	p.111
Figure 8: The Questionnaire Results Regarding the Type of Interpreter Training the NGO Interpreters Received	p.111
Figure 9: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Work Settings for the NGO Interpreters	p.112
Figure 10: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Gender of the Legal Field Interpreters	p.118
Figure 11: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Nationality of the Legal Field Interpreters	p.119
Figure 12: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Native Language of the Legal Field Interpreters	p.119
Figure 13: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Working Languages of the Legal Field Interpreters	p.120
Figure 14: The Questionnaire Results Regarding How the Legal Field Interpreters Learned the Working Languages	p.120
Figure 15: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Educational Background of the Legal Field Interpreters	p.121

Figure 16: The Questionnaire Results Regarding the Type of Interpreter Training the Legal Field Interpreters Received	p.121
Figure 17: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Work Settings for the Legal Field Interpreters	p.122
Figure 18: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Gender of the Healthcare Interpreters	p.130
Figure 19: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Nationality of the Healthcare Interpreters	p.130
Figure 20: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Native Language of the Healthcare Interpreters	p.130
Figure 21: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Working Languages of the Healthcare Interpreters	p.131
Figure 22: The Questionnaire Results Regarding How the Healthcare Interpreters Learned the Working Languages	p.131
Figure 23: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Educational Background of the Healthcare Interpreters	p.132
Figure 24: The Questionnaire Results Regarding the Type of Interpreter Training the Healthcare Interpreters Received	p.133
Figure 25: The Questionnaire Results Regarding Work Settings for the Healthcare Interpreters	p.133
Figure 26: (NGO) Practitioner Views on the Issue of Giving Advice to the Parties	p.170
Figure 27: (NGO) Practitioner Views on Whether They Give Advice to Refugees on Cultural Differences	p.170
Figure 28: (NGO) Practitioner Views on Whether They Exchange Information with the Parties Before Interpreting	p.175
Figure 29: (NGO) Practitioner Views on Whether They Exchange Information with the Parties After Interpreting	p.175
Figure 30: (NGO) Practitioner Views on Whether They Correct the Wrong Information Given by the Parties	p.178

Figure 31: (NGO) Practitioner Views on Whether They Defend Refugees When Necessary During Interpreting	p.179
Figure 32: (NGO) Practitioner Views on Whether They Intervene in the Tense Atmosphere Between the Parties	p.179
Figure 33: (NGO) Practitioner Views on Whether Interpreters Are Bound by Ethical Principles	p.185
Figure 34: (NGO) Practitioner Views on Whether an Occupational Guide Is Necessary for Interpreters	p.185
Figure 35: (NGO) Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Feeling Closer to Any Party	p.188
Figure 36: (NGO) Practitioner Views on Whether They Feel Closer to Any Party	p.188
Figure 37: (NGO) Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Making Assumptions	p.194
Figure 38: (NGO) Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Rendering Every Detail in Communicated Messages	p.194
Figure 39: (NGO) Practitioner Views on the Issue of Adding the Interpreter's Voice	p.194
Figure 40: (NGO) Practitioner Views on the Use of First-Person Pronouns	p.196
Figure 41: (NGO) Practitioner Views on the Necessity of Interpreter Training	p.205
Figure 42: (NGO) Practitioner Views on the Necessity of Training for Officials Working with Interpreters	p.209
Figure 43: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on Whether Interpreters Are Bound by Ethical Principles	p.242
Figure 44: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Feeling Closer to Any Party	p.242
Figure 45: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on Whether They Feel Closer to Any Party	p.243
Figure 46: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Defending One Side Against the Other Where Necessary	p.243

Figure 47: The Position of the Interpreter in the Legal Interviews	p.251
Figure 48: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on Whether Refugees Also Expect Them To Perform Tasks Other Than Interpreting	p.252
Figure 49: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on Whether Interpreters Can Help Refugees for Tasks Other Than Interpreting When Necessary	p.253
Figure 50: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on Whether They Exchange Information with the Parties Before Interpreting	p.258
Figure 51: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on Whether They Exchange Information with the Parties After Interpreting	p.258
Figure 52: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on the Issue of Giving Advice to the Parties	p.264
Figure 53: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on Whether They Intervene in the Tense Atmosphere Between the Parties	p.264
Figure 54: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Correcting the Wrong Information Given by the Parties	p.267
Figure 55: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on the Status of the Interpreting Profession	p.292
Figure 56: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on Whether Public Officials Respect Them	p.293
Figure 57: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on Whether Refugees Respect Them	p.293
Figure 58: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on Whether Interpreter Fees Are Sufficient	p.295
Figure 59: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on the Necessity of Interpreter Training	p.297
Figure 60: (Legal Field) Practitioner Views on the Necessity of Training for Officials Working with Interpreters	p.300
Figure 61: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on Whether They Also Perform Tasks Other Than Interpreting	p.325

Figure 62: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on Whether Public Officials Also Expect Them To Perform Tasks Other Than Interpreting	p.327
Figure 63: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on Whether They Exchange Information with the Parties Before Interpreting	p.331
Figure 64: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on the Issue of Giving Advice to the Parties	p.336
Figure 65: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on Whether They Give Advice to Refugees on Cultural Differences	p.337
Figure 66: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on Whether Refugees Trust Them as Interpreters	p.339
Figure 67: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Correcting the Wrong Information Given by the Parties	p.344
Figure 68: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on Whether They Correct the Wrong Information Given by the Parties	p.344
Figure 69: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on Whether They Paraphrase Some Expressions to Convey the Meaning	p.348
Figure 70: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on Whether They Intervene in the Tense Atmosphere Between the Parties	p.362
Figure 71: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on the Issue of Warning the Parties When They Make Improper Statements	p.363
Figure 72: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on Whether They Warn the Parties When They Make Improper Statements	p.363
Figure 73: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on Whether Refugees Also Expect Them To Perform Tasks Other Than Interpreting	p.365
Figure 74: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on the Status of the Interpreting Profession	p.376
Figure 75: (Healthcare) Practitioners' Views on Whether Public Officials Respect Them	p.376
Figure 76: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on Whether Public Officials Trust Them	p.377

Figure 77: (Healthcare) Practitioners Views on Whether Refugees Respect Them	p.377
Figure 78: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on the Necessity of Interpreter Training	p.379
Figure 79: (Healthcare) Practitioner Views on the Necessity of Training for Officials Working with Interpreters	p.382



LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Table on Regulations, Associations, Training, Certification and Accreditation Related to Public Service Interpreting in Various Migration Receiving Countries	app.p. 1
APPENDIX 2: The approval of the Ethical Board of the Faculty of Letters of Dokuz Eylül University	app.p. 5
APPENDIX 3: Consent Form	app.p. 6
APPENDIX 4: The Interview Questions for the Interpreters	app.p. 7
APPENDIX 5: The Questionnaire for the Interpreters	app.p. 10
APPENDIX 6: The Interview Questions for the NGO Officials	app.p. 15
APPENDIX 7: The Interview Questions for the Service Providers in the Legal and Healthcare Contexts	app.p. 18
APPENDIX 8: ASAM Job Posting for the Interpreters	app.p. 19
APPENDIX 9: The Articles of the Turkish Code of Criminal Procedure Related to Court Interpreting and Interpreters	app.p. 21
APPENDIX 10: The Regulation on Drafting the Lists of Court Interpreters	app.p. 22
APPENDIX 11: The Application Announcement for Court Interpreters	app.p. 28
APPENDIX 12: The Application Form for Court Interpreters	app.p. 31
APPENDIX 13: The Sample Form for Court Interpreters to Declare the Knowledge of the Relevant Interpreting Language	app.p. 33
APPENDIX 14: The Announcement of the Department of Training of the Ministry of Justice about the Training in the Scope of the Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes	app.p. 34
APPENDIX 15: The Press Release of the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey about the SIHHAT Project	app.p. 35
APPENDIX 16: The SIHHAT Project Activities	app.p. 37
APPENDIX 17: The Job Posting for the Patient Guides to Be Recruited in the Scope of the SIHHAT Project	app.p. 40

APPENDIX 18: The Announcement of the Turkish and Foreign Language Application and Research Center of Yıldız Technical University about the Language Proficiency Examination for the Patient Guides	app.p. 42
APPENDIX 19: The Announcement about the Assignment of the Patient Guides	app.p. 43
APPENDIX 20: The Announcement about the Trainings for the Patient Guides	app.p. 44
APPENDIX 21: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Internalized Limited Authority of the (NGO) Interpreters” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes	app.p. 46
APPENDIX 22: The Excel Column for the Theme “The (NGO) Interpreters’ Awareness Towards the Traditional Ethical Principles” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes	app.p. 49
APPENDIX 23: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Leading Motives for the (NGO) Interpreters to Get into the Job” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes	app.p. 50
APPENDIX 24: The Excel Column for the Theme “The (NGO) Interpreters’ Attitude Towards the Interpreting Profession” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes	app.p. 51
APPENDIX 25: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Legal Field Interpreters as Interventionist Actors Against Restricted Authority” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes	app.p. 55
APPENDIX 26: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Legal Field Interpreters’ Awareness Towards Court Ethics and Legal Responsibility” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes	app.p. 60
APPENDIX 27: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Leading Motives for the (Legal Field) Interpreters to Get into the Job” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes	app.p. 62

APPENDIX 28: The Excel Column for the Theme “The (Legal Field) Interpreters’ Attitude Towards the Interpreting Profession” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes	app.p. 63
APPENDIX 29: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Healthcare Interpreters as Active Actors in the Work Setting” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes	app.p. 68
APPENDIX 30: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Healthcare Interpreters Acting Under Challenging Working Conditions” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes	app.p. 71
APPENDIX 31: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Leading Motives for the (Healthcare) Interpreters to Get into the Job” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes	app.p. 74
APPENDIX 32: The Excel Column for the Theme “The (Healthcare) Interpreters’ Attitude Towards the Interpreting Profession” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes	app.p. 75

INTRODUCTION

Political developments in the 21st century, especially in the Middle East and Africa, have led to various forced migration movements. Anti-government protests and uprisings that began in Tunisia in the early 2010s, known as the Arab Spring, affected the entire region and spread to Syria in March 2011, leading to a civil war in the Syrian Arab Republic. As a result, millions of Syrians have become forcibly displaced and have taken refuge in neighboring countries, particularly in Turkey, Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan, and with nearly 3.6 million Syrians¹, Turkey has become the country hosting the largest number of refugees² in the world (UNHCR, 2019: 18).

In the beginning, Turkey faced challenges in arranging regulations and public services for such a large group of refugees, since the country had not had a similar experience before. Later on, certain initiatives have been undertaken for Syrian refugees, and the basic rights to accommodation, healthcare and education have been secured through Temporary Protection Regulation. However, it is reported that refugees still experience problems especially in the areas of housing, education and healthcare (Ataman, 2015; Bölükbaş, 2016; Biçer, 2017; Jauhiainen, 2018) due to the difficulty in accessing to information, lack of experts working in the field of migration, and lack of standard practices adopted at public institutions (Uçak Erdoğan & Tarlan, 2016: 10).

¹ <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>

² In identifying Syrians settling in Turkey, various concepts such as “refugee”, “asylum-seeker” or “migrant” are used. However, there are distinct differences between the meanings of these concepts. According to the 1951 Refugee Convention of the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), “a refugee is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion” (UNHCR, 2010: 3). Turkey signed this convention in 1961 and accepted the principle of geographical limitations, and thus, it only grants official refugee status to those coming from Europe. On the other hand, the concept of asylum seeker is used for those who seek international protection as a refugee but whose status has not yet been officially recognized. Asylum seekers are generally those whose applications for official refugee status have not yet been settled by the government or UNHCR. Through the Law on Foreigners and International Protection promulgated by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in April of 2013, the status of “conditional refugee” was introduced for those coming from outside the European countries. However, due to the difficulty of applying the individual situation assessment stipulated by this status for Syrians coming to Turkey in masses, Temporary Protection Regulation was enacted in 2014, and “temporary protection status” was granted to Syrians. In the present study, the concept of “refugee” has been preferred, as it is currently the most frequently used concept for Syrians.

Besides the mentioned challenges, first and above all, communication gaps inevitably emerge between Turkish people and the large Syrian populations residing in Turkey, since the languages spoken by Turkish and Syrian people are different. Although certain language training initiatives are undertaken for Syrian refugees, such initiatives are not expected to produce effects in the short run. Under the circumstances, one of the important means used to meet the communication needs of refugees is public service interpreting³. In the widest sense, public service interpreting is a form of interpreting that facilitates communication between service providers and service users, i.e. refugees/migrants, in various public and social spheres, such as legal, healthcare, social service and educational settings (Wadensjö, 1998: 33). Until refugees acquire the skills to communicate in the language of the host country⁴, the role interpreters play in the mentioned settings is highly fundamental to overcoming the linguistic barriers. And what has given impetus to the present thesis is the growing importance of public service interpreting and interpreters in Turkey in the face of the increased refugee population. In this regard, the current thesis intends to explore the public service interpreters bridging communication gaps for Syrian refugees in Turkey by focusing on their social, cultural, educational, and professional backgrounds; the institutional and other external conditions surrounding them; their perspectives on their interpreting experiences; and their attitudes, perceptions and expectations towards public service interpreting.

³ For this type of interpreting, different names are used in different countries. In several countries such as the United Kingdom (UK) and Spain, the term “public service interpreting” has been adopted, and in Canada, it is named as “cultural interpreting”. Overall, “community interpreting” is the most widely used term. However, “community interpreting” is mostly associated with non-professional interpreters (Bancroft, 2015: 219), while the term “public service” refers to the institutional aspect of the practice (Rudvin, 2006: 33) (see Section 1.1.1. for the discussion). In other words, “community interpreting” also involves the interpreting that can be performed in any setting by volunteers and acquaintances of those who have communication needs. On the other hand, “public service interpreting” generally involves the services provided by individuals working under the title of “interpreter” in public institutions in return for a fee or a salary. In the present study, the term “public service interpreting” has been preferred, since staffed individuals working under the title of “interpreter” in institutional contexts are addressed.

⁴ Although Turkish language courses are organized for Syrians within the scope of non-formal education (Ministry of National Education, 2019), women and elderly people who are generally secluded in houses, and those who have to work to make a living are not able to sufficiently participate in such courses (Yücel *et al.*, 2018: 41; Dursun, 2018) (see Section 1.2.2. for the discussion). For such individuals who are unable to learn Turkish, interpreting services at public institutions seem to be the most functional solution for the time being. This situation in fact indicates the significance of such interpreting services in Turkey for the moment.

The existence of interpreters, who have played crucial roles in political, cultural and economic exchanges throughout history, dates back to Ancient Egypt (Hermann, 2002: 15). During different periods of history, interpreters were held responsible for various significant tasks, such as spreading the word of God during the Islamization of Africa, providing linguistic and cultural mediation during European colonialism in Asia, Africa and the Americas (Giambruno (Miguélez), 2008: 28-9), and assisting governors and judges during the colonization of the Americas (Angelelli, 2004b: 10). In the mid-twentieth century, interpreters once again came to the fore after World War II, especially during the Nuremberg trials of 1945 and 1946, and in the increasing number of international meetings and organizations (Angelelli, 2004b: 10). Beginning with the 1960s, public service interpreting started to gain significance especially in multi-ethnic societies, such as Australia, and in migrant-receiving countries, such as Sweden, with the adoption of "equal access" principle for "heterolingual" segments of the society (Pöchhacker, 2004: 14). As a result of increased movements of migration worldwide in the 1980s and 1990s, it became even more important in meeting the communication needs of migrants/refugees in host countries. Concurrently with the mentioned developments, public service interpreting became a significant research area and even a sub-discipline under Interpreting Studies with growing empirical research (Snell-Hornby, 2010: 368).

Despite the increasing migration movements and migrant/refugee communities settling in countries speaking different languages than theirs, the institutionalization and professionalization of public service interpreting is not yet fully achieved in general terms. On the other hand, in countries with a long history of immigration and multiculturalism, such as Australia, Sweden and Canada, public service interpreting tends to be relatively better established with training courses, university programs, professional associations, certification, and accreditation examinations (Ozolins, 2000; Hale, 2015). However, in other countries with a recent history of migration, such as Italy and Spain, it is far less established and institutionalized.

The low status and the lack of professionalization of public service interpreting is basically related to the commonly held assumption that rather than specialized

knowledge, as required by established professions, only the command of languages is sufficient to perform interpreting (Rudvin, 2007, 2015). The status of the groups to whom service is generally provided, namely refugees or minority language speakers, further undermines the public image of this type of interpreting (Pöchhacker, 2004: 174; Hale, 2015: 66). Overall, underdevelopment of public service interpreting is mainly associated with the lack of an established system guaranteeing professional standards, the lack of status and clear job descriptions, the scarcity of training opportunities and academically-oriented educational programs, the lack of incentives such as high pays to encourage investment of time and money in professional development, and the lack of mechanisms to control interpreter performances (Pöchhacker, 2004: 30; Corsellis, 2008: 56-57; Hale, 2015: 67-8; Rudvin, 2015: 437). Under the circumstances, communication needs between migrants/refugees and service providers are mostly addressed at institutional levels due to the lack of national and comprehensive policies regulating public service interpreting. Most of the time, institutions resort to existing volunteers or bilinguals who do not have the necessary training and competences in order to meet *ad hoc* communication needs (Ozolins, 2000: 32; Corsellis, 2008: 57). Training needs of the interpreters are also generally met at institutional levels, yet such institutional trainings are generally limited in duration and content (Pöchhacker, 2004: 179). It is also a common case that communication needs are solved through family members, neighbors or acquaintances of refugees/migrants.

As a country that has faced a large wave of migration only recently, Turkey does not have well-established and sound policies and practices regarding public service interpreting. The legal arrangements in this regard only address the procedures in court interpreting⁵. The regulations introduced for Syrian refugees recently, i.e. the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (Article 70; DGMM, 2014) and the Temporary Protection Regulation (Articles 26 and 31; Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği, 2014), also

⁵ The relevant legislation involves Article 276 of the Turkish Penal Code (Türk Ceza Kanunu, 2004), Article 202 and Article 324 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (Ceza Muhakemesi Kanunu, 2004), and the regulation on drafting the lists of interpreters (Ceza Muhakemesi Kanununa Göre Tercüman Listelerinin Düzenlenmesi Hakkında Yönetmelik, 2013) that came into force in 2013 based on the Code of Criminal Procedure (see Section 1.2.3. for further details).

mention translation and interpreting among the services that may be provided to foreigners; however, they do not provide any detailed information regarding the scope of the translation and interpreting services.

In recent years, in Turkey, there have been certain initiatives on interpreting services in the Arabic language, yet such services are still limited in scope. Interpreting services in the Kurdish language are even more scarce. In the early stages of the refugee crisis, the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) was mostly providing interpreters to healthcare institutions in various provinces as well as to several state institutions such as the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (UNHCR, 2017; UNHCR, 2018). At the moment, staffed translators and interpreters give service at the provincial directorates of migration management. Apart from this, sporadic interpreting services on an institutional scale are also available (see Section 1.2.3. for further details).

One of such services is provided under the SIHHAT Project⁶ (Improving the Health Status of the Syrian Population under Temporary Protection and Related Services) at various public healthcare institutions in the provinces with the highest Syrian populations⁷ (Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, 2017). In the scope of the project, 960 Turkish and Arabic-speaking “patient guides” have been employed to give interpreting services, as well as to accompany refugee patients in various hospital procedures. Besides, certain non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) and Turkish Red Crescent Community Centers, also recruit staff under the title of “interpreter”. Interpreters of such organizations provide services to refugees in healthcare institutions, police units and legal aid processes among others.

Furthermore, in parallel to the increased Syrian refugee population in recent years, more Arabic-language interpreters provide service in the scope of available interpreting services in the legal field. In this field, provincial justice commissions of judicial courts annually compile lists of interpreters, who are chosen among only Turkish citizens and who are responsible for interpreting in courthouses, police units,

⁶ The Project funded by the European Union (EU) has been implemented since 2017. See <https://www.sihhatproject.org/> for the project details.

⁷ See <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638> for the the provinces with the highest Syrian populations

legal interview rooms and child monitoring centers. The legal basis of the interpreter lists is the regulation on drafting the lists of interpreters (Ceza Muhakemesi Kanununa Göre Tercüman Listelerinin Düzenlenmesi Hakkında Yönetmelik, 2013) issued based on the Code of Criminal Procedure.

Despite the mentioned sporadic initiatives regarding interpreting services at public institutions, communication problems of refugees in public institutions are not completely resolved. Refugees who do not have access to interpreters or who are not aware of the available services may have to pay for interpreters or to receive help from neighbors (Yücel *et al.*, 2018: 32; Şan & Koçlu, 2018; Koçlu, 2019). Other problems regarding the aforementioned available interpreting services are the lack of professional bodies and legislations⁸ regulating the professional standards and supervising interpreting practices, the lack of comprehensive professional training opportunities or certification programs, as well as the lack of standard practices in recruitment of interpreters and in the provision of services, which are in fact the major obstacles to institutionalization and professionalization of the area of practice.

With these circumstances in mind, the present doctoral research aims to explore the practitioners⁹ meeting the communication needs of the large refugee population in Turkey in the most prominent three contexts: 1) the interpreters working at the units of ASAM, one of the NGOs in Turkey carrying out projects and activities for migrants and refugees in cooperation with many international and national associations, organizations and institutions; 2) the interpreters who are included in the lists drafted by provincial justice commissions and who give service in such legal settings as courthouses and police units; 3) the staff employed under the name of “patient guide” in public healthcare institutions within the scope of the EU-funded SIHHAT project.

More specifically, the current study addresses the practitioners' social, cultural, educational, and professional backgrounds, in other words their identities, and it

⁸ A regulation that has been on the agenda for the translation and interpreting profession in recent years is the National Occupational Standard (2018), prepared upon the request of the Vocational Qualifications Authority by the relevant departments of Istanbul, Boğaziçi, Hacettepe and Yıldız Technical Universities, and the Translation and Interpreting Association Turkey. The standard, which is still in draft, also includes qualifications for public service interpreters (Level 6) (see Section 1.2.3. for more details).

⁹ Throughout the thesis, the concepts of "interpreter" and "practitioner" are used interchangeably.

examines the institutional and other external conditions surrounding the practitioners. Furthermore, the implications of the mentioned issues for the practitioners' interpreting activities and for their attitudes, perceptions and expectations towards public service interpreting are analyzed. Through the examination of the afore-mentioned points, the present study overall intends to specify the professional deficiencies in public service interpreting in Turkey and to problematize the (non)formation of professional identity in the field of public service interpreting.

As mentioned earlier, in parallel with the increasing need for interpreters in public and social settings, public service interpreting also began to attract attention as a research area on the academic level. In this respect, the first large-scaled platform, where such issues as the role of interpreters, the necessity to frame the standards of the practice and the need for training and accreditation were discussed, was the *Critical Link* conference organized in Canada in 1995 (Harris, 2000). Moreover, in the XIV World Congress of the International Federation of Translators (FIT) organized in Australia in 1996, a committee on community interpreting was formed (Chesher, Slatyer, Doubine, Jaric & Lazzari, 2003: 275).

From the 1980s on, with the expansion of the domains where interpreters provide service to include public and social settings, interpreting has been considered as a sort of "linguistic social work" (Bahadır, 2011: 264), and interpreters have been treated as more "involved" actors in communication processes (Rudvin, 2015: 442). And mostly these issues have shaped the academic studies on public service interpreting. Accordingly, the interpreter roles and task boundaries, and the problem of applicability of ethical principles in the face of dynamic communication processes in the social settings have emerged as the most discussed issues in academic studies.

In this respect, by drawing on various data collection methods, such as questionnaires, interviews, participant observations, and recordings of interpreted-mediated interactions; a large number of studies have questioned whether the traditional norms of invisibility and neutrality, and the widely-attributed "conduit" role can be applied under real-life conditions in various public service interpreting settings, in particular the medical and legal settings. A great deal of studies that have addressed

interpreting in the medical settings (Kaufert and Koolage, 1984; Wadensjö, 1998; Pöchhacker, 2000; Davidson, 2000; Rosenberg, 2002; Angelelli, 2004a, 2004b; Leanza, 2005; Bot, 2005a; Hsieh, 2006; Rudvin and Tomassini, 2008; Souza, 2016; Kaczmarek, 2016), and many other studies that have examined interpreting in the legal domains (Berk-Seligson, 1990; Niska, 1995; Morris, 1995, 1999; Barsky, 1996; Kadric, 2000; Hale, 1999, 2004, 2008; Lee, 2009; Kaczmarek, 2016; Salaets and Balogh, 2017) commonly underline that interpreters might have to go beyond the role of a mere “conduit” and that they might perform multifarious tasks apart from interpreting.

The applicability of ethical principles¹⁰ in public service interpreting domains has also attracted a great deal of attention in scholarly studies. As Rudvin (2015: 439) mentions, ethical codes are important in that they specify task boundaries and responsibilities of interpreters, yet on the other hand, they have become controversial, since they mostly do not address each and every interpreting situation under real-life conditions and they express the principles in a prescriptive manner (Hale, 2008: 101). Accordingly, a great number of studies (Kaufert and Putsch, 1997; Mikkelsen, 1998; Bot, 2003; Pöchhacker, 2004; Clifford, 2004; Rudvin, 2007, 2015; Ibrahim, 2007; Bahadır, 2011; Bancroft, 2015; Lee, 2015), as well as those examining the interpreter roles mentioned above, argue that the requirements of many ethical codes, namely interpreting literally, behaving like a machine without being involved in decision-making processes and being invisible and absolutely neutral, do not fully reflect the performances of interpreters in real life.

In addition to the studies dealing with the aforementioned issues, an increasing number of studies (Inghilleri, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Valero Garcés & Gauthier Blasi, 2010; Valero Garcés, 2012; Aguilar Solano, 2012; Tipton, 2014; Guéry 2014) highlight the role of social context in public service interpreting and its repercussions on the agency of interpreters by drawing on the concepts from the social theory of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu.

¹⁰ Confidentiality, accuracy and impartiality are reported to be the most prominent principles highlighted by the majority of codes of ethics and standards of practice from around the world (Bancroft, 2005; Hale, 2007).

The presence of large refugee population has made public service interpreting an important area of practice in Turkey. However, in the country, the awareness towards public service interpreting and the institutionalization of the area of practice has not yet developed to the extent required by the mentioned situation, which has heightened the need for academic studies on the subject. The present doctoral research, which has arisen out of this need, is a candidate to contribute to the literature in certain aspects: First of all, it intends to contribute to the discussions on the agency of public service interpreters that center around the above-mentioned issues by examining the practitioners' perceptions of their role and task boundaries, ethical issues, autonomy, and challenges they face in the work setting. Furthermore, it intends to analyze the place and importance of the social profiles of the practitioners and of the institutional and other external conditions in terms of their interpreting activities. In this respect, by questioning the specific motives that have driven the interpreters to the interpreting job they practice, their attitude towards and expectations from the interpreting job, their relations with the other agents in interpreting processes, and the resources (un)available to them in their work trajectory in the light of Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1998, 2000), capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989, 1998), and *illusio* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2000), the present study has the potential to contribute to the discussions under the strand of the sociology of translators/interpreters, proposed by Chesterman (2006) (see Section 2.1. for the discussion).

In Turkey, the beginning of the scholarly studies on public service interpreting dates back to the early 2000s, and in recent years, there has been a noticeable increase in the studies, in particular master's and doctoral theses, on the subject. One of the first studies in this regard is the master's thesis of Rana Kahraman (2003) on interpreting in aid at disasters. In the study examining the role and identity of the interpreters in the disaster conditions after the 1999 Marmara Earthquake, it was found that interpreters assisted search and rescue teams and authorized institutions in their relations with the relevant international organizations and institutions, and they also performed various tasks in case of need. Another important study in the same context is the work of Aymil Doğan (2016), which proposes the role of the interpreters in aid at disasters as a

multifaceted and multi-component form of guidance shaped around ethical responsibilities (Doğan, 2016: 61-62).

The work of Tahir-Gürçağlar and Diriker (2004), which provides an overview of interpreting practices at various public settings in Turkey, such as courts, hospitals and asylum interviews, is also one of the first studies on the subject. In the seminal study, in which the legal and institutional structures around the interpreting practices in the mentioned settings are described, it was found out that the practitioners were individuals who did not have the relevant professional and educational background, and it was offered to set a framework for the regulation of training and accrediting the interpreters. The doctoral thesis of Rana Kahraman (2010) is another of the first studies addressing a specific context, i.e. asylum applications, in the scope of public service interpreting. The thesis (2010) discusses the role and positions of interpreters within the context of asylum applications through data from questionnaire and interviews with the interpreters, and accordingly, the mediating role of the interpreters is highlighted. Furthermore, the study offers suggestions for specialization of interpreters and institutional standardization.

In the scope of public service interpreting, sign language interpreting and interpreting in the court setting are two of the relatively little studied areas in Turkey. The master's thesis of Nesrin Conker (2017), which examines the development and current status of Turkish Sign Language and offers suggestions for its professionalization, is one of the few studies in the area of sign language interpreting. Two of the rare studies in the area of court interpreting are the work of Aymil Doğan (2004), which provides an overview of court interpreting as well as of the relevant practices in Turkey and around the world; and the doctoral thesis of Bihter Esin Yücel (2018), which examines the identity, legal status, visibility and expertise of the translators and interpreters registered by a courthouse in İstanbul based on the content analysis of the written sources on the subject.

On the other hand, in the scope of public service interpreting, the largest number of studies have been conducted in the area of healthcare interpreting. In this context, one of the first studies was the field work conducted by Ross and Dereboy (2010) on the means used by the doctors in hospitals in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions

to communicate with patients and on volunteers who performed interpreting in case of need. The study is important in terms of the recommendations it offered on the issues of the provision of interpreters by healthcare institutions for patients who do not speak Turkish, training healthcare professionals on such issues as interpersonal communication and language, and raising qualified interpreters to give service in the relevant languages.

In recent years, a number of master's and doctoral theses have been conducted, examining the healthcare interpreters and their interpreting activities, especially in private healthcare institutions. One of such studies is the master's thesis of Türkan Öztürk (2015), which addresses healthcare interpreting in the context of global mobility. In order to reveal the current status and the important role of healthcare interpreting in health tourism, Öztürk conducted interviews with 20 healthcare interpreters on their interpreting experiences. At the end of the study, the need for cooperation among the state, sector and academia and for certain standards and accreditation on the subject is highlighted. Another study in this context is the master's thesis of Olcay Şener (2017), which examines the issues of role, empathy, ethical principles and terminology uses in healthcare interpreting in the light of Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and capital. To this end, Şener drew on a number of data sources, involving the interviews with the relevant parties in interpreting processes, participant observations and recordings of interpreter-mediated encounters. The study has significant insights as to the active roles taken on by healthcare interpreters in interpreting processes and thereby the likely violations of ethical principles.

Another study conducted in the context of healthcare interpreting is the doctoral research of Duygu Duman (2018), which examines the healthcare interpreters' subjectivity and its reflections on their interpreting activities. More specifically, in the study, whether the interpreters are impartial or prejudiced subjects is questioned through the data sources of interpreter interviews, research diaries and analysis of 32 codes of ethics. And it has been revealed that the interpreters tend to establish close relationships with patients and to take sides with them, which in fact leads to a less objective position on the part of interpreters. One of the most recent studies on the subject is the doctoral research of Burak Özsöz (2019), in which a linguistic approach to dialogue interpreting

has been adopted within the scope of health tourism. Based on the analysis of dialogue transcriptions, it has been found that the interpreters are in a mutual negotiation of meaning with the other parties, and the verbal and non-verbal actions of the interpreters directly contribute to the development of the interaction (Özsöz, 2019). And the most recent study is the master's thesis of Ayşe Erkmen (2020), which examines the current status of healthcare interpreting practices in both private and public healthcare institutions. To this end, a survey has been conducted with the staff of healthcare institutions, and it has been concluded that communication needs in the healthcare institutions are generally fulfilled by amateur language intermediaries and that the staff expresses their dissatisfaction with the current situation, pointing to the need for employment of professional interpreters.

In addition to the above-mentioned studies, which are not particularly related to interpreting services provided to Syrian refugees or the interpreters giving service in this context; a number of theses have been conducted in recent years, evaluating the communication needs of Syrian refugees and highlighting the need for comprehensive and professional interpreting services for refugees in public institutions. In this regard, the doctoral thesis of Coşkun Doğan (2017) reveals the communication problems faced by irregular migrants in the province of Edirne based on a questionnaire conducted with migrants and highlights the need for employing trained interpreters in public institutions. The master's thesis of Rûveyde Kübra Arslan (2018) describes the available public service interpreting practices in Turkey on an institutional scale.

In the master's thesis of Seda Koçlu (2019), the communication problems faced by foreigners under temporary protection (corresponding to Syrian refugees in general terms, see Section 1.2.1. for the details of temporary protection), by institutions providing services to foreigners, and by the individuals assisting as interpreters in the provision of services are separately questioned based on questionnaires for the relevant groups. At the end of the study carried out specifically in the province of Sakarya, it has been suggested to include practical public service interpreting courses in the curricula of the relevant university departments, to provide trainings to practicing interpreters in the field, to create a pool of interpreters on a provincial basis and to take steps towards

professionalization (Koçlu, 2019). Lastly, the master's thesis of Sila Saadet Toker (2019) evaluates the effectiveness of the adaptation trainings provided to the patient guides recruited in the scope of the SIHHAT project based on the results of the questionnaire conducted with the patient guides. The study highlights the need for extending the scope of the mentioned trainings to include also interpreting-related subjects.

The studies that are not specifically related to interpreting for refugees (Öztürk, 2015; Şener, 2017; Duman, 2018; Yücel, 2018; Özsöz, 2019) are important in terms of the examination of interpreters' roles and task boundaries, and ethical issues in interpreting. The other studies that address communication problems of refugees and the current status of interpreting services for them (Doğan, 2017; Arslan, 2018; Koçlu, 2019; Toker, 2019) are also significant contributions to the field as regards revealing the relevant needs and offering solutions accordingly. However, the analysis of the mentioned literature has unfolded the gap in studies on who are the actual actors currently providing interpreting services between Syrian refugees and Turkish public officials.

In this regard, the present doctoral study intends to widen the scope of the research on public service interpreting in Turkey in several aspects: First of all, the current research, which comparatively addresses interpreting for refugees - currently a highly important service area in Turkey - in three different contexts in four provinces (İzmir, Mersin, Adana and Gaziantep, some of the provinces with the largest Syrian populations¹¹), pertains to a broader and more comprehensive framework on the subject. Furthermore, as an agent-oriented study examining the social, cultural, educational and professional backgrounds of the interpreters; the institutional and social factors surrounding them; and their implications for the interpreters' interpreting activities and for their attitudes, perceptions and expectations towards public service interpreting; the current research intends to contribute to the discussions under the strand of the sociology of translators/interpreters, proposed by Chesterman (2006). To this end, the mentioned issues will be discussed in the light of Bourdieu's framework with the concepts of

¹¹ See <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638> for the provinces with the largest Syrian populations.

habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1998, 2000), capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989, 1998), and *illusio* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2000). And in this respect, the present research is also a candidate to fill the existing gap in conceptual framework observed in the above-mentioned studies.

Furthermore, unlike the studies based on limited data sources, such as only questionnaires (Doğan, 2017; Koçlu, 2019; Toker, 2019; Erkmén, 2020); the current research draws on a wide range of data sources, i.e. detailed semi-structured interviews and the questionnaires conducted with the interpreters in the NGO, legal and healthcare contexts; the interviews conducted with the authorized staff and public officials working with the interpreters in the mentioned contexts; and the context-specific documents to be analyzed. In this respect, the present research is a study "incorporating ethnographic principles" in Hale and Napier's sense (2013: 95). The current study also has distinctive features in terms of the data analysis method it adopts. The interviews conducted with the interpreters, the main data source of the study, were coded separately according to each research question specified below; and the codes were classified in separate Excel tables, which later on produced overarching and sub-themes for the relevant research questions (see Section 3.3. for further details).

Against this backdrop, the present study sets out to address the following research questions:

1. What are the social trajectories of the public service interpreters? What is the effect of their trajectories on finding interpreting worth practicing?
2. What are the practitioners' perceptions of their interpreting experiences and of their agency in interpreting assignments? What are the context-dependent factors that affect their agency? To what extent do their perceptions match up with the principles prescribed in codes and standards¹²?

¹² As previously mentioned, in Turkey there is currently no available document regulating the professional standards, including the ethical issues. For this reason, the statements of the interpreters in the current study regarding their interpreting acts will be discussed against the backdrop of certain ethical codes accepted for interpreters in public settings in other countries (NAJIT, 2002; CHIA, 2002; NCIHC, 2004; IMIA, 2006; HIN, 2007; AUSIT, 2012; NSW HCIS, 2014; JCCD, 2017). Most of the norms and

3. What are the practitioners' perceptions of the interpreting profession? Do they find it worth practicing as a future career?
4. What forms of capital are (un)available to the practitioners? Do the available forms of capital have the potential to contribute to the formation of a professional identity?

Probing the above-mentioned questions, the present thesis is organized into six chapters. Chapter One, consisting of two parts, will first provide an overview of the definition and function of public service interpreting, its history, the general professional status and the professional status in various migration-receiving countries. The second part will be devoted to outlining the migration profile of Turkey, the general status and language and communication needs of Syrian refugees, and the public service interpreting practices recently adopted in Turkey.

Chapter Two, divided into three parts, consists of a literature review and the explication of the conceptual framework adopted in the study. The first part of the chapter, which lays the groundwork for the discussion of public service interpreters as social actors, will discuss how translators and interpreters have come to be considered as social agents by virtue of sociological approaches to translation and interpreting. In the second part, the selected scholarly studies in Turkey and around the world dealing with public service interpreting contexts and the agency of public service interpreters will be examined under the categories of the roles and task boundaries of interpreters, and the ethical issues in public service interpreting. The third part of the chapter will elaborate on Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field, *habitus*, capital and *illusio*, and the scholarly studies that have used Bourdieu's concepts in the context of public service interpreting.

Chapter Three will be devoted to the methodological framework of the study. In the first part, the adopted methodological approach, i.e. the qualitative research method drawing on ethnographic data collection methods and the case study approach, will be outlined. The second part will elaborate on the extensive field work carried out within the scope of the research. More specifically, the data collection methods used in the

principles addressed in these ethical codes can be said to apply to the acts of public service interpreters in general.

research will be explained, and the data collection processes in the contexts of NGO, legal field and healthcare will be addressed separately. Moreover, the demographic profile and social background of the interviewed interpreters and the relevant results of the questionnaires conducted with the interpreters will be presented. In the third part of the chapter, the process of coding and thematic analysis of the interviews conducted with the interpreters, the major data source of the study, will be outlined.

Chapter Four, Chapter Five and Chapter Six will be respectively devoted to the interpreters working in the ASAM units; the interpreters in the legal field, including courthouses and police units; and the interpreters recruited in the public healthcare institutions under the name of “patient guides”. Although the interpreters in the mentioned three contexts give service to the same groups of people, each group of interpreters will be discussed in separate chapters, since there are divergences in the institutional conditions surrounding them and in their perspectives on their interpreting activities and the profession. The relevant discussions will be conducted in parallel in each chapter and will develop within the following framework: 1) the social trajectory of the practitioners and the motives behind their choice of the public service interpreting job; 2) the practitioners’ perceptions regarding their interpreting agency; 3) the practitioners’ attitude towards public service interpreting in general, including the issues of general perceptions of the job performed, perspectives on general awareness towards interpreting and the recognition of interpreters, perspectives on professional deficiencies, and maintaining *illusio* and perspectives on the sustainability of the interpreting job; 4) the forms of capital (un)available to the practitioners in the context of the interpreting job they are engaged in, and whether or not the forms of capital have the potential to contribute to the formation of the professional identity.

Overall, the discussions within the mentioned framework will lead to an in-depth analysis of the public service interpreters as social actors, which will produce significant insights as to the current status of public service interpreting in Turkey and the necessary steps to be taken for professional development.

CHAPTER ONE

PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETING AS A MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

This chapter consists of two parts. The first part will focus on the definition and function of public service interpreting, its history, the general professional status and the professional status in various migration-receiving countries. The second part will outline the migration profile of Turkey, the general status and language and communication needs of Syrian refugees, who constitute the largest migrant population currently in Turkey, and the public service interpreting practices adopted in Turkey in the face of the growing refugee population and communication needs.

1.1. PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETING

Interpreting Studies in general developed as an independent academic discipline in the 1970s thanks to Seleskovitch's interpretive theory of Translation (Pöchhacker, 2004). At the time, the discipline was dominated by the cognitive approach adopted in experimental studies by psycholinguists. During the 1980s, the perspective changed and a more empirical and descriptive stance was adopted by researchers, especially by Gile, with a special emphasis on the real-life conditions affecting conference interpreters (Pöchhacker, 2004: 69). Yet while focusing mostly on the mental processing activities of interpreters, researchers did not pay much attention to the situational and socio-cultural context.

The large-scale migration flows resulted in new interpreting needs of newly arrived migrants and refugees in legal, healthcare, social service and educational settings. Harris (1982: 4) was the first to highlight various domains of interpreting apart from conference settings such as hospitals, courts, police stations and other public settings, where interpreters are directly involved in communication processes with other social actors, namely migrants or refugees and host country officials. As a result, during the 1990s, community interpreting, public service interpreting in other words, became a

prominent research area under Interpreting Studies, and through extensive empirical research, it developed as a sub-discipline (Snell-Hornby, 2010: 368).

The type of interpreting that comes to the fore during the provision of public services for migrants and refugees is public service interpreting. Public service interpreting plays a pivotal role in facilitating communication between speakers of a minority language and officials at various institutions in the host country. It creates a space for the agents involved in the communication process, namely migrants and service providers, where they get a chance of overcoming cultural and linguistic barriers, and it makes migrants and refugees heard in the host country until they acquire the skills to communicate fluently in the language of the country.

1.1.1. Definition and Function of Public Service Interpreting

In the most general sense, public service interpreting is a form of mediation that helps service providers and service users to make sense of each other's talk in public institutions, such as police stations, immigration offices, healthcare facilities, schools and other similar service settings (Wadensjö, 1998: 33). As Pöchhacker (2008: 10) mentions, the mediating function of interpreters seems to stem from the state of being "in between" with the action of transmitting something. Even in certain countries such as Italy, the act of interpreting in community settings is acknowledged as "language mediation". In the act of mediation, the "bridging function" of interpreters is highlighted (emphasis in the original, Rudvin, 2006: 34).

There has been controversy over the label of this type of interpreting, and "community interpreting", which was first coined in Australia in the 1970s (Chesher, 1997), is the most widely used term. The term, which has also been adopted by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) as the title of the first international standard for the profession, has led to dissatisfaction among many countries, arguing that the word "community" in "community interpreting" is mostly associated with non-professional interpreters (Bancroft, 2015: 219). Similarly, in several countries such as the United Kingdom (UK) and Spain, the term "public service interpreting" has been

adopted, as the term “community interpreter” connotes less qualified interpreters (Bancroft, 2015: 218). It is also highlighted by Rudvin (2006: 33) that the term “public service” refers to the institutional aspect of the profession. In spite of minor differences in scope and meaning, both concepts point to the interpreting activities carried out in social institutional contexts such as legal, medical, educational, mental health or police settings. In the present study, the term “public service interpreting” is preferred, since, as will be discussed in detail in the following chapters, the study addresses the practitioners recruited in three different institutional contexts, which are the non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the legal context involving courts and police units, and the public healthcare institutions.

Apart from the controversy over the label, there are also diverging views regarding whether or not court interpreting is a separate field of activity. For instance, the European Union Legal Interpreters and Translators Associations does not accept court interpreting as part of community interpreting (Bancroft, 2015: 224). Moreover, in certain countries such as the United States (US), different national ethics and standards of practice are published for legal and medical interpreters, and different certifications tests are administered for the two specialization areas (Bancroft, 2015: 223). In healthcare interpreting, where patient health is at stake and miscommunication can lead to fatal consequences, interpreters adopt a wider role than those working in the legal domain. Most of the time, interpreters in this setting are also expected to provide patients with guidance and assistance regarding the health system apart from interpreting (Pöchhacker, 2015: 72).

By the nature of their work, public service interpreters generally act in the fields of other more established professions (Colley & Guéry, 2015: 115). They interpret in both language directions and mostly in consecutive mode. The dialogues they interpret generally involve “fast turn-taking”, overlaps or “unpredictable speech”, a situation adding to the challenge of their tasks (Colley and Guéry, 2015: 120). Public service interpreters are also expected to have command of the relevant languages and cultures, to be informed of the technical vocabulary of the interpreting field and the procedures in the related country as well as to understand human psychology. Moreover, they might

sometimes have to deal with power imbalances between service providers and minority language speakers (Bancroft, 2015: 219).

Public service interpreting also involves social service and assistance, and public service interpreters mostly witness sensitive life experiences of humans. Hence, they might have to take on other roles than only being interpreters. In other words, they might need to go beyond their normative role, which, based on Goffman's model (1981), Wadensjö (1998: 83) defines as the common ideas about what people (should) do while performing a certain activity. In this regard, Pöchhacker (2000) states,

the interpreter's task definition may be situated anywhere along the spectrum between those who would limit the interpreter's role to that of a linguistic conduit or "language converter" and those who regard cultural brokering or advocacy as an integral component of the interpreter's role. (pp. 50-1)

The roles adopted by public service interpreters are rather flexible and depend on the context of situation and a wide range of expectations of service providers and users from interpreters. More specifically, what creates a role confusion for public service interpreters is misunderstandings, discrimination against minority groups or cultural differences in interpreting contexts (Buendía, 2010:11). Accordingly, interpreters assume various roles such as "translators", "cultural informants", "cultural broker or cultural mediator", "advocate", or "bilingual professional" (Jalbert, 1998; cited in Leanza, 2005: 170). Similarly, the roles of "ombudsmen or counselors" (Putsch, 1985), "cultural bridge" (McIvor, 1994), "intercultural agents" (Barsky, 1996) are also suggested for public service interpreters (cited in Pöchhacker, 2000: 51). Pöchhacker further mentions the roles of "faithful mouthpiece" and "client representative and advocate".

As Merlini (2009) mentions, within the scope of such different roles that interpreters take on, a blurred picture emerges, where interpreters might change messages, express their opinions, engage in bilateral conversations and violate professional ethical principles, the most outstanding of which are acknowledged as confidentiality, accuracy and impartiality (Bancroft, 2005; Hale, 2007). In the face of such a fuzzy picture, what is suggested for interpreters is a position between the message

transmitter role and the helper role, where they express the voice of all parties, render meaningful dialogues and thus eliminate communication barriers (Bancroft, 2015: 226).

Situated in a complex network of relations knitted with cultural and social symbols, public service interpreters are responsible for a double task of both representing the institutions where interpreting services are required and serving refugees/migrants who are not fully aware of the language, values and practices of the host country. They sometimes need to resolve the conflicts arising from cultural differences and to maintain the social balance between the parties of communication processes. Hence, it could be said that public service interpreting requires a high degree of skills and competence.

1.1.2. History of Public Service Interpreting

Interpreting is a very ancient practice dating back to at least 3000 BC (Delisle & Woodworth, 1995), and throughout history, interpreters have been resorted to in cultural, economic and political exchanges. First interpreters are known to date back to Ancient Egypt, where they were considered “speaker[s] of strange tongues” (Hermann, 2002: 15). In Ancient Greece, besides being linguistic mediators for business transactions, interpreters were also attributed a semi-divine role of carrying out multiple tasks, and in the bilingual Roman Empire, where Latin and Greek languages were equally recognized, interpreters occupied an outstanding position (Angelelli, 2004b: 8). During the Islamization of Africa beginning in the seventh century, interpreters were responsible for spreading the word of God (Giambruno (Miguélez), 2008: 28).

At the time of the Spanish Conquest (1492), Columbus brought with him interpreters familiar with the Spanish language and culture on his voyages to the Americas, since he was aware of the importance of interpreting in the communication with the natives (Angelelli, 2004b: 8-9). During the colonization of the Americas, interpreters held important positions such as “assistants to governors and judges” (Angelelli, 2004b: 10). Furthermore, European colonialism in Asia, Africa and the Americas increased the language contact, and Europeans treated interpreters as

“language and cultural intermediaries” during their invasions into those places (Giambruno (Miguélez), 2008: 29). At those times, the issues such as competence, power asymmetry, biases and betrayal were matters of concern for interpreters (Martínez-Gómez, 2015: 419). Therefore, it is no wonder that interpreters went beyond the role of linguistic agents and performed multiple tasks ranging from transferring messages to acting as gatekeepers, mediators, peacemakers, advocates, or even spies.

Although the above-mentioned "interpreters" were untrained and non-professionals in general, certain degree of institutionalization was achieved even in those periods of history (Martínez-Gómez, 2015: 419). The regulation of the working conditions and salaries of court interpreters by law in the 1560s (Angelelli, 2004b: 10) and the emergence of the first interpreting schools in the 17th century (Martínez-Gómez, 2015: 419) can be proposed as signs of this institutionalization. In this sense, nearly 450 years before the directive of the European Union (EU) on the right to translation and interpreting in criminal proceedings, the legal provisions for court interpreters in the 16th century Spain and the interpreting services the Spanish established in judicial and executive institutions in colonial America are especially worth mentioning. At the time, the tasks of "court interpreters", which included certified translation of documents and interpreting in hearings (Pöchhacker, 2004: 14), are very similar to those of today's interpreters. Interpreters took an oath in courts stating that they would do their job without bias and they would not omit or add anything.

Institutionalization in interpreting was particularly evident in the mid-20th century when conference interpreting became a recognized profession. After World War II, due to the increase in international meetings, conferences and organizations, interpreters assumed the central stage once again. They were in high demand especially during the Nuremberg trials in 1945 and 1946, when the importance of training more conference interpreters was understood (Angelelli, 2004b: 10). Thus, many universities around the world started to offer courses in conference interpreting, and professionalization of conference interpreting increased when AIIC, International Association of Conference Interpreters, was established in Paris in 1953.

Public service interpreting has developed and shaped in the face of the needs of indigenous populations and minority language speakers in countries such as Australia, Canada, South and North America, Africa, as well as the needs of migrants, refugees or asylees in countries with sound immigration policies such as Sweden and Australia. As Pöchhacker (2004: 14) states

[...] interpreting to enable communication between ‘heterolingual’ segments of a multi-ethnic society emerged only more recently in the context of egalitarian states committed to the ‘welfare’ of all their citizens and residents. Once the principle of ‘equal access’ came to be seen as overriding expectations of linguistic proficiency, the intra-social dimension of interpreting became increasingly significant.

The first interpreting services as a response to communication needs of immigrants were provided in such countries as Australia and Sweden beginning from the 1960s. The training for interpreters in community settings began in Sweden as early as 1968 (Hein, 2009: 125). In the mid-1970s, interpreters were widely recruited by local governments in Sweden in fields such as medicine, law and education (Bancroft, 2015: 220). Similarly, in Australia, anti-discrimination laws were passed in the 1970s, stipulating equal access to services for aboriginal peoples, linguistic minorities, and immigrants (Moody, 2011: 38-9). Australia has also made significant progress towards professionalization and institutionalization by establishing the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI), which accredits training programs and conducts exams for vocational qualifications in many languages (Pöchhacker, 2004: 30). Healthcare and social service interpreting as well as telephone interpreting services, which were first offered in these two countries, namely Sweden and Australia, were later adopted also in other countries such as France, the Netherlands and the UK (Pöchhacker, 2004: 30). In the 1980s and 1990s, community interpreting, which is also named as public service interpreting mostly in the UK and cultural interpreting in Canada, became more recognized when many countries realized that interpreting and translation needs arose not only in international contacts but in internal communication in the face of increased migration and refugee and asylum seeker flows throughout the world.

In parallel with the increasing need of interpreters in community settings, public service interpreting also began to be addressed on the academic level. Professionals,

researchers and educators in the interpreting area from various countries came together in 1995 in Canada at the first *Critical Link* conference in order to share their ideas and information on the subject (Harris, 2000). The issues of the role of interpreters, the necessity to frame the standards of the practice as well as the need for training and accreditation were discussed at the conference. One year later in 1996, the XIV World Congress of the International Federation of Translators (FIT) was organized in Australia, and a committee on community interpreting was formed (Chesher, Slatyer, Doubine, Jaric & Lazzari, 2003: 275).

On the whole, the countries, which have changed their perspectives on migrants and refugees and have adopted a multicultural approach, such as Sweden, Canada, Australia, the US and the UK, have introduced regulatory frameworks to promote professional public service interpreting. Yet still, many countries with a recent immigration history have a provisional attitude towards public service interpreting (Ozolins, 2000: 23).

1.1.3. Professionalism and the Professional Status of Public Service Interpreting

Before mentioning the professional status of public service interpreting more specifically, it is necessary to look at the conditions for professionalization. Tseng's (1992) work on the development of conference interpreting in Taiwan, which was applied to the profession of public service interpreting by Mikkelsen (1999), outlines the professionalization requirements necessary for the interpreting profession within a model in the light of the “trait theory” and the “theory of control”. According to the trait theory, for an occupation to become a profession, certain requirements, such as a code of ethics, registration, a body of theoretical knowledge and loyalty to colleagues, need to be met. On the other hand, the theory of control presupposes certain dynamics related to the labor market and institutions of a society. Accordingly, the professional status of an occupation is determined by the degree of control of practitioners over their work and the labor market. Thus, it could be said that professionalization is a matter of autonomy

gained against other occupations in society. Moreover, what is required is the powerful professional groups that can have control on the body of theoretical knowledge necessary for practitioners as well as on the training, working conditions and ethics (Tseng, 1992, cited in Mikkelsen, 1999: 121). Another point Tseng (1992) suggests is that the profession needs to be in high demand, and thus, there needs to be a public recognition of its importance and relevance (cited in Mikkelsen, 1999: 125-6).

In a similar vein, Roberts (1994: 133-6) also puts forth that certain requirements for the professionalization of public service interpreting are a definition and a name that is universally recognized, clarified roles of interpreters, training of interpreters and trainers of interpreters, training of service providers working with interpreters and accreditation of community interpreters. In the same vein, Grbic' (2015: 322) refers to Wilensky's (1964) five-stage professionalization model, which sets forth the conditions such as making the occupation full-time, developing formal training programs, establishing professional associations, seeking legal protection and enforcing a code of ethics. According to Grbic' (2015: 322), in this model, which draws attention to social processes of professionalization, the role of professional organizations is highlighted, and professional identity is reflected in respect to social prestige. Likewise, Wadensjö (2007: 2) mentions Parson's (1964) definition of "a professional" with three characteristics and suggests this definition is quite appropriate for the role of interpreters. Accordingly, the characteristics of a professional are emotional neutrality, provision of services for the collective good and professionalism gained through personal training rather than through heritage.

Rudvin (2007, 2015), on the other hand, views professionalism as a social practice linked to cultural issues rather than a generally accepted universal value, and describes it as a process of identity formation. According to Rudvin (2007: 47), it is the cultural aspects that influence interpreters' recruitment, role perceptions, strategies and codes of ethics, which altogether play a part in practitioners' identity building. Adapting from Monzó (2009) and Baxter (2011), Rudvin (2015: 433-4) lists the characteristics of a profession in two categories: internal and in relation to society and world knowledge. The internal characteristics can be said to be motivation and reward, training, guidelines

and rules including codes of ethics, accreditation and legitimization, credentials, which confers authority upon professions, and standards brought by tradition and experience. On the other hand, exclusivity brought by special skills, problem-solving capacity, group identity, and positive impact on society could be proposed as characteristics related to society and world knowledge.

In terms of the interpreting profession, conference interpreting is characterized to a certain extent by above-mentioned features, while there is still a wide distance to be covered for the professionalization of public service interpreting. While conference interpreters generally have clear-cut task definitions and achieve recognition and high status at the end of intensive training processes, public service interpreters are generally subject to shorter trainings and have to fulfill tasks unrelated to interpreting (Rudvin, 2015: 439). Generally speaking, public service interpreting needs are addressed at institutional levels rather than through broader national policies. Since the issue is not directly related to their own fields, institutions meet urgent needs of refugees or migrants through existing volunteers or bilinguals who do not have the necessary training and competences, rather than adopting practices that support public service interpreting (Ozolins, 2000: 32; Corsellis, 2008: 57). Even if institutions provide trainings to their interpreters, such trainings are generally not holistic, rather they are limited in duration and content (Pöchhacker, 2004: 179).

Overall, the major obstacles to the professionalization of public service interpreting are suggested as the lack of an established system guaranteeing professional standards, the lack of status and protection of title, the scarcity of training opportunities, and the lack of incentives such as high pays to encourage investment of time and money in professional development (Corsellis, 2008: 56-57; Hale, 2015: 67-8; Rudvin, 2015: 437). Furthermore, the lack of public awareness of the necessary skills for interpreting and the widely-held assumption that anyone who knows a language can perform interpreting as well as the lack of mechanisms to control interpreter performances are also suggested as the factors adversely affecting professionalization (Rudvin, 2015: 437).

As a result of all the mentioned factors, public service interpreting is regarded as a low-prestige occupation that does not bring sufficient income. It is also argued that the low status of public service interpreting also stems from the status of the groups to whom service is generally provided, namely refugees or minority language speakers (Pöchhacker, 2004: 174; Hale, 2015: 66).

Where a professional status and identity cannot be achieved, *ad hoc* interpreters, who are generally family members, neighbors or acquaintances of refugees/migrants, namely “natural translators” in Harris’s terms (1990), tend to fill the gap of professional interpreters, and they are required to abide by the identity service providers or users attribute to them (Rudvin, 2015: 438-43). The interpreting performed by such untrained individuals may result in additions, omissions, substitutions or expression of their own ideas, rather than the parties of the communication (Baker *et al.*, 1998; Flores, 2000; Jacobs *et al.*, 2001), which in turn causes ineffective information exchange between public officials and service users.

1.1.4. The Professional Status of Public Service Interpreting in Various Migration-Receiving Countries

The professional status of public service interpreting differs across countries. As mentioned earlier, in countries with a long history of immigration and multiculturalism, such as Australia, Sweden and Canada, the profession tends to be better established, with training courses, university programs, certification and accreditation examinations, and professional associations, while in others with a recent history of migration such as Italy and Spain, the profession is less established (Ozolins, 2000; Hale, 2015). As will be outlined below and also summarized in the table in Appendix 1, there are divergences in the professional issues, such as regulations, associations, training, certification and accreditation, in various countries.

In Sweden, the long-standing cultural diversity shows parallelism with relatively advanced and professional public service interpreting services. In the middle of the 1970s, the authorization of interpreters by the state was introduced and the responsible

authority became the Swedish Legal, Financial and Administrative Services Agency (Norström, 2010). The first code of ethics was published by the same agency. Moreover, the first organisation of interpreters, the Swedish Association of Interpreters (STOF), was established in 1975, with the aim of protecting the financial, professional and social interests of its members (Norström, 2010). The requirements of authorization for interpreters are to pass the test of the agency and to be suitable to work as an interpreter (Norström, 2010). As for interpreter training in Sweden, the authorized body is the Institute for Interpretation and Translation Studies at Stockholm University since its foundation in 1986. Interpreter training courses are run either by Swedish universities as academic courses or by adult education centers and voluntary educational associations as vocational training courses (Niska, 2007: 302).

Australia is also one of the leading countries in the provision of organized language services. Starting mainly at law enforcement and health institutions, public service interpreting has become professionalized with accreditation systems, training, and state-funded language services from the 1970s onwards (Hale, 2007). The National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) was established in 1977 under the auspices of the Department of Immigration (Gentile, 2015: 28). Moreover, the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators (AUSIT), which is the outstanding professional association that issues a code of ethics and organizes events and training workshops for its members, emerged from the NAATI in the late 1980s. Certification of federal court interpreters is carried out by the central government agency in a multitude of languages (Turner, 2015: 393). In the area of healthcare, the New South Wales (NSW) Health Circular Standard Procedures for the Use of Health Care Interpreters specifies the use and provision of provincial interpreting services (Industry Canada, 2007: 54). There are significant interpreter training programs at universities and folk high schools for a wide range of languages (Ozolins, 2010: 204).

Public service interpreting started to develop in the UK in the second half of the 1980's, when the needs of minority groups were taken into more consideration (Guéry, 2014: 48). Since the 1990's, National Register for Public Service Interpreters (NRPSI) has been in effect under the body of the Institute of Linguists. The recognized

qualification for public service interpreters in the UK is the Institute of Linguists' Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (DPSI), adjusted at level 6 of UK national standards and offered in the areas of healthcare, English law, Scottish law and local government (Bancroft, 2015: 224). At various colleges, nationally recognized courses are offered by the Institute of Linguists leading to the DPSI. Interpreters for the police or in court must be registered in the NRPSI, while this is not always the case with medical and local government authorities (Guéry, 2014: 55).

In the US, the Massachusetts Medical Interpreter Association (MMIA), the first professional association specifically for healthcare interpreters, was established in 1986, and it published the first Medical Interpreting Standards of Practice in 1996 (Roat & Crezee, 2015: 239). Further standardization attempts were made in the 2000s with the professional standards of practice published by the National Council on Interpreting in Healthcare (Roat & Crezee, 2015: 240). Although many interpreters in the healthcare area are not required to hold certification, there are two national tests in this area (Roat & Crezee, 2015: 246). In the area of court interpreting, treated as a separate field with its own standards and accreditation practices, the first legal step was the 1978 Federal Court Interpreter's Act, which paved the way for individual states to start to formulate codes of conduct for court interpreters, which in turn has contributed to the professionalization of court interpreting with training and certification requirements (Kelly, 2000: 131). National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators (NAJIT) was also founded in 1978, representing court interpreters in the federal and state court systems.

Canada, being a bilingual country, attaches importance to all types of interpreting. Similar to the United States, court interpreting is treated as a separate field in Canada. In Canada, it is the Supreme Court that has specified the basic standard for the Canadian court interpreting (Morris, 2000: 253). In the area of healthcare, health legislation and the charters of rights and freedoms, particularly the Canada Health Act, stipulate the right to health services without language barriers (Hsieh, 2015: 178). Accordingly, most healthcare institutions are provided with multilingual and sign language interpreting services (Industry Canada, 2007: 19). In Canada, there are four models of public service interpreters, which are salaried interpreters who are few in

number; interpreting departments of companies using freelancers; community agency interpreting services; and lastly banks of government interpreters relying on freelancers who meet the training and skill requirements established by these organizations (Industry Canada, 2007: 23-5).

On the other hand, in the countries where migration is relatively a recent phenomenon, such as Italy, resources allotted for professional language services in many public institutions are inadequate (Rossato, 2017: 158). Under the circumstances, *ad hoc* services are generally fulfilled by cultural mediators, namely *mediatore culturale*. Since 2000, the migration profile of Italy has acquired a new dimension with large numbers of migrants especially from Asian and African countries. However, authorities have been caught unprepared by the flow of immigrants, and thus, generally untrained interpreters, who are often fellow migrants and even children, are observed to work as cultural mediators mostly under the body of voluntary organizations (Amato & Garwood, 2011). Cultural mediators, most of whom have gone through the same experiences, not only interpret but also offer a great deal of assistance to migrants and refugees in solving certain practical problems stemming from lack of understanding the new social and cultural context, which has resulted in a cultural and professional role confusion (Rudvin & Tomassini, 2008). Overall, in Italy, the profession is still far from institutionalization and professionalization due to the lack of unity in training programs, non-standard remuneration, unclear recruitment and quality requirements (Rudvin & Tomassini, 2008; Tomassini, 2012). Many of the existing trainings are organized and tailored according to needs by NGOs, local government institutions and cooperatives (Pittarello, 2009; Tomassini, 2012; Rudvin, 2014).

In Germany, another country that faced the migration phenomenon due to the workforce needs after the World War II, professional standards for public service interpreting have not been fully met as in Canada, Australia or Sweden. Although migrants have been offered integration courses, including German language courses (Razum *et al.*, 2008: 114-5), many foreigners only have the skills of everyday language, resulting in communication barriers in specific areas, such as healthcare (Meyer, 2009; Müller, 2011). Hence, public service interpreters are needed in such service areas. Yet in

the country, regulations for the recruitment of public service interpreters hardly exist, and the remuneration for public service interpreters is rather low (Müller, 2011: 8). Under the circumstances, interpreting needs are mostly met by non-professional interpreters. On the other hand, several state-funded initiatives related to public service interpreting are worth mentioning. For instance, Ethno-Medizinische Zentrum e.V. in Hannover (Müller, 2011), Gemeindedolmetschdienst Berlin (Berlin Community Interpreting Service)¹³ and Gemeindedolmetscherdienst Dresden und Umland (Community Interpreting Service, Dresden and Environs)¹⁴ provide interpreting services for medical and social care services. Furthermore, there are also projects of language and integration mediation funded by migration authorities in such cities as Leipzig, Wuppertal, Dortmund and Bochum, running through mediators providing service mainly at clinics, child and youth welfare services, employment agencies and schools among others¹⁵. Public service interpreters are also reached through the directories of professional unions such as der Bundesverband der Dolmetscher und Übersetzer e.V. (BDÜ) and Assoziierte Dolmetscher und Übersetzer in Norddeutschland e.V. (ADÜ Nord) (Müller, 2011). For courts and notaries, only sworn interpreters and translators are able to serve.

Overall, more specific steps are being taken towards professionalization of public service interpreting in countries with language access laws (Pöchhacker, 1999). The factors that motivate such laws and initiatives are the risks of services provided to refugees, migrants, indigenous peoples or deaf individuals through non-professional interpreters as well as financial burdens that might result from medical or legal errors (Bancroft, 2015: 222). On the other hand, in the countries where the profession is not well-established, the lack of professional standards leads to low institutionalization. The internal conditions of countries may necessitate different elements in the professionalization processes, yet professionalization can be mainly achieved through

¹³ <https://www.gemeindedolmetschdienst-berlin.de/ueber-uns/>

¹⁴ <http://www.euroregion-elbe-labe.eu/de/aktuelles/artikelliste/der-gemeindedolmetscherdienst-dresden-und-umland-gdd.html>

¹⁵ <https://www.leipzig.de/jugend-familie-und-soziales/auslaender-und-migranten/migration-und-integration/sprach-und-integrationsmittlung/>; <https://www.sprachundintegrationsmittler.org/qualifizierung/>

the efforts of training institutions and professional standards laid out by professional organizations.

1.2. THE MIGRATION PROFILE OF TURKEY AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETING PRACTICES IN THE COUNTRY

Turkey's geographical location as a transit route between Asia, Europe, Africa and the Middle East countries has always made the country a popular and important destination for migrants. In the history of modern Turkey, the country has witnessed both internal and international migratory movements. Between 1923 and 1950, Turkey witnessed both the emigration of non-Muslim populations and the immigration of Muslim and Turkish populations living in neighboring countries (Aksoy, 2012: 297). The most important international migration movement from Turkey occurred after the 1950's to the Western Europe, Germany in particular, to meet the workforce needs of the countries in the region. Moreover, after the military coup in 1980, a substantial number of people migrated to Europe as political asylum seekers (Karcı-Korfalı, Üstübcü & De Clerck, 2010: 25). Today Europe continues to be the major continent that hosts migrants from Turkey.

During the 1980s, the migration pattern of Turkey changed significantly, since large numbers of people of various ethnic and religious origins started to come to Turkey (İçduygu, 2015: 18). Especially the political developments in the Middle East such as the change of the political regime in Iran, the war between Iran and Iraq, the Gulf War and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as well as the end of the Cold War, the acceleration of globalization processes and the improvement in the Turkish economy contributed to the migratory movements to Turkey. As a result, asylum seekers from Iran and Iraq; transit migrants from Pakistan and Afghanistan; irregular migrant workers from Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Uzbekistan; summer house vacationists from Germany, Great Britain and Holland constitute the migrant profile of Turkey today (İçduygu, 2015: 18). Bearing these in mind, it can be asserted that Turkey has also

assumed the identity of a migration-receiving country besides the identity of a sending country due to the labor migration to Europe in the 1960s.

The most recent migration experience Turkey has undergone is the Syrian migration movement following the outbreak of the civil war in Syria in 2011. The forced migration movement created by the civil war has turned into a refugee crisis, bringing along tremendous repercussions for the whole world. Today Syrian migration is considered to be one of the greatest migration movements since the World War II. Millions of Syrians have fled the country, taking shelter particularly in neighboring countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan. According to the Global Trends report (2019) of the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), Syrians, with 13 million, were the largest forcibly displaced group of people, and around 6.6 million Syrians had become refugees as of the end of 2018 (UNHCR, 2019: 6). According to the same report (UNHCR, 2019: 18), Turkey was the country hosting the largest number of refugees, the largest group being the Syrian refugees with nearly 3.7 million.

Turkey's proximity to Syria, its geographical location between Asia and Europe, more satisfactory economic conditions and a safer environment have caused Syrians to come and settle in masses in Turkey (Deniz, 2014; Apak, 2014; Yaşar, 2014). Turkey, which has been implementing the "open door policy" since the beginning of the Syrian civil war (Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), 2017: 75), has become the country hosting the largest Syrian population, followed by Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt¹⁶.

1.2.1. Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Syrian refugees currently constitute the largest immigrant population of Turkey. In the first instance, Turkey identified Syrian refugees as "guests" with the expectation that they would return to their country in the short term. However, the unending war in Syria and the increasing number of refugees have exposed Turkey to uncertainties and social problems. In the face of increasing needs, Turkey has begun to take steps to

¹⁶ <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria>

ensure the normalization of the refugee crisis and the social integration of refugees, and it has introduced legislative regulations to fill the gaps in its migration policies. In 2014, Temporary Protection Regulation (Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği) was enacted, and “temporary protection status” was granted to Syrians in order to prevent human rights violations for refugees and to bring the problems that may arise in the public, political and economic aspects to a minimum level (Akıncı *et al.*, 2015: 78). In this way, the official status of Syrian refugees was guaranteed.

Temporary protection status does not bring along any restrictions on the length of stay in Turkey, and Syrian refugees are given temporary protection identity cards in order to benefit from basic healthcare, education and social assistance services (Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği, 2014). At the beginning of the refugee crisis, refugees were first placed at 25 temporary accommodation centers in 10 provinces managed by Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD). Yet the need for these centers gradually decreases, and today the overwhelming majority of Syrian refugees have spread in various Turkish provinces. According to the DGMM, the number of Syrians under temporary protection is around 3.6 million as of 2020, and the ten provinces where the largest Syrian populations reside are İstanbul, Gaziantep, Hatay, Şanlıurfa, Adana, Mersin, Bursa, İzmir, Konya and Kilis respectively.

Figure 1: The Ten Provinces Where the Largest Syrian Populations Reside



Source: <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>

Hosting such a big population under a temporary status seems to solve certain problems at first sight; however, it brings along various challenges for both refugees and the Turkish state. Although Syrians are refugees in the real sense, they have to live under precarious conditions without having the actual rights granted to refugees. Yet since Turkey has not had a similar experience before, it experiences difficulties in the arrangement of regulations and public services for such a big group of war-weary people. On the other hand, in order to address the needs of refugees, certain initiatives have been introduced. One of the most important initiatives in the healthcare area is the comprehensive project called SIHHAT (Improving the Health Status of the Syrian Population under Temporary Protection and Related Services), which has been implemented in cooperation with the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Health and the EU since August 2017. The project covers the elements of establishing 178 migrant health centers, recruiting Syrian health personnel, meeting the equipment and operating expenses of these centers, training the health personnel in direct contact with refugees, improving health literacy of refugees and employing 960 “patient guides” speaking Turkish and Arabic at various public healthcare institutions (Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, 2017).

Another important initiative is in the area of the education of Syrian children. Since October 2016, the PICTES project (Promoting Integration of Syrian Children into Turkish Education System) has been carried out in cooperation with the EU and Ministry of National Education. Within the scope of the project, Turkish and Arabic language courses as well as catch-up training courses for Syrian children are provided; complementary teaching materials are distributed to Syrian children; and training is provided to teachers, administrative and other staff of Ministry of National Education¹⁷. Moreover, temporary instructors of Turkish and Arabic languages who are mostly Syrians are employed in schools as part of the project. Apart from the mentioned educational opportunities, Turkish language courses and vocational courses are provided

¹⁷ <https://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/project/promoting-integration-syrian-children-turkish-education-system-7010>

to adult refugees in the scope of non-formal education (Ministry of National Education, 2019).

Although the basic rights to accommodation, healthcare and education have been secured through Temporary Protection Regulation, refugees still have problems in their daily lives due to the difficulty in accessing to information, lack of experts working in the field of migration and lack of standard practices adopted at public institutions (Uçak Erdoğan & Tarlan, 2016: 10). And Syrian refugees in Turkey have the biggest adaptation problems in housing, healthcare and education areas (Ataman, 2015; Bölükbaş, 2016; Biçer, 2017). Refugees experienced graver difficulties in having an access to healthcare services in the first years when they came to Turkey due to language barrier, lack of information and cultural differences. Furthermore, the services given to Syrian refugees in state hospitals in the border provinces have caused capacity problems in terms of physical conditions and medical staff, which in turn has increased the negative reactions among local people against refugees (Oytun & Gündoğar, 2015: 20).

Similar to the healthcare area, the area of education is also fraught with problems. The major problem is reported to be the language barrier and communication obstacles between Turkish students and teachers, and Syrian children in public schools (ECRE, 2015; Ercoşkun, 2016; Gündüz, 2016; Kaya & Aydın, 2016; Özer *et al.*, 2016). It is also observed that the schooling rate is lower in older age groups, since children are more advantageous in overcoming the language barrier and adapting to the system in the first years of education (Özer *et al.*, 2016: 99). Furthermore, due to economic difficulties, school-age children are forced to work by their families, which reduces the schooling rate in older age groups (ECRE, 2015; Tunç, 2015; Kaya & Aydın, 2016; Özer *et al.*, 2016).

Another problematical issue is the illegal employment of Syrian refugees, which poses threats for the Turkish labor market and Turkish workers (Oytun & Gündoğar, 2015). Syrian refugees, most of whom do not have an income-generating profession (Tunç, 2015: 51), are employed in unskilled labor for low earnings, reducing the costs for employers but at the same time leading to difficulties for Turkish workers to find

jobs (Dillioğlu, 2015: 14). Hence, local people's anxiety about losing their jobs and being deprived of job opportunities causes tension in the society (Tunç, 2015: 53).

Overall, it is observed that the major cause of negative reactions among Turkish people against Syrians is the differences in language, culture and lifestyle between local populations and Syrians (Oytun & Gündoğar, 2015: 16). As a matter of fact, it is a common case to show strong reactions against migrants/refugees in migration-receiving societies, since migrants/refugees, generally adopting cultural practices different from those of the hosting society, are mostly viewed as a cause of insecurity by the receiving society, and they are often considered to worsen the job market and to impose burdens on social services in host countries (Castles and Miller, 1998: 10-13). On the other hand, the chances of success of refugees in their adaptation to hosting countries depend on the attitudes, migration policies and support programs adopted by governments and societies in host countries (Sue, 1977: 620).

The experiences gained from history¹⁸ and the statistics by the United Nations (UN) in different regions of the world¹⁹ suggest that the vast majority of Syrian refugees are likely to stay in Turkey even if the war is over and will most probably be permanent settlers of the country. As a matter of fact, according to a survey conducted by AFAD, about 41% of Syrians think that half of the Syrian population will be permanent settlers in Turkey (AFAD, 2017: 10). Thus, it is important to adopt policies and undertake initiatives that will contribute to the social integration of refugees and to the harmonization between them and Turkish people.

1.2.2. The Language Needs of Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Although Turkish and Syrian societies share common history and cultural codes, the most prominent difference is the language they speak. In Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan, the other countries hosting Syrian refugees, the official language is Arabic, while

¹⁸ Over 50% of the refugees fleeing from Bosnia and Herzegovina during the disintegration of Yugoslavia between 1992 and 1995 have not turned back to their country (Dillioğlu, 2015: 5).

¹⁹ The relevant statistics indicates that at least one third of refugees may not return to their countries (Güçtürk, 2014).

in Turkey it is Turkish. Since language is the most important means for communication, removing the language barrier needs to be a prior target for social integration.

In order for individuals to be able to express themselves effectively, they need to acquire language skills first. Several studies show Syrian refugees want to learn Turkish, and some of them participate in courses for this purpose (Dillioğlu, 2015; Bölükbaş, 2016; Biçer, 2017). However, children seem much more successful in learning the language than the older generation (Dillioğlu, 2015; Biçer, 2017; Dursun, 2018), and most refugees agree they have the biggest difficulty with speaking skills in Turkish (Bölükbaş, 2016; Biçer, 2017). It is also emphasized by most refugees that they need to learn Turkish for education and job opportunities as well as for better communication with Turkish people and in public institutions (Bölükbaş, 2016; Biçer, 2017).

The communication needs of refugees are further addressed in other studies. For instance, in the study of Doğan (2017) conducted among 131 irregular migrants in Turkey, the great majority of whom are Syrian people, it is observed that the vast majority of the migrants (85.5%) do not attend Turkish language courses (Doğan, 2017: 104), and a large majority (84.7%) need interpreters in social life (Doğan, 2017: 109). Moreover, the migrants need interpreting services mostly in the areas of healthcare and education (Doğan, 2017: 106). It is further mentioned that 61% of the migrants sometimes receive interpreting services (Doğan, 2017: 114).

In a study conducted by the UN Women Unit and Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), it has been found that the language barrier is the major obstacle for Syrian women living in Turkey for the access to rights and services. In this regard, it is mentioned that 70% of women do not speak Turkish at all despite state-sponsored free language courses provided to Syrians (Yücel *et al.*, 2018: 6). The reasons for women's failure to learn Turkish range from not being allowed to attend the courses by their spouses to not being able to leave their children, from not knowing how to access the courses to finding it difficult to learn Turkish (Yücel *et al.*, 2018: 41). In another survey conducted with refugees, the reasons for their inability to learn Turkish are reported to be the great difference between Turkish and Arabic languages, the

insufficient number of language courses for Syrians and the lack of time for language courses due to the need to work to make a living (Dursun, 2018).

Furthermore, it is mentioned that 90% of Syrian children learn Turkish at school, and young people learn the language at university or in business life, yet Syrians over the age of 35 find it difficult to learn Turkish (Dursun, 2018). The fact that the older generation has greater difficulty than children and young people in learning the language of the country where they reside and in accessing the opportunities provided to them is not only peculiar to Syrians in Turkey. For instance, the first generation Turkish migrants in Germany have also faced the same problem. It is frequently emphasized that the second generation Turks in Germany have a higher level of German language proficiency and thus have more access to education, job and career opportunities (Euwals *et al.*, 2007; Phan, 2012).

In response to the communication problems especially in healthcare institutions, particularly female refugees may have to pay for interpreters or to receive help from neighbors where there are no interpreting services (Yücel *et al.*, 2018: 32). Moreover, it is mentioned that in the provinces, where there are Arabic-speaking local people, service provision by Arabic speaking doctors might alleviate the problem, yet on the other hand, the problem can be overcome to a great extent through effective and well-functioning interpreting services in institutions where there is no Arabic-speaking staff (Yücel *et al.*, 2018: 32).

Along the same line, in another study (Şan & Koçlu, 2018), the major areas where Syrians have the greatest difficulty due to the language barrier are mentioned as healthcare, housing and employment respectively. In these areas, refugees are unable to find solutions to their communication problems especially in public institutions and need an interpreter. Moreover, in the absence of interpreters in institutions, refugees may have to pay for interpreting services (Şan & Koçlu, 2018; Koçlu, 2019).

By and large, language training initiatives can produce only long-term results, and many refugees are already unable to attend existing language courses for the reasons mentioned above. Furthermore, migrants are often observed to maintain their languages and some cultural elements through at least a few generations (Castles and Miller, 1998:

13). Thus, it is not possible for all migrants to fully learn the language of the country where they live. Even if the basic language skills are acquired, learning the technical language specific to the field of service in hospitals, courts and other institutions requires to live in that society for many years.

Under the circumstances, the inability of migrants to communicate especially in public institutions causes them to face many problems as a result of not receiving adequate services in vital areas, such as healthcare. Migrants might have to solve the issue in institutions, where there are no interpreters, by paying interpreters varying fees with their own means or by resorting to their acquaintances who speak Turkish or their children who have learned Turkish, which may in turn cause them not to benefit from institutional services properly. In this regard, putting effective interpreting mechanisms in institutions into force seems to be the most effective method in the solution of refugees' communication problems until they acquire the necessary language skills.

1.2.3. Public Service Interpreting in Turkey

Public service interpreting first came to the fore in Turkey in 1999, when a massive earthquake hit the Marmara Region. Interpreters-in-aid at disasters assisted foreign aid teams in interlingual and intercultural communication voluntarily. Following the earthquakes, a project involving trainings to volunteers knowing the relevant languages (mostly English, German, French and Arabic) was launched with the cooperation of the Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies at İstanbul University, the Translation and Interpreting Association Turkey and the Governorship of İstanbul²⁰. Since 2000, the mentioned trainings have been organized according to available conditions and provided to volunteers (Doğan, 2012: 47).

Today Turkey faces another challenging situation, for which public service interpreting is again in high demand, namely the Syrian refugee crisis. Turkey had not had an experience of such a large flow of migrants before; thus, when millions of Syrian refugees started to take shelter in Turkey in 2011, the Turkish authorities were caught

²⁰ <http://www.ceviridernegi.org/arc.html>

unprepared in every area, including language and interpreting services. Since such a large population, especially the relatively older population, seem unlikely to learn Turkish in the short run due to the reasons mentioned previously, the need for translation and interpreting services has gradually increased and thereby a number of practices have been adopted.

When the legal arrangements for the interpreting profession in Turkey are examined, it is seen that the legislation covers the procedures in court interpreting. For instance, Article 276 of the Turkish Penal Code (Türk Ceza Kanunu, 2004) only mentions the penalty to be imposed in case of misstatements of the court interpreter. On the other hand, Article 202 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (Ceza Muhakemesi Kanunu, 2004) states that in the event that the accused or the victim does not speak enough Turkish to express him/herself, the essential points of the allegations and defense at hearings are interpreted through an interpreter appointed by the court. This also applies to suspects, victims or witnesses in the investigation phase, in which the interpreter is appointed by the judge or public prosecutor. Moreover, according to the article added to the Code in 2013, it is stipulated that interpreters are selected among those in the list drafted annually by provincial justice commissions of judicial courts. Article 324 of the same Code states that the expenses of the interpreter shall be covered by the state treasury, valid only for interpreters selected from the lists.

In the regulation on drafting the lists of interpreters (Ceza Muhakemesi Kanununa Göre Tercüman Listelerinin Düzenlenmesi Hakkında Yönetmelik, 2013) that came into force in 2013 based on the Code of Criminal Procedure, the most striking point among the admission requirements of court interpreters is the requirement that interpreters must be at least primary school graduates. It is stated that the evaluation made by justice commissions is only based on the documents submitted. Ethical principles to be followed by interpreters are stated as independence, impartiality, being honest and telling the truth, performing duties in person, keeping secrets and acting in accordance with the basic trial principles.

Apart from the mentioned legal regulations on interpreting, Article 70 of Law on Foreigners and International Protection of 2014 stipulates that translation and

interpreting services shall be provided to applicants in the application procedures for protection (DGMM, 2014). By the same token, Article 26 of the Temporary Protection Regulation (Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği, 2014), which entered into force in October 2014, mentions interpreting among the services that may be provided to foreigners under the Regulation. In Article 31, it is indicated that free translation services shall be provided when communication with foreigners cannot be established at the desired level. However, neither the distinction between translation and interpreting services nor their scope is elaborated in the regulation or elsewhere.

Besides, in the 2015 Directive on the Establishment, Management and Operation of Temporary Refugee Centers, interpreting services are mentioned together with the other services such as healthcare and training services provided to refugees living in the centers (Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency, 2015). Accordingly, it is stated that the related service shall be provided through interpreters deemed qualified by a commission within the governorship formed of public officials who know the relevant foreign language. However, neither the qualification standards nor the selection criteria and job descriptions of interpreters are clearly specified.

Another regulation that has been on the agenda for the translation and interpreting profession in recent years is the draft national standards prepared by university departments, academicians and experts in the field, especially the Translation and Interpreting Association Turkey²¹ and Istanbul, Boğaziçi, Hacettepe and Yıldız Technical Universities upon the request of the Vocational Qualifications Authority. The National Occupational Standard (2018), which will make a great contribution to professionalization and institutionalization, also includes qualifications for public service interpreters (Level 6). The occupational standard covers the interpreting services in law enforcement units, judicial processes, state institutions, local governments and the areas of healthcare, education, emergency and disaster, conflict, migration and sports. It is also stipulated in the document that theoretical and performance-based exams shall be conducted by the designated examination and certification body (Mesleki Yeterlilik Kurumu, 2018). Moreover, the competence certificate to be issued by the examination

²¹ <http://www.ceviridernegi.org/>

and certification body will be valid for five years, and interpreters' performances will be subject to supervision within this period.

In terms of language and interpreting services, a number of initiatives have been undertaken, particularly in relation to Syrian refugees, who constitute the largest immigrant population in Turkey today. In the early stages of the refugee crisis, UNHCR was one of the actors providing interpreters to healthcare institutions in various provinces as well as to several state institutions such as the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (UNHCR, 2017; UNHCR, 2018).

Since 2017, the EU-funded healthcare project SIHHAT has been in practice, and within the scope of the project, 960 “patient guides” speaking Turkish and Arabic have been employed at various public healthcare institutions in the provinces with the highest Syrian populations (Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, 2017). In the recruitment process, the “patient guides” were subjected to a language exam which assessed their proficiency in Turkish and Arabic (Toker, 2019). Those who got a certain exam score and proved their linguistic proficiency were selected to work in healthcare institutions. The selected ones were given a 5-day adaptation training, primarily covering the subjects of the Turkish healthcare system, communication, patient rights, and medical terminology (Toker, 2019). Besides giving interpreting service, the tasks of the “patient guides” in healthcare institutions involve referral and accompanying patients in various procedures such as registration, examination and consultation (Toker, 2019: 30).

Another area where interpreting services are provided to refugees and foreigners is the NGOs. Especially ASAM and Turkish Red Crescent Community Centers employ staff under the title of “interpreter”. Interpreters of such organizations serve refugees in areas such as healthcare institutions, police units and legal aid processes. In such organizations, interpreters receive institutional in-service trainings. Within the scope of the protocol signed between the Turkish Red Crescent and the Translation and Interpreting Association Turkey in 2018, two-day trainings have been organized for Arabic interpreters working in Turkish Red Crescent Community Centers. The trainings

have been given by the Association management and member academicians to contribute to the professional development of the interpreters²².

In the legal field, translation and interpreting services are provided through two systems. Experts included in the lists published annually by the Regional Boards of Expertise must meet certain requirements such as participating in the trainings organized by such institutions as chambers, bars and universities designated by the Department of Expertise of Ministry of Justice, obtaining expertise certificates issued by these institutions and having at least five-year experience in their field. Experts can both translate and interpret for courts as sworn translators and interpreters.

On the other hand, lists of interpreters, who are only responsible for interpreting in courthouses, police units, legal interview rooms and child monitoring centers, are published annually by provincial justice commissions of judicial courts according to the regulation on drafting the lists of interpreters based on the Code of Criminal Procedure. Unlike experts, court interpreters are not required to hold an expertise or a language certificate, they are not expected to have relevant experience, and they are not subjected to any pre-service training. They are rather chosen among Turkish citizens who meet the basic criteria in the regulation discussed earlier and who only declare that they speak the relevant foreign language without presenting any documents. As can be seen, the criteria to be met by court interpreters are not designed to assess language and interpreting competence. Moreover, court interpreters do not have certain rights that experts hold such as prior access to case files (Yücel, 2018).

At the beginning of 2019, as part of the Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes launched in collaboration with the Department of Training of the Ministry of Justice and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), three-day trainings were organized for interpreters who are included in the lists and who serve in legal proceedings involving children²³. Interpreters were given trainings on such issues as interpreting techniques and methods, communication with children, approach to children under risk and use of appropriate terminology.

²² <http://www.ceviridernegi.org/haberler.html>

²³ <http://www.edb.adalet.gov.tr/faaliyetarsiv/2019/ankara/html/2019-Ankara-18-20Subat-Adli-Surecte-Cocuk-Dostu-Tercume.html>

In addition to interpreting services in the mentioned areas, state institutions such as provincial directorates of migration management also recruit staffed translators and interpreters. Moreover, refugees are also able to call the free communication lines of Ministry of Health and Danish Refugee Council free of charge and benefit from Arabic language service. Furthermore, as of August 2015, Foreigners Communication Center of the DGMM has been serving in several languages including Arabic to address the issues regarding foreigners such as visa, residence, international protection and temporary protection²⁴.

Another initiative has been undertaken with the cooperation of UNHCR and ASAM (UNHCR-ASAM Counselling Line) as of February 2017²⁵. Serving in several languages including Arabic, the counselling line enables migrants and refugees to overcome the language barrier and to access support mechanisms. Another similar practice, the Legal Aid Interpreting Support Line, has been adopted in cooperation with the Union of Turkish Bar Associations and UNHCR as of December 2017²⁶. Through the support line, serving in Arabic and Persian languages, bar staff and lawyers who have difficulty in communicating with asylum seekers, refugees and those under temporary protection in their offices are provided with Arabic and Persian consecutive interpreting service.

As regards translator and interpreter trainings in Turkey, it is observed that the number of translation and interpreting departments at universities has increased in recent years, including the Arabic translation and interpreting departments in response to the growing needs. Today there are around 90 translation and interpreting departments at various universities in general, and there are Arabic translation and interpreting departments at four state universities, namely Selçuk, Kırıkkale, Karamanoğlu Mehmetbey and Yıldırım Beyazıt Universities, and at four private universities, namely Okan, İstanbul Aydın, İstanbul 29 Mayıs and Konya Karatay Universities.

²⁴ <http://ankara.goc.gov.tr/tr/page/iletisim-alo-157>

²⁵ <http://sgdd.org.tr/sgdd-danismanlik-hatti/>

²⁶ <https://www.barobirlik.org.tr/Haberler/turkiye-barolar-birligi-ve-birlesmis-milletlerden-tercume-destek-hatti-79769>

Despite the mentioned initiatives and regulations in Turkey, public service interpreting has not been fully institutionalized as a profession due to the disorganized provision of interpreting services, the lack of professional bodies and legislations regulating the vocational standards and supervising interpreting practices and the lack of clear job definition for interpreters. Under the circumstances, unity can hardly be ensured, and supervision mechanisms cannot function adequately, leading to low professional awareness not only in the general public but also among practitioners. As a result of the general perception that only knowledge of language is sufficient to be able to perform interpreting, untrained and unqualified interpreters, including "natural" interpreters (Harris, 1990) such as family members, acquaintances or the available staff knowing the language, can also be used to meet the language needs in institutions, which might have negative consequences for both the well-being of people who do not speak the language and the overall professional status. Yet the increased importance of international migration and the fact that Turkey is one of the countries most affected from migration require public service interpreting to be an occupation with a legal status that is performed professionally.

1.3. CONCLUSIONS

Public service interpreting is the language service provided at public institutions to facilitate communication between migrants or refugees and officials of the host country. When the related practices in various countries are examined, it is observed that there are non-standard practices in legal regulations, training programs, certification and professional organizations across countries. Public service interpreting has developed professionally with training programs, examinations, professional organizations and codes of ethics especially in such countries as Australia, Canada, the US, Sweden and the UK, where the perspective on migrants and refugees has changed with increasing immigration events in the 20th century and where multiculturalism is safeguarded through laws. On the other hand, in certain countries with a recent migration history, such as Italy, non-standard practices, the lack of an established system guaranteeing

professional standards, the scarcity of training programs and the lack of incentives for interpreters to invest in professional development have led to low institutionalization and public recognition of the profession.

Since public service interpreting also involves the issues of social service and assistance in various contexts, in the face of the lack of standard guidelines as well as service users' changing perceptions and expectations, practitioners mostly have to assume other roles than only being interpreters, such as “cultural broker”, “cultural mediator”, “advocate”, “intercultural agents” among others. Adopting such different roles, practitioners might make modifications in communicated messages and thus violate professional ethical principles, confidentiality, accuracy and impartiality being the most prominent ones. The mentioned situation further exacerbates the professional standards and professionalism in public service interpreting.

Turkey is also a country that needs to cover a wide distance for the professionalization and institutionalization of public service interpreting. Beginning from the 1980s, the migration profile of the country has changed and it has become a migration-receiving country. The latest migration experience the country has faced is the Syrian migration movement caused by the civil war in Syria. Accordingly, around 3.6 million Syrians have taken refuge in Turkey, and the majority of them reside in Turkey under temporary protection status. Most of the Syrians, especially women and the older generation, cannot benefit from the Turkish language courses provided to them since they have to look after their children or have to work to make a living. And due to the language barrier, many refugees cannot have proper access to rights and services in the areas of healthcare and employment among others, which in turn has increased the need for interpreting services in public institutions.

In Turkey, the interpreting needs in institutions are currently met in a disorganized manner. For instance, the Arabic and Turkish-speaking “patient guides” give service in various healthcare institutions under the EU-funded healthcare project SIHHAT. Furthermore, several NGOs such as ASAM and Turkish Red Crescent Community Centers also provide interpreting services to refugees in various public institutions. In the legal field and law enforcement units, services are given by

interpreters registered to the provincial justice commissions. However, due to the lack of an established system with organized provision of services, tailored training programs and professional bodies and institutions regulating standards and supervising interpreters, public service interpreting has not fully institutionalized in Turkey.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter consists of three parts. In the first part, how translators and interpreters, including public service interpreters, have come to be viewed as social agents by virtue of sociological approaches to translation and interpreting will be elaborated, and the concept of agency and what it entails will be explained. In the second part, the selected scholarly studies that address public service interpreting contexts and the agency of public service interpreters will be examined under the categories of the roles and task boundaries of interpreters and the ethical issues in public service interpreting. Lastly, in the third part, Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field, *habitus*, capital and *illusio*, which constitute the conceptual framework of the present study, will be explained, and the scholarly studies that have used Bourdieu's concepts in the context of public service interpreting will be examined.

2.1. TRANSLATORS AND INTERPRETERS AS SOCIAL AGENTS

Translation Studies, as a discipline, is inherently suited for “turns”, since its objects of study are in the contact zones between cultures (Wolf, 2012: 9). Moreover, different forms of communication discussed within the borders of the discipline structurally require an interdisciplinary perspective (Wolf, 2012: 9). In this regard, the most influential turn the discipline has taken is the “Cultural Turn” of the 1980s. Towards the end of the 1980s, the focus in Translation Studies moved away from linguistic matters to cultural issues. Translation, which was treated as a process of transfer between cultures, was thought to pave the way for new spaces created through cultural transfers (Wolf, 2002: 186). These changing perspectives also contributed to the consolidation of Translation Studies as a separate discipline (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990: ix; Snell-Hornby, 2006: 47). The studies done under the influence of the Cultural Turn have mostly focused on social and cultural contexts and dealt with such issues as

power, ideology, politics, gender and ethics, the discussion of which has paved the way for sociological approaches to translation.

In recent years, the methods put forward in the scope of the Cultural Turn have become inadequate in examining the developments such as migration and globalization and the social, societal and cultural issues they have brought along. For this reason, translation studies have had to wend its way towards sociological concepts and methods. Following Hermans (1997: 10), who denoted the social aspect of translation by defining it as “socially regulated activity”, Wolf (2007: 1) states that translations are “socially-configured acts” in that they are carried out by individuals surrounded by the conditions of social institutions which affect translation processes and translators’ strategies. Addressing the actors’ interpersonal relationships with other actors in these social processes as well as their positions and interests has become important for a more comprehensive understanding of the social dimension of these processes.

Indeed, the adoption of an actor-oriented perspective and the emphasis on the active role of translators dates back to the 1980s and 1990s. For instance, functionalist approaches, pioneered by Vermeer (1986, 1989) and Nord (1997), have focused on social relations and negotiations between various participants such as translators, clients, commissioners as well as on target reader reactions. Furthermore, calling the attention to the necessity of the visibility of translators, which is possible through translations in which foreign elements are highlighted, Venuti (1995) also highlights the importance of subjectivity of translation agents. Pym (1998: ix-xi) also highlights the necessity of the increased attention on translators as objects of study, taking the subjectivity of translators affected by social conditions as the basis in understanding the history of translators. Further contributions in the realm of the Cultural Turn have complemented the previous perspectives by paying more attention to the external factors influencing translational processes.

In the 2000s, these perspectives have been expanded and consolidated by more sociological approaches to include the roles, positions, status, visibility and self-perceptions of translators and interpreters, more broadly their agency, in social contexts in which they are engaged. According to Koskinen and Kinnunen (2010: 6-7), agency

involves the issues of willingness, ability, status and acting. Accordingly, willingness is connected to consciousness, reflectivity and intentionality of human beings. Ability is related to agents' exercising power and making choices as well as constraints imposed upon them in social contexts. Another key issue, status of individuals or institutions, brings along liability and answerability, and lastly, acting involves exercising an influence on the social world. All the mentioned issues constitute agency as a "product of actions" (Koskinen and Kinnunen, 2010: 7).

During the 2000s, the emphasis on translators and interpreters as social actors was laid by Chesterman (2006, 2009). Dam and Zethsen (2009) also drew attention to the gap in the research on translators and interpreters as a social and professional group. Chesterman (2006: 12) divided translation sociology into three strands, namely the sociology of translations as products, the sociology of translating as the translation process and the sociology of translators, and under the sociology of translators, Chesterman (2006) mentions the issues of the status and image of translators, their rates of pay, working conditions, attitude towards their work, *habitus* and networks.

Considering the increasing amount of work done on translation and interpreting practices from the perspective of agents, Chesterman (2009) further suggested widening the "Translation Studies" map proposed by Holmes (1988) and opening up a new subfield, mentioning the name "TranslaTOR Studies". This subfield includes the cultural, cognitive and sociological branches, and the sociological branch addresses the observable behavior of translators and interpreters, their social networks and relations in these networks as well as their status and workplace processes (Chesterman, 2009: 19).

Making use of interdisciplinary frameworks from sociology, discourse analysis and cultural studies (Inghilleri, 2009), the research adopting a social perspective has mostly benefited from the works of the French social theorists Pierre Bourdieu (Simeoni, 1998; Gouanvic, 2002; Inghilleri, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Sela-Sheffy, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010) and Bruno Latour (Buzelin, 2005; Kung, 2009; Hekkanen, 2009; Abdallah, 2012) to address the above-mentioned issues.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Interpreting Studies as a field widened its scope during the 1990s, and apart from conference settings, interpreting needs in other

domains, such as legal, healthcare, social service and educational settings, became a research topic in response to the increasing migration flows. The increasing recognition of interpreting in these settings, namely community or public service interpreting, brought along a heightened awareness in the area. Accordingly, the social aspect of interpreting practices began to be questioned, and interpreters became recognized as social agents. In this respect, the interpreters' visibility/invisibility, their professional activities and their relations with the social structures in which they act have become the major research topics (Inghilleri, 2015: 388).

Bruce Anderson (1976) was in fact known to be the first to draw attention to interpreting as a social act in the study called "Perspectives on the role of interpreter". Otto Kade (1977: 29, cited in Pöchhacker, 2006: 219) is another scholar who mentioned the social aspect of interpreting, which is influenced by social conditions and addressing social objectives. In addition, Shlesinger's (1989) application of the concept of norms to the interpretation of the translation emphasizes the social aspect of interpreting. Highlighting the social sphere in which interpreting takes place and the effects of interpreting practices on institutions and the society as a whole, Pöchhacker (2006: 220) also considers interpreting lying on a continuum between inter-social (international) and intra-social (community) sites of interaction.

The study of Cecilia Wadensjö (1998), in which she drew on the work of Goffman (1981) and foregrounded the triadic aspects in interpreting activities, marked the beginning of the blend of sociological models and empirical study in interpreting research (Inghilleri, 2015: 389). Pym (2006: 3) also suggests that the social situation and the network of social relations are more evident in the field of interpreting, especially in community interpreting, with the issues of the identity of the mediator as well as the other actors in mediation processes and the social effects of these processes.

The shifting role of interpreters in communicative practices and their active presence have been highlighted in numerous studies drawing on the methods of conversation and discourse analysis (Berk-Seligson, 1990; Roy, 1996, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998; Mason, 1999, 2001; Hale, 1999, 2004; Pöllabauer, 2004; Bot, 2005a). Apart from the mentioned studies, other studies (Inghilleri, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2014;

Torikai, 2009, 2014; Grbić, 2014) have adopted a sociological perspective at a macro scale drawing on a Bourdieusian perspective in order to examine the agency of interpreters and the acts of interpreting against the backdrop of the social practices in which they take place. In all these studies, adopting a micro and macro perspective, interpreters have come to be viewed as primary partners shaping interactions and exercising their agency with their knowledge and skills.

Interpreters who work in different social settings such as courts, police stations, healthcare institutions among others perform complex tasks between languages and cultures by putting their agency into practice. Addressing these agents who fulfill such important tasks from a multidimensional perspective in terms of their role perceptions, positions and occupational expectations is important for both the professional development of public service interpreting and the strengthened status and identity of those performing this profession in the society. In this regard, the present study, which addresses the perceptions of the public service interpreters acting in the NGOs, the legal field and healthcare institutions in Turkey regarding their agency and interpreting experiences, involving such issues as role and task boundaries, ethical issues, autonomy and challenges faced them, can be regarded under the third category proposed by Chesterman (2006), namely the sociology of translators/interpreters.

2.2. RESEARCH ON THE AGENCY OF PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETERS

In recent years, the increasing recognition of interpreting activities in different settings, particularly in healthcare and legal field, has led to numerous discussions on the agency of public service interpreters. Interpreters, who carry out complex tasks in different settings and who are bound by institutional constraints, also need to address the expectations of the other parties to communication, namely service providers and service users. Moreover, interpreters are also expected to abide by the ethical codes, which do not adequately specify their tasks and role boundaries and which mostly emphasize what they can or cannot do (Ruano, 2014). In the face of such expectations and constraints, interpreters mostly act in unstable and liminal positions. Against this backdrop,

interpreters' roles and task boundaries and the ethical concerns they need to pay heed to have become the controversial topics.

The nature of public service interpreting, involving social work, and the complexity of the interaction processes are often neglected, and interpreters are mostly expected to limit their activities to only interpreting as a code switcher (Tipton, 2014). They are frequently attributed a narrow and passive role of providing faithful and complete renditions in an impartial position (Pöchhacker, 2004: 147). Their function is reduced to that of a machine translating literally between two languages (Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp, 1986: 152). According to Pöchhacker (2004: 147), the neutral position and the “translation machine”, “conduit” or “channel” metaphors attributed to interpreters mostly stem from the technological aspect of conference interpreting and also from the nature of court interpreting, which requires interpreters to refrain from “interpreting” the meaning.

However, in recent years, considering the social aspect of interpreters' work and the complexity of interactions between the parties of communication processes, the neutrality of interpreters and the conduit role traditionally attributed to them have been increasingly questioned, and the agency of interpreters has been increasingly emphasized. Accordingly, a broader role and task boundary is highlighted in many studies that will be discussed in the following sections. It is generally suggested that the roles and ethical concerns of interpreters need to be shaped according to the interaction contexts and interpreting situations (Tipton and Furmanek, 2016). Furthermore, interpreters are mostly considered as agents who might sometimes have to use their discretionary power depending on the context and situation.

An increasing number of researchers (Inghilleri, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Valero Garcés & Gauthier Blasi, 2010; Valero Garcés, 2012; Aguilar Solano, 2012; Tipton, 2014; Guéry 2014) have also highlighted the importance of the social context and the increased agency of interpreters in this context by employing the concepts from Bourdieu's social theory, as in the present study. In that vein, the present study on the public service interpreters who work in the NGOs, the legal field and healthcare institutions in Turkey, will be a contribution to the relevant discussions in that it will

examine the social and work trajectory of the interpreters, involving such issues as the motives that have driven the interpreters to the interpreting job they practice, their attitude towards and expectations from the interpreting job, their relations with the other agents in interpreting processes and the resources (un)available to the interpreters in their work trajectory, based on Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio*, which will be explained in detail in the following sections.

2.2.1. Research on the Roles and Task Boundaries of Public Service Interpreters

The studies that have problematized the issues of interpreters' roles and task boundaries in various public service interpreting settings have mostly drawn on various data collection methods such as questionnaires, interviews and participant observations, assessing the interpreters' perceptions, as in the present study. Furthermore, a large number of studies (Berk-Seligson, 1990; Niska, 1995; Morris, 1995, 1999; Wadensjö, 1998; Hale, 1999, 2004, 2008; Roy, 2000; Kadric, 2000; Davidson, 2000; Rosenberg, 2002; Bot, 2005a; Mason, 2009) have also addressed interpreted-mediated interactions through the lens of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis method in order to question whether the traditional norms of invisibility and neutrality and the widely-attributed conduit role can be applied in real life settings. In general, it has been shown that interpreters are essential partners of communication processes, and they adopt a wide range of roles other than interpreting.

In the legal field, drawing on various methodological approaches such as fieldwork and an experimental research, Berk-Seligson's (1990) study highlights that court interpreters are "intrusive elements" and indicates that interpreters might exercise an influence on jurors in witness evaluation processes. Based on the analysis of interpreter-mediated interactions, Morris (1995) also highlights the shortcoming of the conduit role in court settings and draws attention to the need for raising awareness on the significant role of court interpreters.

Similarly, Niska (1995), addressing the discourse types and role conflicts for court interpreters, claims that a well-equipped court interpreter as a "responsible professional" needs to be allowed to use such initiatives as interrupting proceedings when necessary. In the same vein, Mikkelsen (1998) claims that court interpreters who have received sufficient training and gained the necessary expertise necessary should not be regarded as a translation machine, and he further highlights that interpreters need to be allowed the right to use their professional judgment and intervene discreetly in situations where communication is interrupted.

Along the same line, in his study based on the interviews with the applicants for refugee status in Canada regarding the interpreter roles in convention refugee hearings, Barsky (1996) describes interpreters as "intercultural agents" and draws attention to the different tasks that interpreters have to undertake, such as elaborating on refugees' statements and intervening to minimize damages occurring due to cultural misunderstandings among others. Kadric (2000), having analyzed the examples from the recordings of interpreting situations in Austrian court proceedings, discusses although interpreters are sometimes bound by the rules of courts, they mostly have enough room for maneuver to make independent decisions.

Based on the examples from authentic interpreting data, Hale (2008) proposes five court interpreting roles, which are "advocate for the minority language speaker", "advocate for the institution or the service provider", "gatekeeper", "facilitator of communication", "faithful renderer of others' utterances", and she favors the role of "faithful renderer of others' utterances", objecting to treating interpreters as "mindless machines" (Hale, 2008: 119).

In another study conducted by Lee (2009), in which the perceptions of court interpreters and legal professionals on the role of the interpreter and the quality of interpreting in Australia have been examined through questionnaires, it is indicated that among the role descriptors of "translation machine", "facilitator of communication", "language expert", "cultural expert" and "advocate", the majority of the interpreters (89%) opted for "facilitator of communication", while the majority of the legal professionals (67%) chose the descriptor "translation machine". The study reveals the

necessity of further research on the roles of court interpreters against the institutional challenges based on also discourse analysis.

Salaets and Balogh (2017), who have comparatively examined the role of public service interpreters in interpreter-mediated investigative interviews of minors in Italy and Belgium through the questionnaire data, also confirm that the role of interpreters in Italy is considered to include not only interpreting skills but also interpersonal and intercultural competencies. In Belgium, on the other hand, the expectations of professionals regarding interpreters' performances are formed in line with their professional frame of reference, which produces a more prescriptive stance on the role of interpreters (Salaets and Balogh, 2017: 174).

As for healthcare interpreting, back in the 1980s, Kaufert and Koolage (1984) suggested that interpreters acted as "culture brokers" and "patients' advocates" in Canadian clinics by addressing the power differentials between the communication parties. Davidson (2000) addresses discourse in English-Spanish medical settings from an ethnographic perspective and concludes that interpreters are actually "gatekeepers", controlling the flow of medical interviews. In a similar vein, Rosenberg's (2002) study of medical interviews through a quantitative discourse analytical method indicates that interpreters are full-fledged participants of communication processes.

Angelelli (2004a), having adopted an exploratory and ethnographic approach to medical interpreting in California, triangulated several methodological tools, such as documents, field notes, audio recordings of interactions and interviews with interpreters and a healthcare manager in order to examine the interpreters' role perceptions and to analyze their (in)visibility. Accordingly, Angelelli (2004a: 129-131) proposes various metaphors to describe the interpreters' roles: "interpreters as detectives", solving various problems based on their past experiences; "interpreters as multi-purpose bridges", addressing cross-linguistic and cross-cultural issues; "interpreters as diamond connoisseurs", discarding irrelevant pieces of information; "interpreters as miners", eliciting information from patients.

Similarly, in her qualitative study based on the triangulation of various data sources, such as interviews with interpreters and pediatricians, participant observation

and videotapes of consultations, Leanza (2005) questioned the medical interpreters' roles in Switzerland. Based on Jalbert's (1998) role definitions of "Translator", "Cultural Informant", "Cultural Broker/Cultural Mediator", "Advocate" and "Bilingual Professional", Leanza proposes her own typology of interpreter roles, involving four different roles: "system agent", transmitting the values and discourse of the dominant culture; "integration agent", enabling migrants to negotiate meanings and to behave "in-between"; "community agent", presenting the minority values and norms; and "linguistic agent", intervening only at the linguistic level in an impartial position.

The conduit role attributed to interpreters is also challenged by Hsieh (2006) in her study drawing on the interview data. Accordingly, Hsieh (2006) suggests that communicative practices of the other parties, changes in participant dynamics, institutional constraints and unrealistic expectations lead to deviations from the conduit role for interpreters. A recent study by Souza (2016) draws attention to the cultural mediation role of interpreters. Having examined the perspectives of professional healthcare interpreters in 25 countries through interviews, focus groups, surveys and essays, Souza proposes that healthcare interpreters indeed act as intercultural mediators and accordingly take on various roles such as "welcomers", "bilingual professionals", "community agents", "cultural informants" and "educators".

In addition to the studies examining the interpreting activities only in court or healthcare domains, different interpreting settings have also been addressed together in numerous studies. For instance, Wadensjö's (1998) discourse-based research on interpreting activities in medical and immigration settings also challenges the invisibility norm and the conduit model generally proposed for interpreters. Drawing on the results of the survey, conducted among spoken and sign language interpreters, medical service providers and social workers in Vienna, Pöchhacker (2000) mentions that service providers expect interpreters to do more than only interpret and to perform tasks such as explaining technical terms, asking service users direct questions and warning the parties on the misunderstandings among others. Likewise, interpreters also confirm that their role goes beyond mere interpreting, and they also feel responsible for explaining

technical terms to service users, explaining cultural elements to service providers and warning the parties on misunderstandings among others.

Niska (2002) also mentions various interpreter roles in different settings and discusses that interpreters mostly adopt the “conduit” role when they are only “interpreting”. Yet when they provide clarifications for technical issues, they act as “clarifiers”, they take on the role of “culture brokers” as they provide cultural explanations, and they may also adopt the role of “advocate” when they act on behalf of service users out of interpreter-mediated interactions. In a similar vein, Valero Garcés (2003a), analyzing the role of community interpreters in the face of changes in the Spanish society, observes that interlinguistic mediators, mostly working for NGOs and humanitarian organizations, consider themselves to be visible mediators providing explanations, correcting misunderstanding and simplifying the language when necessary.

By the same token, drawing on qualitative interviews with interpreters, healthcare service providers, social workers, managers of interpreting services and interpreter trainers, Clifford (2004) claims that interpreters may be allowed to go beyond the conduit role as the relationships between interpreters and service providers improve. In a seminal study on the role perceptions, behaviors and the visibility/invisibility of conference, court and medical interpreters, Angelelli (2004b) suggests interpreters perceive themselves visible in each setting with varying degrees. Accordingly, medical interpreters view themselves more visible than the other two groups. Moreover, interpreters think they play a part in building trust, communicating both message and affect, explaining cultural gaps, controlling the communication flow, aligning with one of the parties and facilitating mutual respect.

The active role of interpreters is also highlighted by Rudvin and Tomassini (2008) in their study, based on interviews with language mediators in education and healthcare sectors in Italy and a survey among mediators and healthcare service providers. Accordingly, many mediators, having their own experiences of migration and hardships, view the nature of their task as “assistance” to other migrants and actively participate in resolving conflicts. Due to the gaps between professional and institutional

codes of ethics and the challenging tasks of mediators, mediators mostly display behavior in line with their training and service users' and institutions' needs. In a similar vein, in their study on the perceptions of Asian language interpreters in Australia assessed through an online survey and telephone interviews, Ra and Napier (2013) claim the majority of the interpreters view themselves as "facilitators of communication".

The complexity of the role of public service interpreters is also acknowledged by Kaczmarek (2016). In the study on the interpreter roles in medical and legal settings in London and Manchester, the perspectives of interpreters, service providers and service users were triangulated through semi-structured interviews following interpreter-mediated encounters. Accordingly, interpreters perceive their role as a facilitator of interactions, and they are considered to be colleagues providing institutional service. Moreover, based on participants' respective goals of communication, interpreters are also defined as "a linguistic conduit" or "an advocate" of the service recipient. Questioning the role perceptions and expectations of both interpreters and service providers in medical and legal settings in Spain through interviews with trained and untrained interpreters as well as lawyers and medical practitioners, Santamaría Ciordia (2016) observes that interpreters are expected to act as merely a "language clarifier" in courts, whereas in medical settings, they are expected to be more actively involved, the points which are also shared by both trained and untrained interpreters (cf. Angelelli, 2004b).

In Turkey, an increasing number of studies on public service interpreting have been conducted in recent years, and these studies mostly examine the agency of interpreters within the frame of interpreter roles and the ethical issues. In this regard, the MA thesis of Öztürk (2015), which is based on data from the interviews with interpreters giving service in the context of health tourism, has revealed that the interpreters have to fulfill other tasks than interpreting, such as assisting patients in their hotel and ticket transactions and providing telephone support inside and outside the hospital. Moreover, they might act as "patient coordinator" while easing the tension of patients or they might take on the role of "buffer" while building trust between doctors and patients. It is suggested in the study that interpreters almost take on the role of a medical expert while

both fulfilling the expectations of their employers and taking initiatives in their own discretion.

Another contribution in the area of healthcare interpreting in Turkey is the master's thesis of Şener (2017), in which the roles of healthcare interpreters are examined through data from interviews with interpreters and patients, participant observation and audio-recordings of interpreter-mediated interactions. The study has revealed that the interpreters do not act as a translation machine, and they rather take on a very active role, which might pose challenges as to the ethical principles and the quality of service. It has been put forth that such factors as hospital expectations, working procedures and the setting could determine the role of the interpreters.

The doctoral thesis of Yücel (2018), which is based on the written sources about the lists of translators and interpreters registered by a courthouse, addresses the identity, legal status, visibility and expertise of the interpreters. In the study, it is suggested that the visibility of court interpreters is revealed through various situations and interventions during and after interpreting processes, such as the presence of the interpreter's name on proceedings records as well as questions asked by the interpreter to get feedback or requests for explanation. It is also claimed that the mentioned issues might also cause interpreters to be perceived as unqualified. Lastly, the master's thesis of Koçlu (2019), which mainly addresses the public service interpreting needs in the face of the increasing refugee population in Turkey, also provides insights as to the roles adopted by the interpreters in the institutions they work for. Based on the questionnaire data, it has been found out that the interpreters also take on tasks such as guiding and accompanying service users apart from interpreting.

Overall, the common denominator of all the mentioned studies is that they illustrate the active role assumed by interpreters and point to multifarious tasks they perform in many public service institutions. They generally indicate that interpreters are essential partners of communication processes, who might have to go beyond the role of a mere "conduit".

2.2.2. Research on the Ethical Issues in Public Service Interpreting

The increasing need for interpreters in the face of migration movements and the language access policies for the deaf and local communities and thereby the emergence of practitioners who are untrained and who do not have ethical and professional awareness have made ethical issues even more important for the interpreting profession (Rudvin, 2007; Ozolins, 2010). In the interpreting profession, ethical principles are very much needed due to the nature of the job done. In this regard, Ozolins (2015: 319) states

[i]ssues of ethics have always attended interpreting, as practitioners will often be privy to complex or highly privileged information – whether related to national security, or personal trauma or difficulty, or sensitive business negotiations. Trust in those doing the interpreting is paramount for participants who lack command of the other language, and recognition of ethical practice is fundamental to recognition as a profession.

A move towards the codification of ethical principles was first made with the adoption of the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) Code of Ethics in 1965 in the US. With such principles as impartiality and faithfulness that can be applied to other interpreting areas, the RID Code provided the inspiration for the ethical codes in the healthcare and legal fields (Pöchhacker, 2004: 164). Ethical codes and standards have generally been laid down by professional associations, commercial or non-profit interpreting services (Bancroft, 2005: 8).

Codes of ethics are the guiding elements for practitioners in that they help them make critical decisions (Hale, 2007: 103). Interpreters may avoid taking arbitrary decision thanks to ethical codes, which may thus protect them from unfavorable consequences of such decisions (Solow, 1981, cited in Hale, 2007: 104). It has also been highlighted that codes of ethics are of paramount importance for the professionalization of public service interpreting (Tseng, 1992; Gentile *et al.*, 1996; Roberts, 1997). Such codes help to build trust between interpreters and the users of their services and to increase the professional status. On the other hand, it is mentioned in order for ethical principles to function properly, a thorough understanding of the principles by practitioners, which could be achieved through comprehensive theoretical and practical trainings, is needed (Wadensjö, 1998; Hale, 2007).

Having examined various codes of ethics and standards of practice from around the world, Bancroft (2005) and Hale (2007) suggest the most emphasized principles in the codes are confidentiality, accuracy and impartiality. Hale (2007: 109) observes in terms of accuracy, faithfulness to the original message rather than word-for-word interpreting is highlighted in the codes. It is mostly prescribed that such adaptations as additions and omissions might be necessary to convey the intended meaning and that vulgar words, repetitions and style need to be preserved. In terms of impartiality, the reviewed codes are reported to require interpreters not to reflect their personal feelings, opinions or beliefs during interpreting and not to change the original message, including offensive statements, according to their own subjective opinions (Hale, 2007: 121). Moreover, it is mentioned that the principle of impartiality helps interpreters to control their emotions in emotionally-charged situations.

Based on the review of Bancroft (2005), the most remarkable requirements within the scope of the mentioned ethical principles in legal and healthcare interpreting can be proposed as such:

Table 1: Remarkable Ethical Requirements in Legal and Healthcare Interpreting

Legal Interpreting	Healthcare Interpreting
Use first person.	Do not practice medicine.
No practicing of law/legal advice.	Explain cultural differences and practices.
Take break if competence will be impaired.	Maintain professional boundaries/distance.
Make no statements about merits of case.	Be caring, attentive yet impartial.
No side conversations during breaks.	Provide guidance on communication needs.
If asked to omit something, refuse.	Demonstrate empathy, cooperation.
Meet with LEP (limited English proficient) client ahead to assess dialect.	Explain roles, style of interpreting to parties.
Hold pre-session with LEP client.	Foster cross-cultural understanding.
Ask clients to let the interpreter keep pace.	Apply ethical decisionmaking as needed.
Research the case. Prepare.	Use first person.
Notify court immediately of errors and correct.	Address cultural needs.
Consider gender requirements (e.g., rape cases).	Recognize conflict between patient autonomy and beliefs. Educate provider about culture.
Observe dress codes. Wear identification.	Do not take control or usurp provider's role.
Advise parties to pace flow.	Interpret tone of voice, emotion.
Intervene to assess/address misunderstanding.	Limit use of summary mode.

Explain cultural frameworks as needed.	Intervene in sensitive, culturally appropriate manner.

Source: Bancroft, 2005: 23-6

As can be understood from the above-mentioned ethical requirements, interpreters are in fact provided with a realm of autonomy to a certain extent. For instance, having pre-session talks with service users, asking parties to pace flow, intervening to resolve misunderstandings and making cultural explanations where necessary imply going beyond the "machine" role traditionally attributed to interpreters. Moreover, especially in healthcare interpreting, providing guidance on communication needs, addressing cultural needs, educating service providers about culture, establishing empathy and cooperation as well as interpreting emotions suggest that interpreters may be more active in cultural matters and in the emotional dimension than the "conduit" role requires them to be.

On the other hand, when certain ethical codes are examined in more detail, it is observed that there might be divergences between them in terms of interpreter responsibilities. Furthermore, there may also be differences in the roles and tasks attributed to interpreters in the codes of healthcare and legal fields. For instance, according to the code of ethics of the US National Council on Interpreting in Health Care (NCIHC) (2004), the standards of California Healthcare Interpreters Association (CHIA) (2002) and the code of the International Medical Interpreters Association (IMIA) (2006), interpreters may act as an advocate for the sake of patients' health and well-being and may provide cultural information for facilitating communication. The code of the NRPSI in the UK, which covers interpreting in every public sector area, also allows for certain interventions on the part of the interpreter. For instance, interpreters may intervene to ask the parties to clarify a missing point, to call the attention of the parties to a cultural element and to alert the parties for a situation impairing the communication process (NRPSI, 2016: 6).

However, advocacy and interventions are contrary to the codes of the legal field, in which more restricted roles are attributed to interpreters. According to the code of the NAJIT, any intervention or advocacy is out of the question. In this regard, the code

stipulates that interpreters “shall not give advice to the parties or otherwise engage in activities that can be construed as the practice of law” (NAJIT, 2002). In a similar vein, the Australian standards of Judicial Council on Cultural Diversity (JCCD) stipulates that “[a]n Interpreter is not an advocate, agent or assistant for a party or witness” (JCCD, 2017: 22).

Divergences between the codes of the healthcare field can also be observed. Contrary to the codes of NCIHC, CHIA and IMIA, the guidelines of New South Wales Health Care Interpreter Services (NSW HCIS, 2014: 11) and the code of the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators (AUSIT, 2012: 6) bar advocacy and giving advice to the parties. The National Standard Guide for Community Interpreting Services (NSGCIS), prepared by the Canadian Healthcare Interpretation Network (HIN), also mentions that cultural brokering and advocacy are not within the realm of an interpreter’s duty (HIN, 2007: 18-20).

Ethical codes are useful in professional identity formation (Rudvin, 2015: 439) and in guiding especially novice interpreters in that they specify duties and responsibilities within the limits of the interpreter role. However, as Hale (2008: 101) observes, the principles in ethical codes are generally expressed in a prescriptive manner and do not specify a clear role for interpreters. Moreover, it has been argued for quite a long time that the prescribed principles are mostly not in line with the real-life standards of the profession (Kaufert and Putsch, 1997; Mikkelsen, 1998; Brennan, 1999; Pöchhacker, 2004; Clifford, 2004; Rudvin, 2007, 2015; Bahadır, 2011; Bancroft, 2015). Due to the lack of clearly-defined role boundaries and the limited discretionary power projected for interpreters in ethical codes, many interpreters may have to resolve conflicts themselves and make decisions intuitively based on their training backgrounds, emotional expectations, and their personal and cultural values (Tate and Turner, 2002: 375; Bancroft, 2015: 225).

Generally, the work for vulnerable groups turns the job of public service interpreters into a kind of mediation, which involves reconstructing meaning through expansions and adaptations, and the representation of participants’ perspectives. This situation, on the other hand, may sometimes pose a dilemma for interpreting ethics,

which requires complete and accurate interpreting (Baraldi & Gavioli, 2015: 248). The conflicting expectations of the parties also lay an ethical burden on interpreters' shoulders. As Bahadır (2011: 271) mentions, the interpreter's neutral position is mostly ignored since each party in the communication process subconsciously expects the interpreter to represent him/herself. Moreover, due to the ill-defined role boundaries, interpreters may feel aligned to the institutions they work for (Rudvin, 2015: 439).

On the whole, solutions that are not always applicable to specific interpreting situations, conflicts of interest between the parties to communication, their unrealistic expectations from interpreters, poor working conditions, sensitive cultural or personal issues are the major factors that lead to ethical dilemmas for interpreters in real-life situations (Hale, 2007: 129-132). Such challenges encountered by interpreters under real-life conditions might lower their professional performance and weaken their professional identity and self-esteem (Rudvin, 2015: 440). Thus, for a job with such complex nature, what is needed is principles not based on stereotypical prescriptions but rather on the consequences of interpreter actions, paying attention to the fact that interpreters need to use their own judgment to make appropriate decisions in real-life situations.

In the literature, several studies addressing the perspectives of the parties to interpreting processes show that interpreters meet the requirements projected for them in ethical codes, such as neutrality (Mesa, 2000); confidentiality, impartiality and accuracy (Chesher *et al.*, 2003); loyalty to both parties, adequacy and transparency (Tryuk, 2007); fidelity to content (Valero Garcés, 2017). However, many studies including those examining the interpreter roles discussed in Section 2.2.1. (Kaufert and Koolage, 1984; Berk-Seligson, 1990; Niska, 1995, 2002; Barsky, 1996; Pöchhacker, 2000; Davidson, 2000; Kadric, 2000; Rosenberg, 2002; Valero Garcés, 2003a; Angelelli, 2004a; Hsieh, 2006; Hale, 2008; Rudvin and Tomassini, 2008; Souza, 2016; Salaets and Balogh, 2017) indicate that the requirements of many ethical codes, namely interpreting literally, behaving like a machine without being involved in decision-making processes and being invisible and absolutely neutral, do not fully reflect the performances of interpreters in real life.

Apart from the above-mentioned studies, several other studies addressing mostly ethical issues in specific interpreting situations also suggest that interpreters might have to go beyond the prescribed requirements in many ethical codes. For instance, drawing attention to the inadequacy of the Swedish Guide to Good Practice in meeting the demands in real-life interpreting practices, Wadensjö (1998: 177) states that in the healthcare sector, interpreters can not remain only responsible for interpreting, but they are rather viewed as “friends” and “advocates” by patients. By the same token, Bot (2003: 35) also refers to the fact that interpreters are generally regarded as “non-persons” in codes of ethics and argues that such codes are not sufficiently suitable for daily interpreting practices in the healthcare sector. In her study, in which she examined the issue of neutrality of interpreters in psychological encounters through the accounts of patients and therapists as well as the video-recorded interpreter-mediated sessions, Bot (2003) came to the conclusion that the active roles of the interpreters were indeed recognized by both patients and therapists.

Ibrahim (2007) also shows how the principle of impartiality in Malaysian courts was violated by interpreters who were allowed to act as advocates. Based on data from informal observations, interviews and surveys with interpreters and the court staff, Ibrahim (2007) concluded that court interpreters were expected to participate actively in every stage of court processes, and they mostly acted as advocates, which involved the tasks of coaching and directing defendants. Lee (2015: 196) also suggests that verbatim, as well as clear and natural interpreting expected from court interpreters, might pose a challenge for them, creating problems in the faithful rendition of ambiguous or ungrammatical utterances to the detriment of trust towards them.

In Turkey, the ethical issues in public service interpreting have also been addressed in several studies. The doctoral thesis of Kahraman (2010), which discusses the positions of interpreters within the context of asylum applications through data from questionnaire and interviews with the interpreters, suggests the majority of the interpreters in the research view impartiality as the most important ethical principle. On the other hand, it is claimed in the study that interpreters are almost transformed into machines when they are expected to ignore their own feelings and to be impartial, and

they can overcome such challenges only through professional experience in an environment with an improved professional status.

From a different perspective, the study of Şener (2017) mentioned in the previous section suggests that the adoption of various roles by the healthcare interpreters might be detrimental to the issues of impartiality, accuracy and professionalism. Such factors as empathy, omission of certain elements, the roles imposed on the interpreters beyond their capabilities and the interpreters' responsibility to persuade patients are suggested as the issues that might lead to violations of ethical principals.

Lastly, the doctoral thesis of Duman (2018), addressing the subjectivity and the perceptions of healthcare interpreters in Turkey through the data sources of interpreter interviews, research diaries and analysis of 32 codes of ethics, questions whether the interpreters are impartial or prejudiced subjects. Accordingly, based on the accounts of the interpreters hinting at the situations in which they are on the patient's side, it is suggested that the impartiality principle has not been internalized among the interpreters. Moreover, close relationships with patients lead to a less objective position and point to the intercultural mediation approach adopted by the interpreters.

2.3. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: THE CONCEPTS FROM BOURDIEU'S SOCIAL THEORY

Since translation came to be viewed as a social practice, there has been an increasing awareness on the sociological aspects of translation and interpreting processes and on the agency of translators and interpreters as active individuals shaping these processes. Accordingly, the researchers, who have addressed such issues as the social conditions affecting translation and interpreting processes, social and professional trajectories of translators and interpreters, their positionings, status and identity from a sociological perspective, have mostly used the French social theorist Pierre Bourdieu's major concepts of field, *habitus* and capital (Simeoni, 1998; Gouanvic, 2002, 2005, 2007; Inghilleri, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Buzelin, 2005; Wolf, 2006, 2007; Sela-Sheffy, 2005, 2006, 2010; Sapiro, 2013).

In a similar vein, in the present study, Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio* will be employed in order to address the social and work trajectory of the interpreters providing service in the three different structures in Turkey, namely in the NGOs, the legal field and healthcare institutions. More specifically, such issues as the motives that have driven the interpreters to the interpreting job they practice, their attitude towards and expectations from the interpreting job, their relations with the other agents in interpreting processes, the resources (un)available to the interpreters in their work trajectory and whether the available resources have the potential for the interpreters to form a professional identity will be discussed based on the aforementioned concepts of Bourdieu. Before outlining the concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio*, the concept of field will be elaborated, since all of Bourdieu's concepts are closely interconnected with each other. As a controversial issue, whether translation and interpreting is a field in Bourdieu's sense will also be discussed in this context.

2.3.1. Field

Bourdieu (1990b) defines society as a social game having its own rules. Players, being familiar with the rules, participate in the games and adopt practices that are intrinsic to the games. The mentioned games correspond to fields in Bourdieu's framework. More precisely, a field is defined as "a relatively autonomous social microcosm" and a "space of objective relations" regulated by its specific logic (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97). The fields, such as religion, science, art, economics, are "the products of a long, slow process of autonomization" (Bourdieu, 1990b: 67), and they possess their own "institutions and laws of functioning" (Bourdieu, 1990a: 87).

For fields to function, there are "general laws" of fields (Bourdieu 1993b), one of which is the degree of autonomy of a field within the field of power. According to Bourdieu (1984), an autonomous field is an established field with the power to develop and transform its internal constituents. On the other hand, Bourdieu (1990b, 1993a) regards fields as relatively autonomous structures, since they are positioned together

with others fields within the social space. That is to say, a field can be dominant in relation to weaker fields, yet it can also be dominated by the largest field of power.

Another important characteristic of fields is the internal struggle among its agents holding differing positions. In a field, agents hold different positions according to their power and resources, namely their capital, and they compete with each other for the stakes of the field and to improve their social positions. To this end, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) state

[t]he field as a structure of objective relations between positions of force undergirds and guides the strategies whereby the occupants of these positions seek, individually or collectively, to safeguard or improve their position and to impose the principles of hierarchization most favorable to their own products. (p. 101)

Overall, a field is an autonomous space where agents seek to increase their resources, and the strategies they employ in this struggle are determined by their positions in the field and by the amount and type of capital they possess.

Whether or not translation is a field in Bourdieu's sense has been a matter of discussion among several translation scholars (Wolf, 2002, 2007; Gouanvic, 2007; Inghilleri, 2005a, 2006; Sela-Sheffy, 2005). According to Wolf (2006: 135), the translation field is better defined as "translation space" due to the lack of institutionalization and the temporary mediating character of translators. Wolf (2007: 112) further argues that the redefinition of translation spaces with the agents and their stakes each time makes the principle of endurance proposed by Bourdieu controversial. In other words, the agents, who only act in transient mediation contexts with continuously changing interests, do not establish durable relations among themselves, which in turn leads to the lack of a struggle for durable recognition (Wolf, 2007). Moreover, agents mostly act being subject to the rules and functioning of different fields.

According to Wolf (2007: 111-2), the weak structuring of the translation space and thereby the low prestige and status enjoyed by translators mostly stem from the lack of laws protecting the profession, its being a secondary profession in general as well as the fact that training is not an integral element to perform the profession. In a similar

vein, Sela-Sheffy (2005: 9) states that the field boundaries for translators are unclear and that translators are generally seen as a semi-professional group due to such factors as the lack of formal educational opportunities, the absence of commonly accepted professional ethics, the scarcity of professional associations, non-standard fees and the lack of eligibility criteria to perform the profession. Along the same line, Gouanvic (2007) speaks of the difficulty of conceptualizing the field of translation, since translated texts are formed as a result of the configurations realized in different specific fields such as law, economics, and so on. Hence, taking these conditions into account, it is not possible to speak of sufficient degree of autonomy of the field of translation.

As for public service interpreting, it is an activity that is intrinsically interrelated with other fields such as law, medicine, education, which are well-established professions. These fields have their own social agents, who are granted distinctive resources and forms of capital regarding their fields, which in turn provide prestige, status and authority to them (Inghilleri, 2005a: 73). In this regard, Colley and Guéry (2015: 118) argue that interpreters “are always concurrently involved in someone else’s game as well as playing their own”. They do not play in the “home terrain” and thus do not have an autonomous field of their own.

Inghilleri (2005a: 72), one of the researchers who has most applied Bourdieu's concepts to the context of public service interpreting, suggests that public service interpreters are placed in “zones of uncertainty” in Bourdieu’s (2000) terms. According to Bourdieu (2000),

“zones of uncertainty” are social spaces where positions are “ill-defined” and the expectations of the habitus as regards the position it ought to occupy are not met, thus generating a problematic gap that allows agents to bring in their own dispositions and shape the field activity. (pp. 157-8)

For Bourdieu (2000), “zones of uncertainty” are situated in the gaps or spaces between fields, and thus, they do not have clear social definition. Located in such zones, interpreters’ knowledge and performances are generally controlled by the agents of the dominant fields. Yet on the other hand, based on the theoretical framework she has developed, Inghilleri (2003: 245) opposes the marginality of public service interpreting

and views it as an activity having its own internal logic arising from the linguistic and cultural capital acquired by interpreters.

Inghilleri (2005a: 72) further suggests that public service interpreting is “a concrete site for the convergence - through a process of recontextualization - of interlocking fields and their accompanying habitus”. Attaching importance to the individual disposition, namely *habitus*, and agency of the interpreter in the recontextualization processes, Inghilleri (2005a) argues that based on the specialized knowledge of interpreters, interpreting might assume a character that can transform the social structure in which it is realized. Moreover, through the efforts to increase the professional standards, interpreters and their profession can move out of “zones of uncertainty”, which will enable interpreters to gain the relevant forms of capital to compete with the agents of the dominant fields (Inghilleri, 2005a: 82).

As Bourdieu (1984, 1993b) puts forth, the functioning of an established field is determined by its social autonomy, struggles for the accumulation of its capital and the continuous interest and long-term positions of its agents and institutions. Yet public service interpreters generally have little power to mediate the value of their symbolic capital. They mostly receive very little or no economic remuneration, and many work as freelancers or based on short-term contracts. Under the circumstances, competition among agents and their continued interest can not always be mentioned. Thus, for the time being, public service interpreting can not generally enjoy full autonomy and can not be seen as a field on its own due to the lack of its social definition vis-à-vis other stronger fields. Yet despite the problems in considering public service interpreting as an established field, Bourdieu’s concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio* can still be useful to the discussion of certain aspects of the subjectivity as well as the social and work trajectories of interpreters.

2.3.2. *Habitus*

In recent years, a growing body of literature has adapted the concept of *habitus* to Translation Studies research to discuss the subjectivity of translators/interpreters

(Simeoni 1998, Inghilleri 2003, 2005a, 2006; Gouanvic 2005; Sela-Sheffy 2005, 2008, 2010; Meylaerts 2006). In Bourdieu's (1977) terms, *habitus* is defined as such:

[a] system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems. (pp. 82-3)

In the most general sense, *habitus* is durable dispositions such as mental structures embodied in the individual (Bourdieu, 2018: 36). It incorporates attitude and agency and is related to an individual's personal trajectory, particular history, identity, gender, class, cultural background, past experiences, beliefs and values (Bourdieu, 1998: 1-14). *Habitus* enables agents to be positioned in social spaces and to act in line with the rules of those social spaces (Bourdieu, 1984, Bourdieu, 1998). In Bourdieu's framework, field and *habitus* are closely related concepts. *Habitus* is a product of the social structure and at the same time, is what enables the reproduction of these social structures, because it is the internalization of these structures (Bourdieu, 1984).

The acquiring of *habitus* starts in the family through both conscious and unconscious practices, and the early socialization in family forms the basis of all ensuing experiences (Bourdieu, 1972, cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 134). Through an individual's socialization process, primary *habitus* turns into an individual's professional *habitus*, being a gradual and mostly unconscious process (Bourdieu, 2000: 11). The professional *habitus* is formed of the dispositions instilled in individuals by the structures of professional fields during their professional trajectory (Bourdieu, 1998). Thus, *habitus* is a life-long process and the product of dispositions gained through family, class, status, ideology, education, among others.

Individuals form and maintain their behaviors through strategies that are based on social knowledge gained through socialization beginning from childhood. Different *habitus* means different strategies and behaviors. Moreover, as Bourdieu (2000: 160) states, there can be inconsistency in the *habitus* of individuals. Especially in "zones of uncertainty", disharmony between positions and dispositions may emerge when there are gaps between expectations of individuals and their actual experiences.

In Translation Studies research, the concept of *habitus* is generally used to discuss the social trajectories, positions, strategies, status and agency of translators and interpreters. Simeoni (1998) was one of the first scholars to draw on the concept of *habitus* to talk over the submissive behavior of translators. Simeoni (1998) argues that translators' internalization of the norms imposed on them through personal history, professional training and experience throughout history has led to the consideration of translation as a secondary activity and that over the years, the translatorial *habitus* has caused translators to adopt a submissive behavior, thereby creating a low social status for translators.

Indeed, recent research has increasingly pointed out the natural heterogeneity of professional translatorial *habitus*, caused by the vast variety of translator backgrounds, translation contexts and individual life experiences. For instance, Prunč (2007: 48-9) discusses translators' *habitus* from a historical perspective and proposes two conflicting poles for translators, which are the *habitus* of the priest and the *habitus* of the pariah. Accordingly, the *habitus* of the priest can be enjoyed by translators and interpreters of the international organizations with high symbolic power. On the other hand, the *habitus* of the pariah is the result of the historic liminality and invisibility of translators, which in fact endangers the professional status.

Opposing to Simeoni (1998), Sela-Sheffy (2008, 2011) also claims that there is a contradiction between the potential of translators and interpreters as cultural mediators and the subservience and marginality attributed to them, especially today in the face of the increasing globalization and migration events. Referring to Bourdieu's (1990a) view on the diversity of *habitus*, Sela-Sheffy (2005) believes that it is misleading to accept that the inferior status attributed to translators is formed in all cultural periods and among all individuals who perform the profession.

Likewise, Inghilleri (2003) highlights the diversified *habitus* among public service interpreters, which she suggests is able to change the dynamics of interpreting practices in favor of interpreters. Inghilleri (2005a, 2006) also proposes the notion of "interpreting *habitus*", which is the collective *habitus* of interpreters formed through their practices in interpreting contexts with different social agents. Inghilleri (2005a: 83)

argues that in the spaces where interpreters' *habitus* may be overshadowed by the agents of more dominant fields, creation of strong "interpreting habitus" depends on "the strength of interpreters' collective sense of themselves and on the strength of their collective 'feel for the game'", which can be gained through formal interpreting training programs, training of professionals working with interpreters and strengthened professional standards for interpreters.

Overall, the concept of *habitus* is a useful tool in the discussion of interpreters' trajectory, which is defined by Bourdieu (1993b: 189) as successive positions held by individuals and the series of decisions they make at different moments in social spaces. In the most general sense, the knowledge of two languages and cultures forms interpreters' initial *habitus*. Professional skills acquired through interpreting experience and interpreting training, if any, also contribute to the formation of their *habitus*. The *habitus* of interpreters shapes their attitude towards the profession, their role perceptions as well as the strategies they employ in interpreting practices.

2.3.3. Capital

Bourdieu uses the concept of capital in order to explain power relations among agents within a field. Bourdieu (1986: 241) defines capital as the "accumulated labour" in the materialized or the embodied form. Accumulation of capital is the driving force of action, and capital is the resources deployed in the struggle for dominance in social spaces. In Bourdieu's framework, capital is not reduced to only material goods. Rather, public recognition, social relations or knowledge are also considered as forms of capital (Harker *et al.*, 1990). In this regard, Bourdieu puts forth three main forms of capital, namely economic, cultural and social capital, which are all convertible into each other and also into symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986).

Economic capital involves all forms of economic possessions, and according to Bourdieu (1986: 249), economic capital is "at the root of all other types of capital", and it is always the determining factor in the final analysis (Bourdieu, 2018: 70). All the other types of capital, namely cultural, social and symbolic capital, are transformed and

disguised forms of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Economic capital gives agents the opportunity to invest in other types of capital, namely cultural and social capital. The value of each form of capital with regard to economic capital is determined by dominant agents since these agents hold more power than the other agents at subordinate positions.

Another form of capital proposed by Bourdieu is cultural capital, which can be present in three forms, namely embodied, objectified or institutionalized (Bourdieu, 1986). According to Bourdieu (1986: 243), embodied cultural capital is “external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus”. This form of cultural capital cannot be transferred through purchase or exchange. Bourdieu (1986: 243-4) suggests that embodied cultural capital is accumulated depending on the period and the social class quite unconsciously, and its accumulation extends over the whole socialization period. In the discussion of this form of cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986: 244) proposes the notion of “scarcity value”, which is defined any cultural competence bringing “profits of distinction for its owner”.

The objectified state of cultural capital is manifested in the form of material objects such as writings, paintings, monuments or instruments. This form of cultural capital can be transferred and may be converted into economic and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986: 245). The institutionalized form of cultural capital can be realized in the form of academic qualifications bringing along a certificate of cultural competence, a diploma or a license (Bourdieu, 1986: 245). Academic qualifications can be exchanged for other forms of capital and can be converted into economic capital in the form of a high salary. Moreover, Bourdieu (1986: 246) asserts that the conversion rate between cultural capital and economic capital determines the value of the holder of such a qualification with regard to other holders of the same qualification.

Bourdieu (1991) proposes linguistic capital as a sub-type of cultural capital and states

The laws of transmission of linguistic capital are a particular case of the laws of the legitimate transmission of cultural capital between the generations, and it may therefore be posited that the linguistic competence increased by academic criteria depends, like the other dimensions of cultural capital, on the level of education (measured in terms of qualifications obtained) and on the social trajectory. (p. 61)

Linguistic capital can be present in the embodied state (such as mother tongue) or in the institutionalized state (such as a university degree or a language certificate), and it can be converted into other types of capital (Garreta i Bochaca & Solé, 2003, cited in Aguilar Solano, 2012: 32).

Social capital is defined as the resources yielding durable institutionalized relationships or membership in a group, providing its members with the collective support and a distinctive “credential” (Bourdieu, 1986: 246). The size of the network of connections and the amount of the capital owned by the other agents determine the amount of an agent’s social capital. Social capital might provide symbolic capital to all group members. For social capital to be effective, it is important to establish a connection with people who “are worth of being known”, namely individuals endowed with social, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986: 247). The social relationships developed can be present in two forms: durable subjective bonds such as feelings of gratitude, respect or friendship; and institutional rights such as membership to an organization (Bourdieu, 1986: 247).

Lastly, in Bourdieu’s framework, symbolic capital is “any property (any form of capital whether economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents as endowed with categories of perception, which cause them to know it and to recognise it, to give it value” (Bourdieu, 1998: 47). Symbolic capital is manifested as status, prestige and recognition in others’ eyes (Bourdieu, 1998). It provides power to those possessing this form of capital and can legitimize all other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1989: 23). Bourdieu (1989: 21) further states “holders of large amounts of symbolic capital, the nobles (etymologically, those who are well-known and recognized), are in a position to impose the scale of values most favourable to their products”.

In the case of public service interpreters, their linguistic knowledge is a significant cultural competence, since it yields profits for them in the form of economic or social capital. The cultural capital interpreters possess might add distinction to them and thus can turn into “scarcity value” in Bourdieu’s (1986) sense. As for the institutionalized form of cultural capital, one of the biggest problems is acquiring a professional qualification due to the scarcity of training programs. In this case,

generally, individuals who do not hold academic qualifications, namely institutionalized cultural capital, but possess language and cultural knowledge, namely embodied cultural capital, strive towards transforming this type of capital into other forms of capital.

Generally speaking, public service interpreters receive no or low economic remuneration, since the dominant form of capital they deploy, namely cultural capital including linguistic capital, is mostly not perceived valuable by the other agents in social space (Valero Garcés, 2003b). In the event that public service interpreters work as part of institutions, the authorities of these institutions determine payments made to interpreters. Moreover, when they cannot turn their linguistic and cultural knowledge into economic gains for external reasons, they may opt for quitting work.

Furthermore, the lack of prestigious professional groups or associations such as AIIC, providing interpreters with a large volume of social, economic and symbolic capital over a certain period of time, prevents public service interpreters from accumulating the social and the symbolic capital that might be brought through the membership to such groups.

Moreover, public service interpreting is not sufficiently recognized as an autonomous profession by strong professional groups such as judges, lawyers, doctors, administrative officials, which reduces public service interpreters' chances of acquiring symbolic capital. Generally, those who hold a high level of symbolic capital due to their social and cultural capital or the institutional authorities holding funds necessary for the establishment of interpreting services are in a position to set the dynamics of the interpreting services and the positions of interpreters.

2.3.4. *Illusio*

The concept of *illusio* is not used as widely as the abovementioned concepts proposed by Bourdieu. Since in the widest sense, the concept of *illusio* refers to the motives driving agents to invest in the game and to their commitment and interest in the game, it might be useful in explaining the trajectories and choices of agents taking part in social spaces. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) explain *illusio* as such:

[...] We have an investment in the game, *illusio* (from *ludus*, the game): players are taken in by the game, they oppose one another, sometimes with ferocity, only to the extent that they concur in their belief (*doxa*) in the game and its stakes; they grant these a recognition that escapes questioning. Players agree, by the mere fact of playing, and not by way of a “contract”, that the game is worth playing, that it is “worth the candle”, and this collusion is the very basis of their competition. (p. 98)

On the whole, *illusio* implies recognizing the value of the stakes of the game and believing that the stakes of the game are “worth pursuing” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 116-7). Interest in the game depends on the positions agents hold and on the trajectory of agents. *Illusio* leads social agents to display a commitment in the relevant social space and to use strategies and make decisions with regard to the appropriate positions and forms of capital. Bourdieu uses the concept of *indifference* as the opposite of the concept of *illusio*:

To be indifferent is to be unmoved by the game: like Buridan’s donkey, this game makes no difference to me. Indifference is an axiological state, an ethical state of nonpreference as well as a state of knowledge in which I am not capable of differentiating the stakes proposed. (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 116)

He further remarks

The homology between the space of positions and the space of dispositions is never perfect and there are always some agents ‘out on a limb’, displaced, out of place and ill at ease. (Bourdieu, 2000: 157)

As mentioned above, the concept of *illusio* has been underused in Translation Studies research. Gouanvic (2005) is one of the few scholars to mention the concept in the context of source and target-culture texts and readership in literary translation. According to Gouanvic (2005: 163), in a source literary text, the fictional discourse creates the *illusio* of that text, and if the text can find a readership adhering to the *illusio* of that text, the same text can find a similar readership in the target culture through translation carried out with the principle of “resemblance in difference”.

2.3.5. Bourdieu's Concepts in Public Service Interpreting Research

Certain scholars, who have noticed the importance of the social context and the increased agency of interpreters as active participants in interactions, have applied Bourdieu's concepts to the contexts of public service interpreting (Inghilleri 2003, 2005a, 2006; Valero Garcés 2012; Aguilar Solano 2012; Guéry 2014; Tipton, 2014; Colley and Guéry, 2015).

Inghilleri (2003), drawing on the norm theory of Toury, Bernstein's model of *pedagogic discourse* and Bourdieu's notions of field and *habitus*, argues against what Simeoni (1998) proposed as the subservience of translators/interpreters. Based on the data collected in a US immigration court through observation and interviews with judges, attorneys and interpreters, Inghilleri (2003) suggests that although interpreters adhere to the norm of invisibility in both the conduit and advocate role, as individuals endowed with linguistic and cultural capital, they in fact play a central role in the discursive gaps created through various agents' different understandings of interpreting practices.

Furthermore, although considering interpreters to be located in "zones of uncertainty", where conflicts between divergent world views emerge due to different *habitus* and forms of capital of various agents and mentioning that the interpreting *habitus* is dependent on other certain fields and their *habitus* such as law, politics and education, Inghilleri (2005a: 75) also acknowledges that interpreters may sometimes use such conflicting elements in their favor in a way that strengthens their positions. Once more highlighting that interpreters adopt a specialized and significant position in interpreted asylum hearings due to their linguistic and cultural knowledge, Inghilleri (2005a: 82) claims that there is a potential for interpreters to move out of "zones of uncertainty" and to create a more stable "interpreting habitus" through increased professional standards, training programs for interpreters and professionals working with interpreters and most importantly the willingness of interpreters to define their roles and to come to terms with "who they are".

By the same token, having examined the positioning of volunteer interpreters at two healthcare institutions in southern Spain, the power relationships between the agents as well as the degrees of autonomy and control in the interactions based on focus-group interviews with interpreters, participant observations and audio-recorded interpreter-mediated interactions, Aguilar Solano (2012) concludes that volunteer interpreters have become legitimized institutional agents in the sub-field of healthcare interpreting, which provides them with a large volume of symbolic capital and allows them to hold positions similar to those occupied by doctors.

Along the same line, Valero Garcés (2012), who has questioned the (in)visibility of public service interpreters in the wake of the immigration boom in Spain in the last decades of the 20th century based on a wide range of data sources (a questionnaire for professional interpreters, excerpts from internship reports of the students and the transcripts of the interpreter-mediated encounters at healthcare centers), concludes that the decisions taken by the interpreters such as additions and omissions are not errors but rather their necessary responses informed by their *habitus* within the relevant field.

Inghilleri (2006) and Tipton (2014) further discuss the positioning of the agents in interpreting processes. Accordingly, drawing on the data from observations, interviews with interpreters and service providers and written documents, Inghilleri (2006: 61) suggests that interpreters, who act in “zones of uncertainty” among other agents holding a high degree of symbolic capital, generally face role confusions, ambiguities and various expectations placed upon them, leading to discursive gaps between interactional practices and their pre-established norms. It is further mentioned that the interpreter’s role and their most valuable form of capital, namely linguistic and cultural knowledge, are of a contingent nature, yet all participants including service providers are located in a zone of uncertainty with certain discursive gaps.

Having adopted a mixed-methods research perspective that involves the data from questionnaires, interviews with interpreters and social workers and focus groups to examine the relations between public service interpreters and social workers in statutory and non-statutory interpreting contexts in the UK, Tipton (2014) argues that a sort of *habitus* conversion occurs in interpreter-mediated interactions when interpreters enter

the relevant field, and interpreters are in fact not entirely submissive to the relevant field norms. Yet the low understanding towards the "recontextualising" nature of interpreting practices reduces the strength of "intercultures" created between social workers and interpreters. Moreover, since interpreters do not always possess sufficient resources to ensure effective communication processes, those processes might sometimes be challenged by the mediation through interpreters.

From a different perspective, Guéry (2014) discusses the professional boundaries, ethical challenges and emotional labour of public service interpreters based on Bourdieu's concepts of field, *habitus*, *hexis* and *illusio*. Drawing on the data from the interpreter interviews, Guéry seeks to reveal the relationship between micro-level subjective experiences of the interpreters and macro-level structural and institutional factors. Accordingly, it has been found out that apart from their linguistic and cultural work, the interpreters also try to negotiate professional boundaries, address unpredictable ethical challenges and perform a sort of emotional labor. Moreover, it is claimed that the formal interpreting training seems to be inadequate for solving the mentioned challenges and that the professional status of public service interpreting has become fragile due to the political moves that have restricted immigration and have reduced public spending.

In a further study, based on the concept of *illusio*, Colley and Guéry (2015) discuss the commitment or indifference of the practitioners towards public service interpreting as a newly-formed profession compared to other established professions in the UK. Accordingly, it is suggested that the interpreters have consciously striven towards maintaining their *illusio* in their work trajectory, yet sometimes their *illusio* has weakened due to certain practices of service users and providers and due to their recognition that equal access to services and human rights are not promoted by the code of conduct they adhere to. Moreover, the interpreters find it hard to invest their *illusio* in this work in the face of the developments, such as decreased costs for interpreting services and lowered pay rates and working conditions.

The present study will also address the social and work trajectory of the public service interpreters in the NGO, legal and healthcare contexts in Turkey in the light of

Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio*. The interpreters' subjective experiences and the institutional and structural factors affecting the interpreters' work will be examined based on the data from the questionnaire and interviews with the interpreters, the interviews with the public officials working with interpreters and certain documents regarding the working conditions and work procedures for the interpreters. More specifically, the issues of the motives that have driven the interpreters to the interpreting job they practice, their attitude towards and expectations from the interpreting job, their relations with the other agents in interpreting processes, and the resources (un)available to the interpreters in their work trajectory and whether the available resources have the potential for the interpreters to form a professional identity will be discussed in this light.

2.4. CONCLUSIONS

In recent years, increasing migration events and globalization have changed the perspective in Translation Studies. With the adoption of sociological approaches to Translation Studies, translation and interpreting have come to be viewed as a social act, and translators and interpreters as social actors. In this regard, translators and interpreters have increasingly become the subject of study with their roles, positions, status, identity, agency and relations with other agents against the backdrop of the social conditions surrounding them. Furthermore, in order to examine the aforementioned issues, an increasing number of studies have employed the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concepts, such as field, *habitus*, capital and *illusio*.

In this regard, the weak structuring of the translation and interpreting practices compared to other established professional groups has raised the question whether translation and interpreting can be regarded as a field in Bourdieu's sense. On the other hand, the concepts of *habitus*, the dispositions acquired life-long that allow individuals to act in line with the rules of social spaces they are involved in; capital, the accumulated resources used for adopting positions in social spaces; and *illusio*, the commitment of

individuals to invest in social spaces, have enormously contributed to the discussion of the subjectivity and the social and work trajectories of translators and interpreters.

The need for public service interpreters in such domains as healthcare and legal field brought along by increased migration events has also heightened the awareness towards public service interpreters and their role and task boundaries, positions, perceptions and expectations. In this regard, many studies have questioned the neutrality and the conduit role traditionally attributed to public service interpreters, who perform a wide range of tasks between service providers and users. In many studies, interpreters are described as essential partners of communication processes with their increased agency, and it is emphasized that they assume a broader role than the restricted role attributed to themselves.

Another widely-discussed issue in the context of public service interpreting is the ethical principles. Such situations as the complexity of interpreters' tasks, unrealistic expectations of the other parties from interpreters and the sensitivity of interpreting situations have led to discussions over the functionality of the ethical principles of invisibility, neutrality, accuracy and confidentiality, the most frequently mentioned principles in ethical codes, under real-life conditions. Accordingly, it is suggested the ethical principles can only become more meaningful under the conditions where interpreters can acquire sufficient knowledge and competence that enable them to make critical decisions and exercise their discretionary power when necessary.

In that vein, the present study, which addresses the public service interpreters in the NGOs, healthcare institutions and the legal field in Turkey, will be a contribution to the relevant discussions in that it will examine the interpreters' interpreting experiences, involving such issues as role and task boundaries, ethical issues, autonomy and challenges faced by them, mainly from the interpreters' own perspectives. Moreover, Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio* will be used to address the social and work trajectory of the interpreters under the issues of the motives that have driven the interpreters to the interpreting job they practice, their attitude towards and expectations from the interpreting job, their relations with the other agents in interpreting processes,

the resources (un)available to the interpreters in their work trajectory and whether the available resources have the potential for the interpreters to form a professional identity.



CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter consists of three parts. In the first part, the methodological approach adopted in the study will be explained. The second part will focus on the field work carried out within the scope of the research. In this part, data collection methods used in the research will be explained and data collection processes in the contexts of NGO, legal field and healthcare will be addressed separately. Finally, the process of analysis of the interviews conducted with the public service interpreters, the major data source of the study, will be outlined.

3.1. THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The present study adopts a qualitative research method in order to examine the relevant interpreting experiences and the social and work trajectory of the public service interpreters giving service between Turkish public officials and Syrian refugees in the contexts of NGOs, legal field and healthcare. According to Creswell (2009: 175-6), qualitative research intends to explore and interpret the meanings related to a social issue derived from various data sources collected from participants and settings through a theoretical lens. More specifically, in qualitative research, the researcher, whose analytical skills are at the forefront, subjectively interprets the data from such sources as interviews, observations and documents within a certain theoretical framework and builds emergent trends, patterns and themes on a social issue and examines the relationships between them (Creswell, 2009; Hale and Napier, 2013).

Unlike quantitative studies, the results of which might be generalized to large numbers of participants or settings, qualitative studies generally address the purposefully selected settings or participants to delve into a problem or a research topic (Creswell, 2009: 178; Hale and Napier, 2013: 15). Qualitative research adopts a multiple perspective developed through the views of researchers, participants and readers of the

study and thus achieves higher validity than quantitative research (Creswell, 2009; Hale and Napier, 2013).

Another difference between quantitative and qualitative approach is the philosophical positions they are based on. While quantitative approach adopts a positivistic position, qualitative approach is mostly characterized with an interpretivist and phenomenological position (Hale and Napier, 2013; Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013). Researchers adopting a positivistic approach strive to systematically find out facts related to a social phenomenon and to identify causal relationships between certain elements of that phenomenon (Hale and Napier, 2013: 14). On the other hand, researchers taking an interpretivist and phenomenological approach, which qualitative research methodology is generally associated with, aim to understand and interpret social phenomena and human behavior and experiences from the perspectives of the research participants and also based on their own frames of references (Creswell, 2009; Hale and Napier, 2013; Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013).

As Pöchhacker (2004: 62) also mentions, Translation Studies has increasingly made use of qualitative research methods, which are informed of the postmodern and interpretive approach adopted by social sciences and humanities. The field of Interpreting Studies has also increasingly adopted qualitative research methods with the shift of focus from examining interpreters' cognitive processes to describing and explaining interpreting processes in macro-social contexts, sometimes through social theories (Pöchhacker, 2015: 69). Inghilleri's works (2003, 2005a), which explain the interpreting processes in social contexts through Bourdieu's social theory, are examples of such studies adopting qualitative approach to research. The current research, which attempts to describe and examine the interpreting experiences and the social and work trajectory of the public service interpreters within the social contexts they are involved in, also uses an interpretivist qualitative approach.

The research on public service interpreting, mostly conducted within the mentioned qualitative methodological framework, is largely based on fieldwork with case studies that draw on the technique of discourse analysis and the ethnographic methods (Pöchhacker, 2004: 64). Ethnography in general is the study of a cultural or

social group in its natural setting over a period of time mainly by observing the behavior and living style of the individuals representative of the group and by conducting one-to-one interviews with them (Creswell, 2007, 2009). As for interpreting studies, the concept of “ethnographic methods” is mostly associated with the qualitative methods of the social sciences, such as interviews and observation (Angelelli, 2015: 148). Hale and Napier (2013: 88) also acknowledge that interviews or focus groups constitute the main component of numerous studies, and these methods can be used independently rather than complementing the observation method in the research.

In interpreting research, one of the full-fledged ethnographic studies conducted over a prolonged time through the use of various data sources, such as observations and interviews, is the work of Kaufert and Koolage (1984). The study on the role conflicts of Canadian interpreters was conducted in eighteen months in two Canadian hospitals. Based on the data obtained through participant observation and analysis of videotaped medical consultations, it was found that interpreters also assumed the roles of culture brokers and patient advocates. Another ethnographic study is that of Berk-Seligson (1990), which was conducted to address the interpreters in legal settings. The study was carried out in a period of seven months and was based on the data from non-participant observations, audio-recording of court proceedings and interviews with interpreters and lawyers.

The work of Davidson (2000), in which the social-linguistic role of healthcare interpreters in a hospital in California was studied, is another example of an ethnographic study. During the fieldwork, the ethnographic methods of interviews, participant observation and audio-recording of medical consultations were used to examine the role of the interpreters. Besides, a survey was conducted to identify the interpreter types, such as family members or professional interpreters, used in medical encounters. The ethnographic work of Angelelli (2004a), drawing on concepts from linguistic anthropology and social theory, was also conducted in a healthcare institution in California over a prolonged period. In order to better understand the complex issues in medical interpreting, the study involved various data sources, such as observations, field

notes, interviews with interpreters and their manager, surveys, recording of interpreter-mediated encounters and written documents.

The present study, which attempts to examine the relevant interpreting experiences and the social and work trajectory of the public service interpreters within the contexts of NGOs, legal field and healthcare, draws on the interviews²⁷ with interpreters and officials/service providers working with them, documents regarding the working conditions and work procedures for the interpreters within the contexts they are involved in, and small-scale surveys including questionnaires for interpreters, providing descriptive results. In that sense, the present study can be said to be one of the studies "incorporating ethnographic principles" in Hale and Napier's sense (2013: 95). Studies involving ethnographic principles, according to Hale and Napier (2013: 95), include data collection methods that are heavily associated with traditional ethnographic studies. Accordingly, the major data collection methods are interviews or focus groups, which are participatory forms of inquiry, which involve in-depth discussion related to a certain subject with individuals representative of a culture or a community, and which can be used as independent or complementary data sources. Saldanha and O'Brien (2013: 208) also mention that some studies that do not involve the technique of observation and that draw solely on interviews or written documents are also considered to be ethnographies.

The present study, which draws on ethnographic data collection methods mentioned above, also adopts the case study approach within the qualitative research paradigm in that it examines the relevant interpreting experiences and the social and work trajectory of the public service interpreters within the specific contexts of NGO, legal field and healthcare. A case study is an in-depth exploration of a case, namely an event, an activity, a program or individuals "bounded by time and place", through multiple data sources over a prolonged time (Stake, 1995; Creswell, 2007, 2009). The case is addressed within its context or setting, which might be social, physical, historical or economic depending on the case (Creswell, 2007). According to Stake (1995), research involving more than one case is called a "collective case study".

²⁷ The interviews are published on:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1e2rnjDXtK1FnZ18jJSu5_Oh2O40FJwUc?usp=sharing.

Similar to ethnographic studies, case studies also address problems in the larger context, yet case studies do not provide a complete account of a certain cultural or social group, as is the case with ethnographic studies (Hale and Napier, 2013: 112-3). Moreover, case studies make use of multiple data collection tools that may or may not involve ethnographic research instruments (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 209). Another characteristic of case studies is that they do not provide results that are generalizable to other cases or larger groups, with which a specific case is associated, due to the "individuality of the case" (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 209). Case studies are also characterized by "thick description" of the context and the participants (Gall, Borg and Gall, 1996).

As mentioned above, case studies generally draw on multiple data sources, such as interviews, documents, observations, verbal reports, audio-visual materials, quantitative data (Creswell, 2007; Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013). The combination of such multiple data sources, namely the process of triangulation, is likely to increase the validity of the study and the reliability of its findings in that it enables the researcher to cross-check the data from various sources (Creswell, 2009; Liu, 2011; Hale and Napier, 2013; Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013).

Case studies in public service interpreting research, which are usually based on multiple data sources, mostly involve thick descriptions of interpreting processes or products (Hale and Napier, 2013: 113). As for the data collection tools used in the studies on public service interpreting adopting the case study approach, Liu (2011) mentions that interviews and recordings of interpreter-mediated encounters are usually the major data sources. Accordingly, in several case studies (Wadensjö, 1998, 2004; Pöllabauer, 2004; Bot, 2005b; Valero-Garcés, 2005; Merlini and Favaron, 2005; Christensen, 2008; Jacobsen, 2008; Merlini, 2009), the recordings of interpreter-mediated encounters mostly in healthcare and legal contexts were used as the major data source, and the roles, positions and responsibilities of the interpreters were analyzed through the technique of discourse analysis of the recorded data, paying particular attention to linguistic and prosodic features, including turn-taking and politeness strategies, direct and indirect speech.

In several other studies adopting the case study approach, interviews were extensively used as the main data collection instrument to assess participants' perceptions, views and experiences regarding the interpreting situations (Edwards, Temple and Alexander, 2005; Leanza, 2005; Angelelli, 2006; Berk-Seligson, 2008; Lipkin, 2008; Santamaría Ciordia, 2016; Valero Garcés, 2017). Edwards *et al.* analyzed the experiences of individuals belonging to minority ethnic groups in Manchester and London using services provided by professional and non-professional interpreters through semi-structured interviews. In the study, which was addressed within the political and community context, trust and personal characteristics were found to hold a significant place in people's perception of good interpreters.

In her study, which examined the role of medical interpreters in Switzerland mainly based on interviews with interpreters and pediatricians, Leanza (2005) found out that interpreters assumed various roles and suggested a role typology for interpreters, involving the roles of system agent, integration agent, community agent and linguistic agent. Angelelli (2006) studied the perceptions of healthcare interpreters towards the ethical standards laid down by the California Healthcare Interpreting Association (CHIA, 2002) through focus group interviews and suggested that the interpreters faced challenges in fulfilling the requirements of the role attributed to them under real-life conditions.

In her study conducted in the legal context, Berk-Seligson (2008) examined the language policy for the local language of Quichua in Ecuador and the attitude towards the interpreting services in this language through the interviews with interpreters, translators, judges, justices of the peace, lawyers as well as national and local political leaders. It was found that there was an agreement among all the participants on the use of untrained interpreters in the judicial settings. Lipkin (2008) studied the activities of the interpreters, in particular the ethical rules for them and the interpreters' roles, in a military court near Jerusalem through interviews with interpreters and officials. In the study, it was concluded that there were no clear-cut role boundaries for the interpreters and that the interpreters also performed additional tasks such as acting as ushers or translating documents, which posed ethical challenges for the interpreters.

In the study of Santamaría Ciordia (2016), the role perceptions and expectations of interpreters and service providers in medical and legal settings in Spain were examined through interviews with trained and untrained interpreters as well as lawyers and medical practitioners. Accordingly, it was found that interpreters were expected to be more actively involved in medical consultations, while they were expected to act merely as a language clarifier in legal settings.

Valero Garcés (2017) examined the shortcomings in language access in the prison settings in Spain and how these shortcomings were addressed through surveys and interviews conducted with interpreters and prison staff. Valero Garcés (2017) found that in the prisons, where mostly prison inmates acted as *ad hoc* interpreters, prison staff attached more importance to overall transfer of content and to trust in individuals who served as interpreters than to the basic interpreting principles such as impartiality. On the other hand, the issues of impartiality, complete transfer of content and sufficient training that allowed interpreters to act professionally were reported to be important for the interpreters.

The current research, sharing similarities with the above-mentioned case studies, addresses the public service interpreters providing service between Turkish public officials and the Syrian population in three different institutional contexts, namely NGOs, legal field and healthcare, by drawing on the interpreters' own perspectives and also considering the contextual conditions surrounding the interpreters. To this end, as will be discussed in detail in the following sections, the present study uses various data sources, which are interviews with interpreters and officials/service providers, questionnaires for interpreters and documents related to interpreters' working conditions and interpreting activities within the mentioned contexts. In this respect, it can be said that this study consists of case studies where data sources associated with ethnographic research are used, in other words, case studies adopting an ethnographic approach. The study involves three case studies, referring to the contexts of NGOs, legal field and healthcare, in which the interpreters are involved.

The present study does not aim to generalize the findings to large groups of public service interpreters. Rather, it aims to provide descriptive results regarding the

relevant interpreting experiences and the social and work trajectory of the public service interpreters working in the aforementioned contexts. In this qualitative research, certain strategies are employed to increase the validity of the findings. First of all, the data obtained through the interviews conducted with the interpreters are triangulated with several other data sources, namely questionnaires for the interpreters, interviews with the officials/service providers working with the interpreters and the documents related to interpreters' working conditions and interpreting activities. Moreover, through the mentioned data sources, “thick description” (see Geertz, 1973; Gall *et al.*, 1996; Creswell, 2009) of the interpreters’ experiences and the conditions surrounding them is provided.

3.2. THE FIELD WORK

The field work providing data to the present study on the interpreting experiences and the social and work trajectory of the public service interpreters that have emerged in the face of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey was carried out by the researcher between October 2018 and June 2019 in Gaziantep, Adana, Mersin and İzmir, four of the provinces, where the largest Syrian populations reside (see Figure 1). The research focuses on the interpreters mostly giving service to the Syrian populations in the three contexts: public healthcare institutions, legal field, including courts and police units, and NGOs, including ASAM units. In order to conduct the field work, the approval of the Ethical Board of the Faculty of Letters of Dokuz Eylül University was obtained.

Before starting the fieldwork, visits were made to a number of refugee associations to understand the general language needs of refugees in Turkey. During these visits, it was observed that ASAM²⁸, which carries out projects and activities in cooperation with many international and national associations, organizations and institutions, particularly with the United Nations specialized agencies, to strengthen migrants and vulnerable groups and to integrate them into society, was one of the few

²⁸ <https://sgdd.org.tr/>

associations recruiting in-house staff under the title of "interpreter", and thus, it was decided to include the interpreters working in the association. The major challenge encountered during the fieldwork was a number of bureaucratic barriers to accessing the interpreters and institutions, since the interpreters mostly work with refugees, who are deemed a vulnerable group. As a result of the long permission processes, during which the aims of the study were explained to those involved in the issue, some individuals, including interpreters, and institutions objected to the data collection, while others were more open to information sharing.

In the following sections, the field work will be explained in more details, involving the methods used for collecting data, the structure of the data sources, the data collection process including the details of the contexts and the participants, and the process of data analysis.

3.2.1. Data Collection Methods

The field work conducted within the frame of the present study covered various data collection methods including semi-structured interview technique, the questionnaire technique providing descriptive results and the collection of relevant documents. The study addresses the public service interpreters, who are generally not trained in interpreting and who have learned interpreting on-the-job, within the macro social contexts in which they act and examines their interpreting experiences mainly from their own perspectives. Hence, the major data source of the study consists of the semi-structured interviews conducted with the interpreters giving service in the three institutional contexts, namely the NGO units, the legal field including courthouses and police units, and the public healthcare institutions. The supplementary data sources include the questionnaires responded by the public service interpreters in the mentioned contexts, the semi-structured interviews with the officials assigning tasks to the interpreters or working with them in the mentioned contexts and various documents related to the selection and recruitment of the interpreters, work procedures, trainings and examination for the interpreters in the three contexts.

Interviewing in general is a technique used to explore the meanings derived from the experiences and opinions of individuals on a particular social phenomenon (Hale & Napier, 2013: 95). In interviews, researchers generally direct discussions in a way they can obtain information that yields insights about research questions from interview participants. Since the interview technique is time consuming in terms of its implementation and analysis, and researchers might have difficulties in accessing the relevant participants who are willing to spare time for interviews, interviews are mostly based on the opinions of a small number of participants that is far from representing a large population, and the obtained results can hardly be generalized to the large population (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 169). Yet on the other hand, interviews provide certain advantages to researchers in the area of social research. They allow researchers to gain deep insights into individuals' experiences, beliefs, opinions, attitudes and feelings on a certain subject that cannot be accessed through observation of individuals' behavior (May, 2011; Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013).

There are basically three types of interviews: structured, unstructured and semi-structured. In structured interviews, interviewees are generally asked the same set of closed questions in the same way and order (May, 2011; Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013). On the other hand, in unstructured interviews, which are conducted in a free-flowing manner, interviewers only use certain cues during the conversation to obtain the relevant information on their research topics from interviewees (Saldanha&O'Brien, 2013: 172). In-between the two types of interviews stand semi-structured interviews, in which interviewers use a set of open-ended questions that guide the interview. The semi-structured interview technique, which is also used in the present study, is more flexible than the structured interview, since it allows interviewees to expand on their thoughts and opinions, and it enables the interviewer to introduce new questions during the flow of the conversation (Hale and Napier, 2013; Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013). Moreover, unlike unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, being more structured, allow researchers to compare the information elicited from interviewees (May, 2011: 135).

As Saldanha and O'Brien (2013: 168) mention, compared to translation studies research, interpreting studies research, especially the research on public service

interpreting, relies more on interviews as data sources, since the more outstanding social dimension of the interpreting activity leads researchers to further prefer the research methods of the social sciences. Many scholarly studies that address public service interpreters draw totally or partly on the data from the interviews which yield insights into the interpreters' perspectives on their roles, interpreting experiences and performances, as well as the wider social context and macro-level structural factors that influence interpreter roles and performances (Inghilleri, 2003, 2006; Clifford, 2004; Angelelli, 2004a; Leanza, 2005; Hsieh, 2006; Ibrahim, 2007; Rudvin and Tomassini, 2008; Tipton, 2014; Guéry, 2014; Kaczmarek, 2016; Santamaría Ciordia, 2016; Valero Garcés, 2017).

In the present study, the questions addressed to the interpreters within the scope of the semi-structured interviews were prepared based on similar research in the area of public service interpreting and on the research questions of the study, which aim to explore the elements related to the interpreters' relevant interpreting experiences and their social and work trajectory. In addition, while determining the interview questions, the researcher also consulted to the opinions of the thesis supervisor and the members of the thesis monitoring committee. The semi-structured interviews conducted with all the interpreters in the mentioned three contexts (NGOs, the legal field and healthcare institutions) consist of 36 open-ended questions under 7 titles (see Appendix 4): Social Background, Perceptions of Image and Role as Interpreters, Expectations of the Parties, Perceptions of Autonomy, Perceptions of Norms and Ethics, Challenges and Strategies, Professional Prospects. In order to compare and contrast the data within the scope of the overall research, the same interview questions were asked to the interpreters in the three contexts.

By virtue of the qualitative research paradigm discussed previously, the interview data obtained from the public service interpreters have been triangulated with the other data sources, involving the questionnaires responded by the public service interpreters in the mentioned three contexts, the semi-structured interviews with the officials assigning tasks to the interpreters or working with them in the mentioned contexts and various documents related to the selection and recruitment of the

interpreters, work procedures, trainings and examination for the interpreters in the three contexts. As mentioned earlier, the triangulation of multiple data sources is likely to increase the validity of the study and the reliability of the findings. By the same token, Pöchhacker (2011) also mentions that adopting multi-methods in interpreting studies research allows to better understand the complicated nature of interpreting practices and processes.

In the present study, the technique of observation of the interpreter-mediated encounters could not be used first due to the researcher's lack of knowledge of Arabic, the main working language of the interpreters in the study, and also due to the sensitivity of the refugee issue, the group served through the interpreters, and the confidentiality policies of the institutions on the subject. This can be said to be the major limitation to the present study. Yet through the triangulation of various data sources mentioned above and through the thick description of the interpreters' experiences and the conditions surrounding them, it has been sought to increase the validity of the findings.

One of the data sources triangulated with the findings of the interpreter interviews within the scope of the current study is the questionnaires responded by the interpreters. A questionnaire is an instrument that is frequently used in survey research (Creswell, 2009; Liu, 2011). It can be used to collect demographic information about research participants and to collect data about the participants' opinions, attitudes, behaviors (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 152). Compared to interviews, questionnaires allow to collect more structured exploratory data on a larger scale in less time (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 152). However, the structures of questionnaires mostly restrict participants in their responses, and it might be difficult for researchers to have access to sufficient samples of participants that will allow to make inferences on the research questions (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 153). Most importantly, questionnaires are not efficient instruments for the collection of explanatory data such as personal experiences and emotions (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 152). Therefore, complementing questionnaires with interviews allows to obtain more fruitful results.

For the analysis of questionnaire data, mostly two types of statistics are used: inferential statistics and descriptive statistics. Inferential statistics allow to make

generalizations through data obtained from the samples of a population, and they are mostly used to make inferences about the significance level of the differences between separate populations in the research and to make calculations on the probability of results (see Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 195). On the other hand, descriptive statistics, as the name implies, allow to describe populations and to summarize and compare data in the form of frequencies, percentages or averages presented through graphs, charts or tables (see Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 224; Hale and Napier, 2013: 77). Hale and Napier (2013: 77) also suggest that such descriptive analyses are generally sufficient in especially qualitative and descriptive studies.

In the research on public service interpreters, questionnaires have been widely used either in a way to complement other data sources, such as interviews, or as a research instrument on its own to evaluate interpreters' perceptions of their interpreting experiences (Pöchhacker, 2000; Mesa, 2000; Chesher *et al.*, 2003; Angelelli, 2004b; Tryuk, 2007; Ibrahim, 2007; Rudvin and Tomassini, 2008; Lee, 2009; Kahraman, 2010; Valero Garcés, 2012; Ra and Napier, 2013; Tipton, 2014; Souza, 2016; Salaets and Balogh, 2017). In the present study, the questionnaire for interpreters, which was prepared based on similar research in the area of public service interpreting and on the suggestions of the thesis supervisor and the members of the thesis monitoring committee, does not aim to obtain inferential statistical results as a data source on its own, nor does it aim to generalize the findings to large-scale groups of interpreters. The questionnaire rather aims to provide descriptive results to support or complement the qualitative data from the interpreter interviews on the relevant interpreting experiences and the social and work trajectory.

Accordingly, the questionnaire consists of three parts involving 12 questions about demographic information, 20 Likert-type statements about the scope of the interpreters' work and about the attitude towards the interpreting profession and 30 Likert-type statements about specific interpreting activities during interpreting services, mainly involving the issues of the interpreting ethics, the interpreter's autonomy, the parties' perceptions of and expectations from the interpreters (see Appendix 5). In order

to compare and contrast the data within the scope of the overall research, the same questionnaire was used to elicit information from the interpreters in the three contexts.

Another data source triangulated with the findings of the semi-structured interviews conducted with the interpreters is the interviews carried out with the officials/public service providers working with interpreters in the three domains, i.e. NGOs, legal field and public healthcare institutions. As will be explained in more detail in the following sections, the semi-structured interview technique was used for the officials although these interviews were shorter in duration than those conducted with the interpreters. In fact, the researcher aimed to collect questionnaire data from officials at the beginning of the study, yet due to the factors that posed difficulties in reaching officials/service providers, such as time constraints on the part of officials and the bureaucratic obstacles, the interview technique was preferred. As a matter of fact, in the research on public service interpreting, officials' or service providers' perceptions of interpreting activities have been reached through either questionnaires (Pöchhacker, 2000; Ibrahim, 2007; Rudvin and Tomassini, 2008; Lee, 2009; Salaets and Balogh, 2017) or interviews (Bot, 2003; Inghilleri, 2003; Clifford, 2004; Angelelli, 2004a; Leanza, 2005; Tipton, 2014; Kaczmarek, 2016; Santamaría Ciordia, 2016).

In the current research, the officials/public service providers were interviewed to improve the understanding of the dynamics of the interpreting situations, to elicit information on the recruitment processes and working conditions of the interpreters as well as to have an idea on the perceptions of the officials towards public service interpreting. To this end, two sets of interview questions were prepared for the officials/service providers due to the differences in the working relationships between the officials and the interpreters in the mentioned interpreting contexts although the two sets involve certain overlapping questions. One set of interview questions were prepared for the authorized individuals at the relevant NGO units both assigning interpreting tasks and sometimes communicating with refugees through the interpreters. The interview consisted of 27 questions to elicit information on the language needs of refugees, the profile of the interpreters, perceptions towards interpreting services and interpreters, the recruitment process for the interpreters, work conditions of the interpreters, relations

between the interpreters and officials as well as refugees, interpreting-related tasks, the interpreters' realm of autonomy and the status of the institution (see Appendix 6).

The other set of interview questions were prepared for the service providers at public institutions in the legal and healthcare fields communicating with refugees through the interpreters. The interview consisted of 24 questions to elicit information on the interpreting needs during communication with refugees, perceptions towards interpreting services and interpreters, relations with the interpreters, expectations from the interpreters and perceptions towards the interpreters' agency and service (see Appendix 7). The interview questions were prepared based on the aims of the study, similar research in the area of public service interpreting and the suggestions of the thesis supervisor and the members of the thesis monitoring committee.

The last data source that is supplementary to the findings of the interviews conducted with the interpreters is the relevant documents within the mentioned three contexts (NGO, legal field, healthcare). As Bowen (2009) suggests, documents are supplementary data sources generally used with other qualitative data sources to corroborate and validate findings from these sources, and documents analysis is an applicable method especially in qualitative case study research. According to Merriam (1988: 118), documents provide researchers with insights related to the research problem and help to enhance the understanding of the relevant problem. Documents cover a wide range of sources, such as statistics, laws and declarations, government records, the internet sources, books, maps and charts, personal documents such as biographies or diaries, photographs, institutional documents such as letters, progress reports, meeting minutes; training materials such as course specifications and syllabi; archives including lists of names and survey data (May, 2011; Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013).

In the research on public service interpreting, especially Angelelli (2004a) and Aguilar Solano (2012) have used a wide range of documents as supplementary data sources. In her ethnographic research on medical interpreting at a healthcare institution in California, Angelelli (2004a) has made use of various documents together with other data sources including semi-structured interviews, field notes, observations, surveys and interpreter-mediated interactions, for the purpose of better understanding the

interpreter's role. The documents in the research include the job posting for interpreter/translator position in the institution, publications on the interpreting service in the institution, guidelines for interpreting sessions in the institution, sample of the entry test for interpreters, translations made by the interpreters, pamphlets distributed to patients in the institution, messages shared by the interpreters during working hours, photos of interpreters and the healthcare institution, among others.

Likewise, in her research on the positionings of the interpreters within the two healthcare institutions in Spain, Aguilar-Solano (2012) has used several documents, including the Interpreters' Handbook for the interpreters in one of the relevant institutions and news articles about the interpreter teams within the scope of the research, to corroborate the findings from the focus groups and the interpreter-mediated encounters.

In the present qualitative research, various documents, the details of which will be provided in the following sections, are also used to corroborate and verify the findings of the interviews conducted with the public service interpreters. The documents in the study mainly provide information on the selection and recruitment of the interpreters, work procedures, trainings and examination for the interpreters in the three contexts, thus allowing the researcher to gain more insights into the working conditions for the public service interpreters in the mentioned contexts.

On the whole, through the data collected in the present research, it is not aimed to generalize the findings to large-scale groups of public service interpreters, but it is rather aimed to describe and compare the relevant interpreting experiences and the social and work trajectory of the public service interpreters giving service to refugees at ASAM units, in the legal field involving courts and police units, and in the public healthcare institutions. The details of the data collection process, including the details of the contexts and the participants, will be presented in the following sections.

3.2.2. Data Collection Process

Although the same data collection methods were used as part of the field work in the contexts of NGOs, healthcare institutions and the legal field, the data collection processes in these three contexts will be explained in separate sections, as each context differs in terms of the working procedures of the interpreters and the profiles of the participant groups.

As mentioned previously, in order to compare and contrast the data within the scope of the overall research, the same questionnaire and the same interview questions were used to elicit information from the public service interpreters in the three contexts. As also mentioned earlier, in the interviews conducted with the officials and the service providers working with the interpreters, although some questions overlapped, the officials in the NGO context were asked different questions from those asked to the service providers in the healthcare and legal contexts, due to differences in the ways they work with the interpreters and in the working relationships with them.

In terms of reaching the participants in the three contexts, convenience and snowballing sampling techniques, two of the non-probability sampling methods, were used in the present study, as will be explained in more detail in the following sections. As Hale and Napier (2013: 71) state, “qualitative research is normally associated with non-probability sampling methods”, which rely on the researcher’s judgement. Hale and Napier (2013: 71) further mention that though representativeness is quite out of the question with the non-probabilistic sampling technique, the results obtained with a well-designed technique can be extended to other studies.

In the convenience sampling, the relevant criteria for the selection of the participants are decided by the researcher in line with the aims of the research, and volunteers from the relevant convenience groups are selected as participants (Hale and Napier, 2013: 73). As for the convenience sampling, Saldanha and O’Brien (2013: 181) suggest that as long as the limitations to the generalizability of the results to larger populations are acknowledged, this kind of sampling can be preferred in the selection of the participants, where there are obstacles to the research such as limited resources or

time constraints (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 215). In this case, what is important is to decide on a case yielding results based on a certain basis. In the snowballing sampling, the other sampling technique used in the present study, a group of participants with the characteristics to the research aims is determined by the researcher, and the participants from the group to whom the researcher has access are asked to recruit other participants for the study (Hale and Napier, 2013: 73).

In this regard, the aforementioned convenience and snowballing techniques were used in the current study, and within this scope, after the criteria for the relevant participants were determined by the researcher in accordance with the research aims, volunteers were selected from the relevant participant groups. Moreover, through some participants, the researcher was also able to reach some other participants from the relevant groups.

The principle of data saturation was the major factor determining the sample sizes in the interviews conducted with the public service interpreters in the three contexts (9 interpreters in the NGO context, 10 interpreters in the legal context and 10 interpreters in the healthcare context). As Dörnyei (2007: 127) suggests, the data collection process ideally lasts till a point of saturation is reached, "when additional data do not seem to develop the concepts any further but simply repeat what previous informants have already revealed". Accordingly, in the current research, the researcher decided to terminate the process of interviewing with the interpreters when the additional data obtained from the subsequent interviews no more yielded any further illuminating data in terms of the aims of the study; that is, when the data elicited from the subsequent interpreters started to repeat those elicited from the previous interpreters. Moreover, attention was also paid to reaching almost equal number of interpreters in each context in each of the mentioned four provinces, where the research was conducted.

The factors determining the sample sizes in the questionnaires for the interpreters differed according to the three contexts (34 interpreters in the NGO context, 38 interpreters in the legal context and 27 interpreters in the healthcare context). In the NGO context, in accordance with the institutional policy, the questionnaires were distributed to the interpreters by the relevant officials from the ASAM units, and the

relevant officials collected 34 questionnaires in total and submitted them to the researcher. In the legal context, the interpreters were reached through the interpreter lists drafted by the provincial justice commissions (see Section 1.2.3. for more details), and 38 interpreters among the limited number of interpreters in the Arabic and Kurdish languages volunteered to participate in the research. Lastly, in the healthcare context, the sample (27) was composed of the interpreters reached through the researcher's personal contacts and some other volunteer interpreters reached through these interpreters.

The factors determining the sample sizes in the interviews conducted with the officials and the service providers in the three contexts (4 officials in the NGO context, 6 service providers in the legal context and 7 service providers in the healthcare context) were the time constraints on the part of the officials and the service providers as well as the concerns about the sensitivity of the group served through interpreters, i.e. refugees.

Considering the number of the participants within the scope of the present research, the participant samples cannot be said to be representative of larger populations; however, within the framework of the qualitative research method adopted in the present study, the data obtained from the participants through the mentioned methods yielded remarkable insights into the relevant interpreting experiences and the social and work trajectory of the public service interpreters giving service to refugees in the three contexts.

3.2.2.1. The NGO Context

The NGO context in the present study refers to the units of the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) in the provinces of İzmir, Mersin, Adana and Gaziantep. In order to conduct the study in the relevant NGO units, a request explaining the scope and the aims of the study was made via e-mail from the authorized officials of those units. With the approval of the regional coordinators, the officials arranged the necessary appointments for the collection of data.

The relevant officials of the ASAM units determined the interpreters to be interviewed and arranged the interview appointments. The semi-structured interviews,

which aimed to explore the elements related to the social and work trajectory of the interpreters, were conducted face-to-face with 9 interpreters working in different units of ASAM (1 interpreter in one ASAM unit in İzmir, 2 interpreters in another ASAM unit in İzmir, 2 interpreters in one ASAM unit in Mersin, 2 interpreters in one ASAM unit in Adana, and 2 interpreters in one ASAM unit in Gaziantep). The interpreters were interviewed in private in special rooms arranged beforehand, and they consented to the audio recording with the permission of the officials. The interpreters signed the consent form indicating the aim and the scope of the study and stipulating that the information would only be used for research purposes and would be kept anonymous.

The semi-structured interviews, lasting between 26 minutes and 90 minutes, were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Each interviewed interpreter was assigned a number and the label of “NGOI”, referring to “NGO Interpreter”. Of the 9 interviewed interpreters, 5 are female and 4 are male. Their average age is 31 and average interpreting experience is around 2.5 years. The interpreters’ further demographic profile and social background is presented in Table 2:

Table 2: The NGO Interpreters’ Demographic Profile and Social Background

Interpreter	Hometown	Ethnic Origin	Educational Background	Language Courses	Previous Work Experience	Interpreter Training	Interpreting Experience
NGOI-1	Antakya	Arab	Teaching	-	Tutored Syrian refugees in Turkish language	ASAM trainings	6 months
NGOI-2	Antakya	Arab	Business Administration	Private Arabic language lessons	Interpreter in a refugee camp	ASAM trainings	4 years
NGOI-3	Aleppo	Kurdish (ancestors from a Southeastern border province in Turkey)	Dropout of French Language and Literature (Syria)	Turkish language course at ASAM	Tutored Syrian refugees in Turkish language	ASAM trainings	4 years
NGOI-4	Mardin	Turkish-Arab	Elementary and secondary education in Lebanon, German	-	-	Bachelor's Degree in German Translation and	1 year

			Translation and Interpreting in Turkey, also Sociology student at Open Education Faculty at a public university in Turkey			Interpreting, ASAM trainings	
NGOI-5	Mardin	Kurdish	Journalism	Language course in Saudi Arabia	Interpreter for Arab traders	ASAM trainings	3 years
NGOI-6	Antakya	Arab	Business Administration	-	-	ASAM trainings	8 months
NGOI-7	Damascus	Kurdish (ancestors from a Southeastern border province in Turkey)	Law (Syria)	-	Interpreter in a provincial directorate of migration management and also interpreting for foreign journalists	ASAM trainings	3,5 years
NGOI-8	Aleppo	Kurdish-Turkish (moved to a Southeastern border province in Turkey upon marriage)	High School (Syria)	Turkish language course	A short-term project for refugees	ASAM trainings	3,5 years
NGOI-9	Antakya	Arab	Teaching	Arabic language course	Interpreter for Arab tourists	ASAM trainings	1 year

Source: Prepared by the author

Of the 9 interpreters, 4 are of Arab origin and 3 are of Kurdish origin. Besides, 1 is of Arab-Turkish origin and 1 is of Turkish-Kurdish origin. NGOI-1, NGOI-2, NGOI-6 and NGOI-9 are Turkish citizens of Arab origin from Antakya (a border province in the south of Turkey). NGOI-4 and NGOI-5 are from Mardin (a border province in the Southeastern Anatolia Region of Turkey). NGOI-4 is of Arab-Turkish origin and grew up in Lebanon, and NGOI-5 is of Kurdish origin. NGOI-3 and NGOI-7 are Syrians of Kurdish origin, and their ancestors are originally from the border provinces in the Southeastern Anatolia Region of Turkey. And NGOI-8 is of Turkish-Kurdish origin from Aleppo and settled in a Southeastern border province in Turkey at the end of the 1990s upon marriage.

Given that the interpreters give service mostly to Syrian refugees; their main working language is Arabic. The interpreters of Kurdish origin also provide services in the Kurdish language to refugees of Kurdish origin, albeit less frequently than they serve in the Arabic language. As will be discussed in more detail in the fourth chapter, the interpreters speak the Arabic language based on either their ethnic origin or the country of origin (Syria). The only exception is NGOI-5, who is a Turkish citizen of Kurdish origin. Yet NGOI-5 also learned Arabic among citizens of Arab origin in the social environment where he grew up.

The interpreters have varying school backgrounds. 7 out of the 9 interpreters hold a bachelor's degree. NGOI-1, NGOI-2, NGOI-5, NGOI-6 and NGOI-9 graduated from university departments in Turkey other than translation and interpreting. Only NGOI-4 is a graduate of a German translation and interpreting department at a public university in Turkey. NGOI-3, NGOI-7 and NGOI-8 received education in Syria. NGOI-3 is a dropout of French language and literature, NGOI-7 is a law faculty graduate, and NGOI-8 is a high school graduate. As for the language courses, NGOI-2 has taken private Arabic language lessons, NGOI-3 has attended the Turkish language course of ASAM, NGOI-5 has received language education in Saudi Arabia, NGOI-8 attended a Turkish language course after she settled in Turkey, and NGOI-9 has taken an Arabic language course at a public education center. All the interpreters have attended the 2-day-in-service trainings provided annually by the institution.

As for the previous work experience, NGOI-1, NGOI-2, NGOI-3, NGOI-5, NGOI-7, NGOI-8, NGOI-9 engaged in certain jobs related to migrants and refugees before the interpreting job at the NGO, such as tutoring refugees in Turkish language, interpreting in a refugee camp and in a provincial directorate of migration management and interpreting for Arab traders and tourists (see Table 2).

During the visits to the ASAM units, the relevant officials were also asked to distribute the questionnaire to the interpreters giving service to refugees, and 34 questionnaires in total were returned to the researcher. Then the questionnaire items

filled by the interpreters were entered in the Google Forms platform by the researcher²⁹, and descriptive results were obtained in the form of averages, percentages and column charts. The demographic information obtained from the questionnaires is presented below.

Of the 34 respondents, 20 are female and 14 are male. The average age of the 31 respondents is 28.9 years. The vast majority, namely 25 of the 31 respondents, hold Turkish citizenship, and 6 hold Syrian citizenship. Besides, 1 mentioned Palestinian citizenship, and 1 mentioned Egyptian citizenship. 1 respondent, holding dual citizenship, did not specify which countries he/she is a citizen of.

Figure 2: Gender

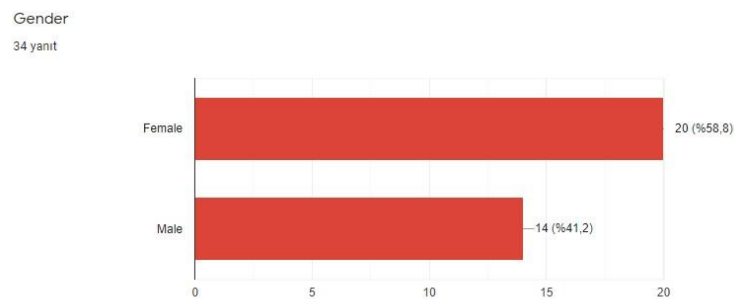
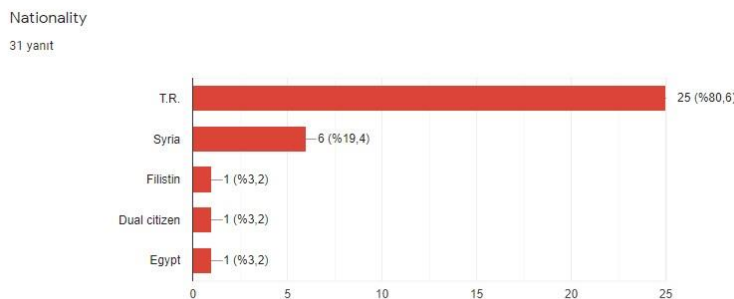


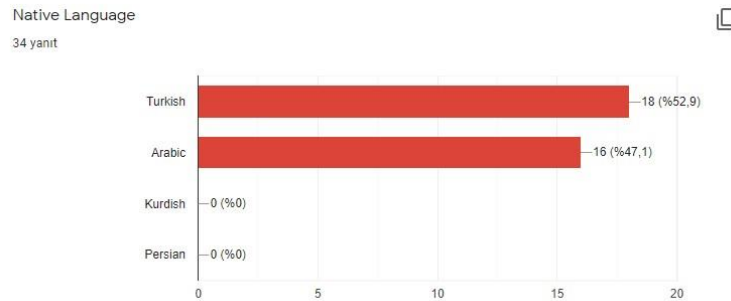
Figure 3: Nationality



²⁹ The questionnaire was prepared and conducted in Turkish. Yet when entering data on the Google Forms platform, all the questionnaire items and data were translated into English by the author of the thesis.

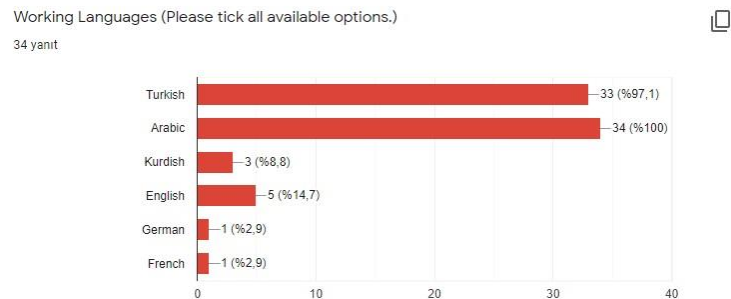
52.9% of the 34 respondents (18) marked their native language as Turkish, and 47.1% of the respondents (16) chose Arabic.

Figure 4: Native Language



As for the working languages, more than one option was chosen by some of the 34 respondents. 33 respondents indicated Turkish, and 34 indicated Arabic. The additional languages marked by the respondents are Kurdish (3), English (5), German (1) and French (1). No data is available as to whether they use these additional languages, especially English, German and French, when providing interpreting services to refugees.

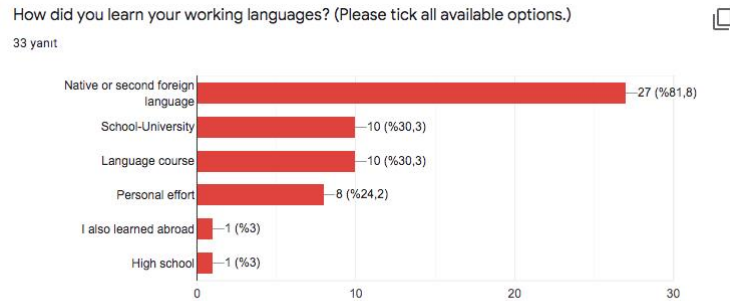
Figure 5: Working Languages



As regards how they learned their working languages, more than one option was chosen by some of the 33 respondents. The majority, namely 27 respondents, chose the option of "native or second foreign language". 10 marked the option of "school or

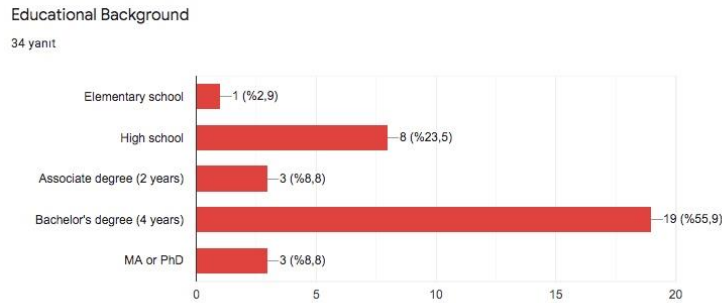
university", 10 chose the option of "language course", and 8 marked “personal effort”. Besides, 1 stated that she/he learned it abroad, and 1 marked it as “high school”.

Figure 6: Means of Learning the Working Languages



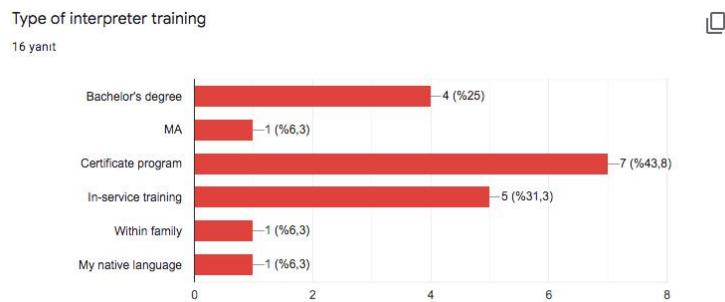
As for the respondents' educational background, the majority, namely 19 out of 34 (55.9%), hold a bachelor's degree. 1 is an elementary school graduate, 8 are high school graduates, 3 hold an associate degree, and 3 have a master's or a doctoral degree. The fields in which the respondents hold associate, bachelor's, master's or doctoral degree were not specified. Yet based on the telephone interview with one of the coordinators responsible for the training and supervision of interpreters in the institution, who has mentioned that there is almost no graduate of translation and interpreting department among those working as interpreters, it can be argued that the practitioners in this study are very likely to hold a degree in fields other than translation and interpreting.

Figure 7: Educational Background



As regards the type of interpreter training, some of the 16 respondents chose more than one option. 7 indicated it as certificate program, 5 marked in-service training, 4 marked bachelor's degree, and 1 chose master's degree. Based on this data, it is not clear whether those who chose these options actually meant the training programs in the interpreting field *per se*. Moreover, those responding as "within family" (1) and "my native language" (1) most probably reduced interpreter training to the improvement of language skills.

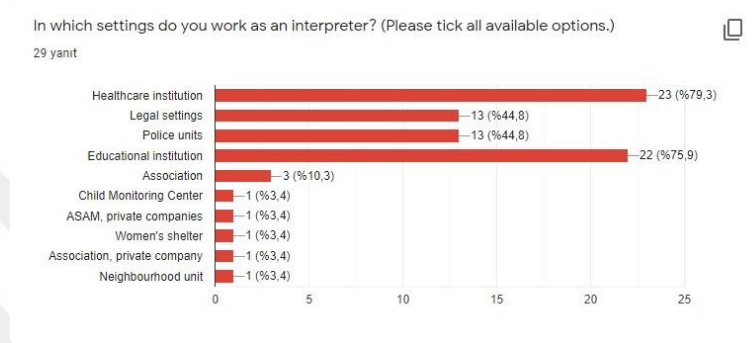
Figure 8: The Type of Interpreter Training



The settings where the practitioners give service as interpreters in the field were specified as healthcare institutions (23 respondents), educational institutions (22 respondents), legal settings (courthouses) (13 respondents) and police units (13 respondents). An interpreter can give service in more than one setting out of the NGO

unit, since the in-house interpreters in the institution are also responsible for providing interpreting services in line with the requirements in different settings out of the NGO units, such as healthcare, education and legal institutions.

Figure 9: Work Settings



Lastly, the average interpreting experience of the 33 respondents was reported to be 3.3 years. The data from the rest of the questionnaire on the attitude towards the interpreting profession and the specific interpreting activities, mainly involving the issues of the interpreting ethics, the interpreter's autonomy, the parties' perceptions of and expectations from the interpreters, will be discussed in alignment with the findings of the thematic analysis of the interpreter interviews.

Another data source regarding the NGO context is the interviews with the institution officials. The interviews with open-ended questions regarding the interpreters' work conditions and interpreting activities as well as the perceptions towards public service interpreting and interpreters (see Appendix 6 for the interview questions) were conducted face-to-face with 3 institution officials, assigning interpreting tasks and sometimes communicating with refugees through the interpreters (1 official in İzmir unit, 1 official in Mersin unit, 1 official in Adana unit). Two of the interviews, lasting around 30 minutes on average, were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Since one of the officials did not consent to the audio recording, the interview with that official was not recorded, and rather, the researcher took notes during the interview.

Each interviewed official was assigned a number and the label of “Official”. Of the 3 interviewed officials, 2 are female and 1 is male. One of the institution officials holds a bachelor's degree in psychology, one holds a bachelor's degree in law, and the other holds a bachelor's degree in teaching. In addition to the mentioned officials, one of the coordinators responsible for the training and supervision of the interpreters was interviewed on the phone for more detailed information about the scope and content of the in-service trainings given to the interpreters as well as about the recruitment and the profile of the interpreters.

The last data sources regarding the NGO context are certain institutional documents. One of the documents is the institution's job posting for interpreters including information on general qualifications required of the interpreters to be recruited, the job description for the interpreters and the application process (see Appendix 8). Accordingly, the qualifications required of the interpreters are mentioned as being a graduate from relevant departments of universities, knowing Arabic and Turkish at a very good level, having experience in simultaneous and consecutive interpreting, having at least 3 years of experience (preferably having experience in corporate companies or translation agencies), being knowledgeable about humanitarian aid principles, the Syrian crisis and refugees, having strong communication skills and being able to work with people from different cultures. As can also be seen in the following sections, when the qualifications required of the interpreters recruited in the three contexts, namely NGO, legal field and healthcare, are examined, it can be said that the highest criteria and standards regarding the profession are required of the NGO interpreters.

The job description for the NGO interpreters are specified as interpreting during the interviews and conveying the spoken issues in full; assisting asylum-seekers and refugees in carrying out the procedures in institutions and organizations as well as hospitals; and interpreting at events such as trainings and meetings. The applicants are also required to send a letter of motivation together with their resume.

The other document, the institutional code of conduct for the interpreters provided to them in the in-service trainings, was obtained from the above-mentioned

training coordinator, who was interviewed on the phone. The code of conduct titled “Tercümanlık ve Tercümanla Çalışma Alanlarında Açıklanması Gereken 14 Kritik Bilgi” (14 Pieces of Critical Information for Interpreting and Settings Where Interpreters Work) was prepared by the institution officials responsible for the training and supervision of the interpreters (Ulusoy & Rezaei Osalou, 2019).

The code of conduct, which was prepared based on several publications on public service interpreting and the handbooks for public service interpreters designed by various international institutions and organizations, consists of 14 sections (1. The difference between knowing two languages and being an interpreter; 2. Interpreting service in consultancies and interviews; 3. What is interpreting?; 4. The concepts of interpreting and translation; 5. The interpreting methods; 6. The approaches that interpreters should avoid and incorrect forms of interpreting; 7. The concept of fault and its management in the interpreting profession; 8. The situations in which the interpreter should intervene; 9. Management of the off-the job demands, questions and requests directed to the interpreter; 10. The features that give superiority to an interpreter; 11. The methods of improving interpreting skills; 12. Matters to be considered in effective interpreting; 13. Principles of child-friendly interpreting; 14. Professional ethics in interpreting)³⁰.

3.2.2.2. The Legal Context

The legal context in the present study mainly refers to the courthouses and police units as the interpreting settings in the provinces of İzmir, Mersin, Adana and Gaziantep. The semi-structured interviews, i.e. the main data collection tool of the study, were conducted with 10 interpreters in total in the mentioned provinces (2 interpreters in İzmir, 2 interpreters in Mersin, 4 interpreters in Adana and 2 interpreters in Gaziantep).

The interpreters were reached through the interpreter lists of the provincial justice commissions for the year 2019, which were obtained from the websites of the

³⁰ The mentioned titles in the code of conduct, prepared in Turkish, were translated into English by the author of the thesis.

related commissions. Since the present study includes interpreters serving refugees in general, the interpreters in Arabic and Kurdish languages in the lists were contacted by phone, and they were asked for their availability for taking part in the study. The interpreters, who consented to participating in the study, and some other interpreters, who were recommended to the researcher by some of those interpreters, were interviewed face-to-face outside their work environment in the provinces where they reside. Thus, it can be said that the interpreters were reached through the convenience and snowball sampling methods discussed earlier. As also mentioned previously, as the information obtained in the subsequent interviews started to repeat those obtained in the previous interviews, in other words, when the data saturation was reached, the interviewing process was terminated, and thus, a total of 10 interpreters were interviewed.

Before the interviews, the interpreters signed the consent form, and the interviews, lasting between 20 minutes and 129 minutes, were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Each interviewed interpreter was assigned a number and the label of “LFI”, referring to “Legal Field Interpreter”. Of the 10 interpreters, 5 are female and 5 are male. Their average age is 39 and average interpreting experience is around 3.5 years. The interpreters’ further demographic profile and social background is presented in Table 3:

Table 3: The Legal Field Interpreters’ Demographic Profile and Social Background

Interpreter	Hometown	Ethnic Origin	Educational Background	Language Courses	Occupation	Interpreter Training	Interpreting Experience
LFI-1	Antakya	Arab	Teaching	-	Deputy School Principal	Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes	5 years
LFI-2	Mardin	Arab (ancestors from Lebanon)	High School	-	Housewife (Tutoring Syrian children)	Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes	5 months

LFI-3	Mardin	Arab (ancestors from Lebanon)	Secondary School	-	Housewife (Tutoring Syrian children)	Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes	5 months
LFI-4	Mardin	Arab	History student at Open Education Faculty at a public university in Turkey	-	Court Interpreter	Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes	3 years
LFI-5	Batman	Kurdish-Arab	Associate Degree in Law	-	Lawyer's Clerk	-	6 years
LFI-6	Diyarbakır	Kurdish	Associate Degree in Law	-	Housewife	-	2 years
LFI-7	Kilis	Turkish	Religious High School, Theology at Open Education Faculty at a public university in Turkey, Sociology student at Open Education Faculty at a public university in Turkey	Arabic language course at a public education center	Attendant	Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes	4 years
LFI-8	Antakya	Arab	Bachelor's and Master's degree in History	-	Court Interpreter, Court Expert	Expertness training, Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes	5 years
LFI-9	Batman	Arab	Business Administration	Quran Course	Courthouse Chief Clerk	Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes	4 years
LFI-10	Mardin	Arab (ancestors from Tunisia)	Labour Economics and Industrial Relations	Course on Arabic dialects	Courthouse Fiscal Manager, Mediator	Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes	6 years

Source: Prepared by the author

The majority of the interpreters (7/10) are Turkish citizens of Arab origin. Compared to the NGO interpreters (5/9), there are more interpreters of Arab origin among the legal field interpreters. LFI-1 and LFI-8 are from Antakya, and LFI-2, LFI-3, LFI-4 and LFI-10 are from Mardin. Moreover, LFI-2 and LFI-3, being sisters, have ancestors from Lebanon, and LFI-10 have ancestors from Tunisia. LFI-5 and LFI-9 are from Batman, a province in the Southeastern Anatolia Region, populated with mostly Turkish citizens of Kurdish and Arab origin. While LFI-5 is of Kurdish-Arab origin, LFI-9 is of Arab origin. LFI-6 is of Kurdish origin from Diyarbakır, a province in the

Southeastern Anatolia Region, populated with mostly Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin. LFI-7 is of Turkish origin from Kilis, a Southeastern border province in Turkey.

LFI-5 and LFI-6 mostly provide interpreting services in the Kurdish language, yet they also perform interpreting tasks in Arabic, albeit limited. As will be discussed in more detail in the fifth chapter, the interpreters speak their working languages based on their ethnic origin. The only exception is LFI-7, who is of Turkish origin yet studied Arabic at a religious high school and at the theology department at Open Education Faculty at a public university in Turkey.

The legal field interpreters also have varying school backgrounds. The number of the legal field interpreters holding a bachelor's degree (5/10) is less than that of the NGO interpreters (7/9). The interpreters hold a bachelor's degree in fields other than translation and interpreting. Only LFI-8 has a master's degree in history. LFI-2 is a high school graduate, LFI-3 is a secondary school graduate, and LFI-4 is a student at the history department at Open Education Faculty at a public university in Turkey. LFI-5 and LFI-6 hold an associate degree in law.

5 out of the 10 interpreters perform interpreting as a side job. LFI-1 is a deputy principal at a secondary school, LFI-5 is a clerk at a law office, LFI-7 is an attendant at an office building, LFI-9 is the chief clerk at a courthouse, and LFI-10 is the fiscal manager at a courthouse. LFI-4 and LFI-8, who actively perform interpreting tasks, defined their job as "court interpreter". LFI-5 and LFI-8 also give service as court experts, translating and transcribing court files. LFI-2, LFI-3 and LFI-6, being housewives, do not perform interpreting tasks as actively as the other interpreters.

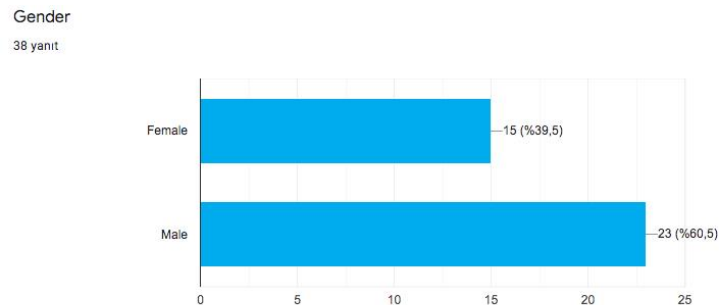
Compared to the NGO interpreters (5/9), fewer legal field interpreters (3/10) attended language courses to improve their working language. LFI-7 attended an Arabic language course at a public education center, LFI-9 went to a Quran course when he was a child, and LFI-10 attended a course on Arabic dialects. Except for LFI-5 and LFI-6, all the other interpreters attended the three-day trainings organized for court interpreters in the lists of the provincial justice commissions within the scope of the Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes, which was launched in cooperation with the

Department of Training of the Ministry of Justice and UNICEF (see Section 1.2.3. for more details).

The questionnaires, the other data source of the study, were collected from 38 interpreters among the limited number of interpreters in the Arabic and Kurdish languages in the mentioned four provinces, who volunteered to participate in the study. These interpreters were also reached through the same interpreter lists and were contacted by phone. Some of the interpreters responded to the questionnaire online through the Google Forms platform, and some of them filled the hardcopy of the questionnaire forms distributed by the researcher. The questionnaire items filled by the interpreters on the hardcopy forms were also entered in the Google Forms platform by the researcher³¹, and descriptive results in the form of averages, percentages and column charts were obtained from the total of the 38 questionnaires. The demographic information obtained from the questionnaires is presented below.

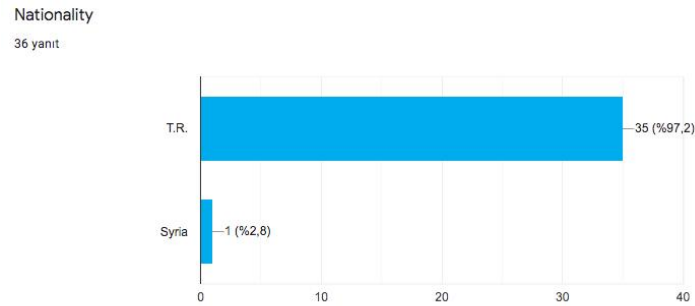
Of the 38 respondents, 15 are female and 23 are male. The average age of the 36 respondents is around 39 years. Of the 36 respondents, the vast majority (35) hold Turkish citizenship, and 1 holds Syrian citizenship. Normally, only Turkish citizens can be included in the interpreter lists. Since there is no more information about the one interpreter indicating the Syrian citizenship, no further comments can be made on how this interpreter was included in the interpreter list.

Figure 10: Gender



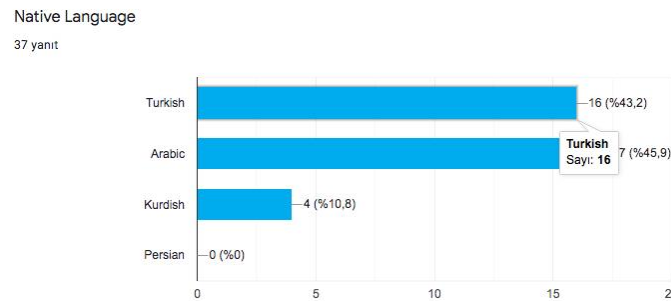
³¹ The questionnaire was prepared and conducted in Turkish. Yet when entering data on the Google Forms platform, all the questionnaire items and data were translated into English by the author of the thesis.

Figure 11: Nationality



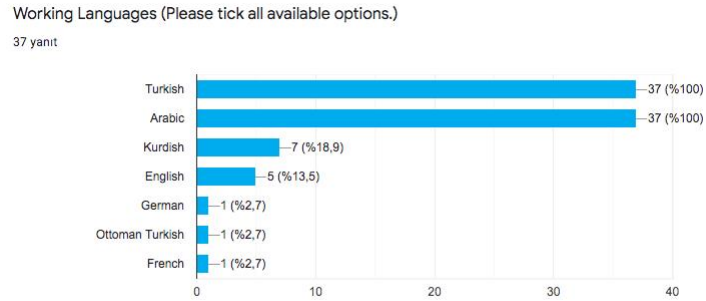
As for the native language, 45.9% of the 37 respondents marked Arabic, 43.2% marked Turkish, and 10.8% marked Kurdish.

Figure 12: Native Language



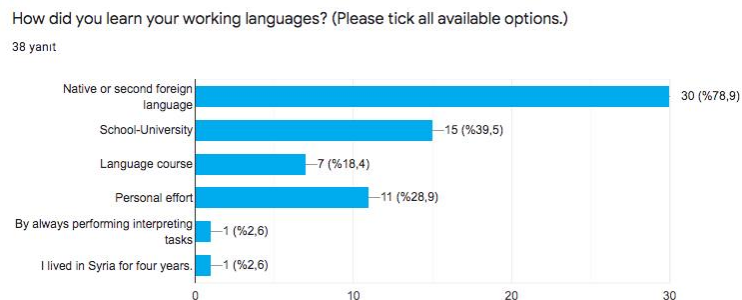
As for the working languages, similar to the NGO interpreters, more than one option was chosen by some of the 37 respondents. All of the 37 respondents marked Turkish and Arabic. The additional languages marked by the respondents are Kurdish (7), English (5), German (1), Ottoman Turkish (1) and French (1). No data is available as to whether they use these additional languages, especially English, German, Ottoman Turkish and French, when providing interpreting services to refugees.

Figure 13: Working Languages



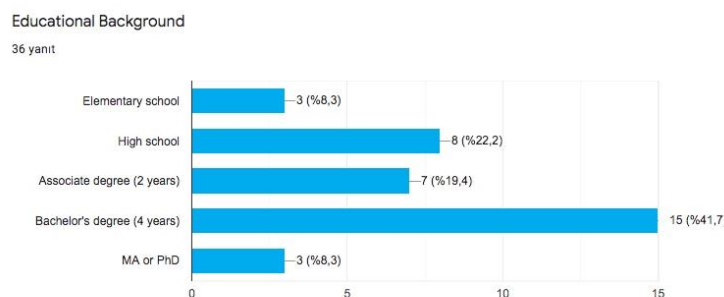
As regards how they learned their working languages, similar to the NGO interpreters, more than one option was chosen by some of the 38 respondents. The majority (30/38) chose the option of "native or second foreign language", similar to the NGO interpreters. Besides, 15 marked the option of "school or university", 7 marked the option of "language course", and 11 marked "personal effort". Moreover, 1 respondent stated that she/he lived in Syria for four years. 1 respondent indicated it as "by always performing interpreting". It can be argued that this respondent most likely reduced the skills necessary for interpreting to language skills.

Figure 14: Means of Learning the Working Languages



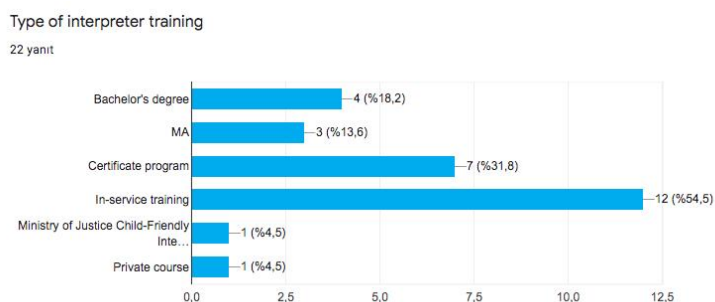
As for the educational background, 15 of the 36 respondents hold a bachelor's degree. 3 are elementary school graduates, 8 are high school graduates, 7 hold an associate degree, and 3 have a master's or a doctoral degree. The fields in which the respondents hold associate, bachelor's, master's or doctoral degree were not specified.

Figure 15: Educational Background



As to the type of interpreter training, some of the 22 respondents chose more than one option. The majority (12) chose in-service training, 7 marked certificate program, 4 marked bachelor's degree, 3 marked master's degree, and 1 indicated it as "private course". Based on this data, it is not clear whether those who chose these options actually meant the training programs in the interpreting field *per se*. Besides, 1 mentioned the training within the scope of the Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes.

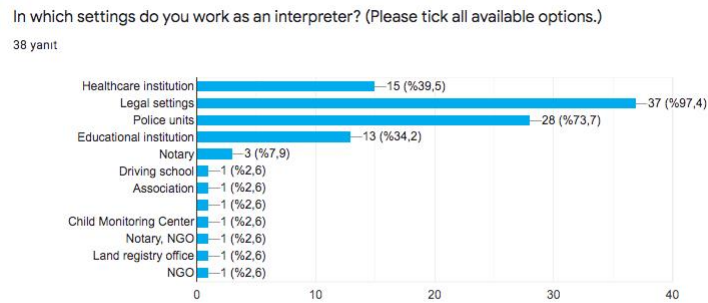
Figure 16: The Type of Interpreter Training



Similar to the NGO interpreters, more than one option was chosen for the settings where interpreting services are provided. Accordingly, almost all of the respondents (37/38) chose legal settings (courthouses). The majority (28) also marked police units. Besides, 15 respondents also marked healthcare institution, and 13 marked

educational institution. The other responses are notary (4 respondents), driving school (1 respondent), association (1 respondent), child monitoring center (1 respondent), NGO (2 respondents), and land registry office (1 respondent). The legal field interpreters do not work under a certain institutional identity, as is the case with the NGO interpreters, but they rather work as freelancers. Thus, although they mostly perform interpreting tasks in the legal field, they can also provide interpreting services in other institutions as freelancers.

Figure 17: Work Settings



Lastly, the average interpreting experience of the 37 respondents was reported to be 3.7 years. The data from the rest of the questionnaire on the attitude towards the interpreting profession and the specific interpreting activities, mainly involving the issues of the interpreting ethics, the interpreter's autonomy, the parties' perceptions of and expectations from the interpreters, will be discussed in alignment with the findings of the thematic analysis of the interpreter interviews.

Another data source regarding the legal context is the interviews with the public officials. The interviews with open-ended questions regarding the perceptions towards public service interpreting and interpreters as well as towards the interpreters' interpreting activities (see Appendix 7 for the interview questions) were conducted with 2 judges and 3 lawyers, who communicate with refugees through interpreters (1 judge in Adana, 1 judge in Mersin, 3 lawyers in İzmir). The public officials were reached through the researcher's personal contacts.

Two of the interviews were conducted via Skype, and the others were conducted face-to-face. Since the public officials did not consent to the audio recording, the interviews were not recorded, and rather, the researcher took notes during the interviews. Each interviewed official was assigned a number and the label of “LFPO”, referring to “Legal Field Public Official”. Both of the judges are male, and all three lawyers are female. A short interview was also conducted with an official from a regional court of justice in order to elicit information on the application and recruitment processes for the interpreters included in the lists of the justice commissions.

The last data source regarding the legal context is certain documents related to the selection and recruitment processes and the work procedures for the interpreters as well as the material from the aforementioned training (the Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes). The first data source in this context is the articles of the Turkish Code of Criminal Procedure related to court interpreting and interpreters. As also mentioned in Section 1.2.3., there are three outstanding articles regarding court interpreters (see Appendix 9). Article 202 mentions the cases where an interpreter is required. Accordingly, it is stated that the essential points of the allegations and defense at hearings are interpreted through an interpreter appointed by the court in the event that the accused or the victim does not speak enough Turkish to express him/herself. In an article added to the code in 2013, it is stated that a regulation will be issued regarding the drafting of the interpreter lists, and Article 324 stipulates that the expenses of the interpreter shall be covered by the state treasury, valid only for interpreters selected from those lists.

The regulation on drafting the lists of interpreters that was issued in 2013 reiterates Article 202 of Turkish Code of Criminal Procedure as the basis of the regulation. The regulation covers the procedures for the interpreter lists to be drafted annually by provincial justice commissions of judicial courts (see Appendix 10). In the regulation, it is stated that the need for interpreters and interpreting languages in the relevant judicial locality shall be determined by the commissions until September 15 of each year. Besides, the regulation specifies the announcement, application and evaluation processes for the interpreters to be included in the lists as well as the issues of

admission requirements, oath and ethical principles, interpreter expenses, reasons for exclusion from the lists and exclusion procedures.

The admission requirements involve being a citizen of the Republic of Turkey, being at least primary school graduate and having completed the age of eighteen among others. It is stated that the evaluations for the admission to the lists shall be made by justice commissions based on the submitted documents. It is also stipulated that the interpreters included in the lists shall take an oath on the days determined by the commissions. Ethical principles to be followed by interpreters are stated as independence, impartiality, being honest and telling the truth, performing duties in person, keeping secrets and acting in accordance with the basic trial principles. Among the reasons for exclusion from the lists, the only condition regarding the interpreting profession is specified as the attitudes and behaviors that are incompatible with the stated ethical principles, yet no details are provided on how to identify such behaviors.

When all the mentioned admission requirements, evaluation criteria and reasons for exclusion from the lists are examined, it can be said that the qualifications and standards hardly involve the competencies necessary to perform court interpreting. The candidates only submit a written declaration that they know the relevant interpreting languages, and no relevant documents are required of them. Moreover, the evaluations and exclusion from the lists are not carried out according to certain criteria.

The other documents to be used in the discussion are the announcement for the applications for the year 2019 and the application form published by the Adana regional justice commission within the framework of the above-mentioned regulation as well as the sample form on the declaration of the knowledge of the relevant interpreting language published by the İzmir regional justice commission (see Appendices 11, 12, 13). The mentioned documents were obtained from the websites of the relevant commissions. Since the documents and texts published by the commissions are almost the same, those published by one commission are considered sufficient. When the form on the declaration of the knowledge of the relevant interpreting language is examined, it can be seen that no document or certificate is required of those included in the

interpreter lists. Rather, the interpreters are only required to state the reason for the knowledge of the relevant language.

The last documents are related to the trainings organized for the interpreters in the lists in cooperation with the Department of Training of the Ministry of Justice and UNICEF in the scope of the Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes (Adli Süreçlerde Çocuk Dostu Tercüme Projesi). In the announcement on the trainings for the interpreters providing service in judicial processes involving children, the issues to be covered in the trainings are mentioned as the correct interpreting techniques and methods, communication with children, approach to children at risk and use of the appropriate terminology (see Appendix 14). The researcher also participated as an observer in the third round of the trainings in March 2019. In the event held in Ankara between March 18-20, 2019, the trainings given to the interpreters on the mentioned issues and the role plays in the court setting were observed, and the manual provided to the interpreters in the training was obtained. Furthermore, the discourse of various trainers (a pediatric surgeon, a staff member of the Department of Training of the Ministry of Justice, a lawyer and ASAM officials responsible for the training and supervision of the institution interpreters) regarding the interpreting profession and interpreters was noted.

The manual titled "Adli Süreçlerde Çocuk Dostu Tercüme" (Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes) was prepared by the relevant officials from the Department of Training of the Ministry of Justice and UNICEF (Aydın, Coşkun, Dağlı, Karakaya, Koçyıldırım, Rezaei Osalou, Öncirak, Özdemir, Şener, Teker, Tezcan & Ulusoy, n.d.). Among the authors of the material, there are also the previously mentioned ASAM officials responsible for the training and supervision of the institution interpreters. The mentioned ASAM officials also gave presentations to the legal field interpreters in the trainings.

The manual, which was prepared based on several publications on court interpreting and the handbooks for court interpreters designed by various international institutions and organizations, consists of 4 sections (1. The roles and responsibilities of the interpreter in the criminal procedure (including detailed information on judiciary and

criminal procedure); 2. Interpreting principles; 3. Children and adolescents, legal interview processes, special situations and interpreters; 4. The legal interview process in terms of specialist-interpreter cooperation)³². Although the manual mostly addresses interpreting in judicial processes involving children, it also covers the issues regarding interpreting in general judicial processes that do not involve children.

3.2.2.3. The Healthcare Context

The healthcare context in the present study mainly refers to the public healthcare institutions in the provinces of İzmir, Mersin, Adana and Gaziantep, which recruited “patient guides”, who also provide interpreting services to refugees (see Section 1.2.3. for more details), in the scope of the EU funded SIHHAT project³³. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 patient guides³⁴ in total in the mentioned provinces (2 interpreters in İzmir, 4 interpreters in Mersin, 2 interpreters in Adana and 2 interpreters in Gaziantep).

The sample of the interpreters involves the interpreters reached through the researcher's personal contacts and some other volunteer interpreters reached through these interpreters, i.e. through the convenience and snowball sampling methods discussed previously. The interpreters were interviewed face-to-face outside their work environment in the provinces where they reside. As also mentioned earlier, as the information obtained in the subsequent interviews started to repeat those obtained in the previous interviews, in other words, when the data saturation was reached, the interviewing process was terminated, and thus, a total of 10 interpreters were interviewed.

Before the interviews, the interpreters signed the consent form, and the interviews, lasting between 22 minutes and 80 minutes, were audio-recorded and

³² The mentioned titles in the material, prepared in Turkish, were translated into English by the author of the thesis.

³³ <https://www.sihhatproject.org/>

³⁴ The titles of "patient guide" and "interpreter" are used interchangeably for the practitioners giving service in the healthcare context.

transcribed verbatim. Each interviewed interpreter was assigned a number and the label of “HI”, referring to “Healthcare Interpreter”. Of the 10 interpreters, 2 are female and 8 are male³⁵. Their average age is 28 and average interpreting experience is around 2 years. The interpreters’ further demographic profile and social background is presented in Table 4:

Table 4: The Healthcare Interpreters’ Demographic Profile and Social Background

Interpreter	Hometown	Ethnic Origin	Educational Background	Language Courses	Previous Work Experience	Interpreter Training	Interpreting Experience
HI-1	Bayırbucak	Turkmen	Dropout of French Language and Literature (Syria)	-	Medical interpreting at a private healthcare institution in Turkey	SIHHAT trainings	2,5 years
HI-2	Idlib	Arab	Management Information Systems student (Turkey)	Turkish language course at a Turkish language education center (Turkey)	Interpreting at a medical center and at a law office in Turkey	SIHHAT trainings	2,5 years
HI-3	Bayırbucak	Turkmen	High School (Syria)	-	-	SIHHAT trainings	1 year
HI-4	Bayırbucak	Turkmen	Associate Degree in Land Surveying (Turkey)	-	-	SIHHAT trainings	1 year
HI-5	Aleppo	Turkmen	Dropout of Economics (Syria)	Turkish language course at a Turkish Language and Literature Department (Aleppo)	Interpreting at a construction company in Libya	SIHHAT trainings	4 years
HI-6	Aleppo	Turkmen	Secondary School (Syria)	-	Interpreting at an NGO in Turkey	SIHHAT trainings	3 years
HI-7	Aleppo	Turkmen	Mechanical Engineering student (Turkey)	-	Interpreting at fairs in Turkey	SIHHAT trainings	1 year
HI-8	Palestine	Arab	Graduate student in Pharmaceutics (Turkey)	Turkish language course at a Turkish language education center (Turkey)	-	SIHHAT trainings	8 months
HI-9	Aleppo	Turkmen	Logistics student (Turkey)	-	Interpreting at an NGO in	SIHHAT trainings	2,5 years

³⁵ The male patient guides recruited in the scope of the project outnumber the female patient guides. Thus, the number of the male patient guides reached in the study is higher than that of the female patient guides.

					Turkey		
HI-10	Latakia	Turkmen	Nursing (Syria)	-	Interpreting at a maternity hospital in Turkey	SIHHAT trainings	3 years

Source: Prepared by the author

The majority of the interpreters (8/10) are Syrian Turkmen. HI-1, HI-3 and HI-4 are from Bayır bucak, a region of Syria close to the southern border of Turkey, highly populated with Syrian Turkmen. HI-5, HI-6, HI-7 and HI-9 are from Aleppo (Syria), and HI-10 is from Latakia (Syria). HI-2 is of Arab origin from Idlib (Syria), and HI-8 is of Arab origin from Palestine. All the patient guides provide interpreting services in the Arabic language. As will be discussed in more detail in the sixth chapter, the native language of the Turkmen interpreters is Turkish, and they learned Arabic through school education in Syria. HI-2 and HI-8, whose native language is Arabic, learned Turkish in Turkey. For this purpose, they attended the Turkish language courses, organized at the Turkish language education centers for foreign students before they start university education in Turkey. Compared to the NGO interpreters (5/9), fewer healthcare interpreters (3/10) attended language courses, as is the case with the legal field interpreters (3/10). Apart from the above-mentioned HI-2 and HI-8, HI-5 also attended a language course at a Turkish language and literature department of a university in Aleppo.

The interpreters also have varying school backgrounds. The number of the healthcare interpreters holding a bachelor's degree (2/10) is less than that of the NGO interpreters (7/9) and the legal field interpreters (5/10). Accordingly, HI-8 holds a bachelor's degree in pharmaceuticals received in Palestine, and HI-10 has a bachelor's degree in nursing received in Syria. HI-3 obtained a high school diploma in Syria, and HI-6 obtained a secondary school diploma in Syria. HI-1 dropped out of a French language and literature department of a university in Syria, and HI-5 dropped out of an economics department of a university in Syria. The other four interpreters, HI-2, HI-4, HI-7 and HI-9, have studied or are still studying at university departments in Turkey other than translation and interpreting departments. Of these, HI-4 received an associate

degree in land surveying at a public university in Turkey. Besides, HI-8 is studying for a master degree in pharmaceuticals at a public university in Turkey.

6 of the 10 interpreters gained work experience in interpreting before they started to work in the project. Except for HI-5, who worked as an interpreter at a construction company in Libya, and HI-7, who temporarily worked as an interpreter at fairs in Turkey; HI-1, HI-2, HI-6, HI-9 and HI-10 all gained work experience in the area of public service interpreting in Turkey. HI-1 worked as a medical interpreter at a private healthcare institution and gave service to African patients. HI-2 worked as an interpreter at a medical center and also at a law office. HI-6 and HI-9 worked as interpreters at NGOs giving service to Syrian refugees. HI-10 worked as an interpreter at a maternity hospital. Lastly, all the interpreters attended the five-day trainings provided in the scope of the project, in which they are currently working (see Section 1.2.3. for more details).

The questionnaires were collected from 27 interpreters in the mentioned four provinces, involving the interpreters reached through the researcher's personal contacts and some other volunteer interpreters reached through these interpreters. The interpreters filled the hardcopy of the questionnaire forms distributed by the researcher. The questionnaire items filled by the interpreters on the hardcopy forms were entered in the Google Forms platform by the researcher³⁶, and descriptive results in the form of averages, percentages and column charts were obtained from the total of the 27 questionnaires. The demographic information obtained from the questionnaires is presented below.

Of the 27 respondents, 5 are female and 22 are male. The average age of the 26 respondents is around 28 years. Of the 21 respondents, the great majority (14) hold Syrian citizenship, and 6 hold Turkish citizenship. 1 respondent has both Syrian and Turkish citizenship.

³⁶ The questionnaire was prepared and conducted in Turkish. Yet when entering data on the Google Forms platform, all the questionnaire items and data were translated into English by the author of the thesis.

Figure 18: Gender

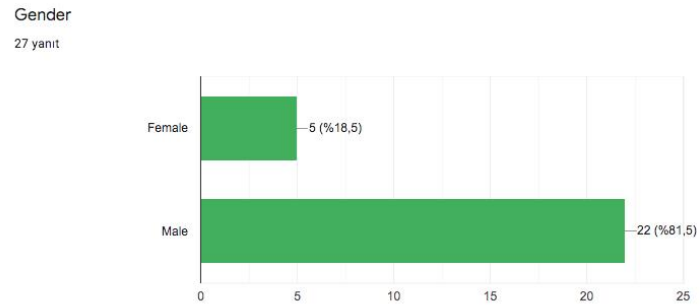
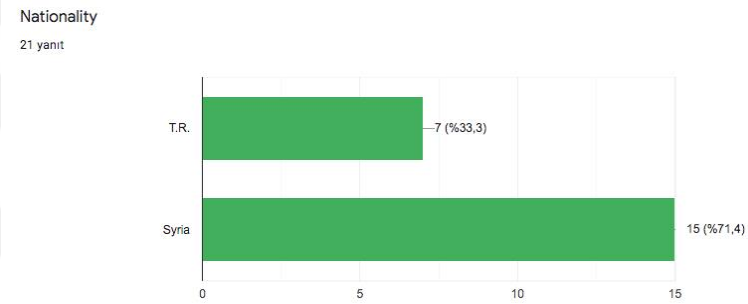
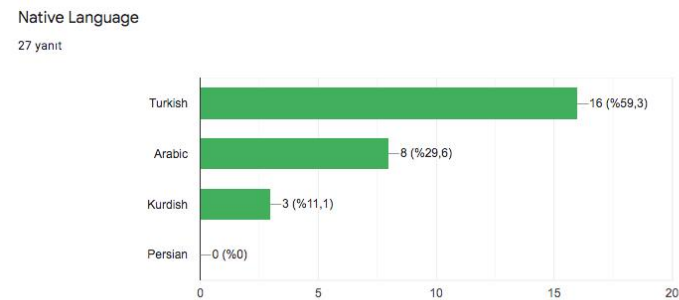


Figure 19: Nationality



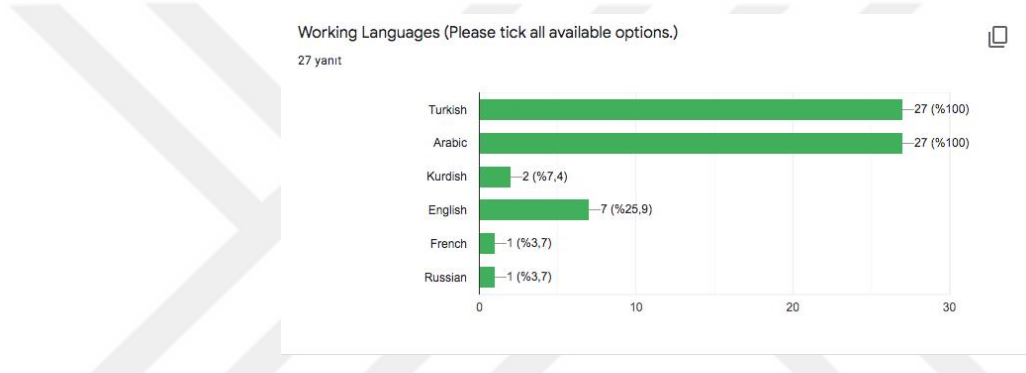
The native language of 59.3% of the 27 respondents is Turkish. 29.6% of the 27 respondents marked their native language as Arabic, and 11.1% marked it as Kurdish.

Figure 20: Native Language



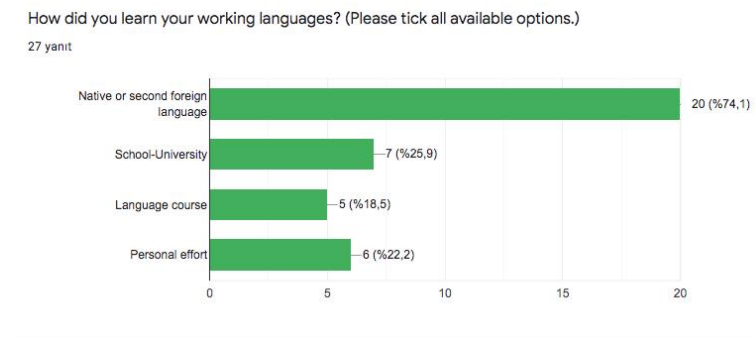
As for the practitioners' working languages, similar to the NGO and legal field interpreters, more than one option was chosen by some of the 27 respondents. All of the 27 respondents marked Turkish and Arabic. The additional languages marked by the respondents are Kurdish (2), English (7), French (1) and Russian (1). No data is available as to whether they use these additional languages, especially English, French and Russian, when providing interpreting services to refugees.

Figure 21: Working Languages



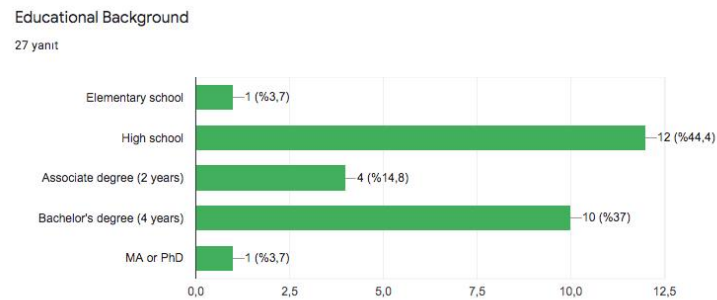
As regards how they learned their working languages, more than one option was chosen by some of the 27 respondents, as is the case with the NGO and legal field interpreters. The majority (20/27) chose the option of "native or second foreign language", similar to the NGO and legal field interpreters. Besides, 7 marked the option of "school or university", 5 marked the option of "language course", and 6 marked "personal effort".

Figure 22: Means of Learning the Working Languages



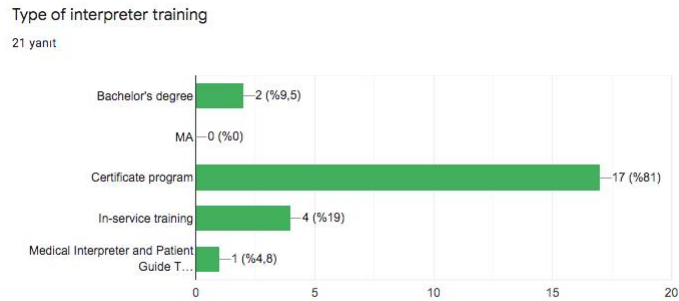
As for the educational background, unlike the NGO interpreters (8/34) and the legal field interpreters (8/36), there are more high school graduates among the healthcare interpreters (12/27). 10 of the 27 interpreters hold a bachelor's degree. Besides, 1 is an elementary school graduate, 4 hold an associate degree, and 1 has a master's or a doctoral degree. The fields in which the respondents hold associate, bachelor's, master's or doctoral degree were not specified.

Figure 23: Educational Background



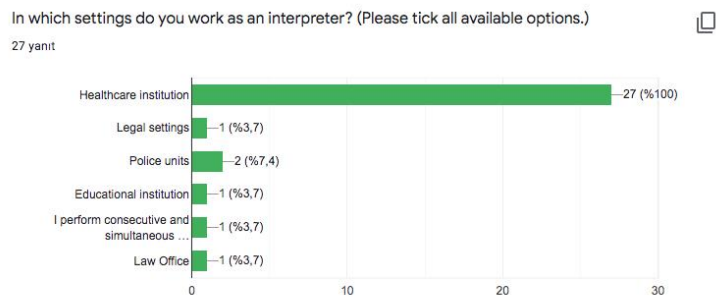
As to the type of interpreter training, some of the 21 respondents chose more than one option. The great majority (17/21) marked certificate program. 4 marked in-service training, and 2 marked bachelor's degree. Based on this data, it is not clear whether those who chose these options actually meant the training programs in the interpreting field *per se*. Besides, 1 mentioned the Medical Interpreter and Patient Guide Training provided in the scope of the project, in which the interpreters are currently working.

Figure 24: The Type of Interpreter Training



Similar to the NGO and legal field interpreters, more than one option was chosen for the settings where interpreting services are provided. Yet since the healthcare interpreters in the present study work as staffed interpreters within the scope of the project, all of the 27 respondents chose healthcare institution. Besides, 1 respondent marked legal settings (courthouses), 2 chose police units, and 1 marked educational institution. 1 respondent stated that he/she also performs consecutive and simultaneous interpreting as a freelancer. Lastly, 1 respondent also mentioned “law office” as a setting where interpreting services are provided. The number of the healthcare interpreters providing interpreting services in the additional institutions other than those where they mainly work is less than that of the NGO and legal field interpreters.

Figure 25: Work Settings



Lastly, the average interpreting experience of the 26 respondents was reported to be 2.3 years. The data from the rest of the questionnaire on the attitude towards the

interpreting profession and the specific interpreting activities, mainly involving the issues of the interpreting ethics, the interpreter's autonomy, the parties' perceptions of and expectations from the interpreters, will be discussed in alignment with the findings of the thematic analysis of the interpreter interviews.

Another data source regarding the healthcare context is the interviews with the public officials at the healthcare institutions recruiting interpreters in the scope of the SIHHAT project. The interviews with open-ended questions regarding the perceptions towards public service interpreting and interpreters as well as towards the interpreters' interpreting activities (see Appendix 7 for the interview questions) were conducted with 6 healthcare professionals, including 4 doctors and 2 nurses, who communicate with refugees through interpreters (3 doctors in Mersin, 1 doctor in İzmir, 1 nurse in Mersin and 1 nurse in Adana). The public officials were reached through the researcher's personal contacts.

The interviews were conducted face-to-face in the officials' workplace environment. Since the public officials did not have sufficient time for lengthy interviews with audio-recording, the interviews were not recorded, and rather, notes were taken by the researcher during the interviews. Each interviewed official was assigned a number and the label of "HPO", referring to "Healthcare Public Official". The doctors are male, and the nurses are female. Moreover, a short telephone interview was conducted with an official in charge of the SIHHAT project at the General Directorate of Public Health in order to elicit information on the application and recruitment processes for the interpreters included in the project.

The last data source regarding the healthcare context is certain materials providing information on the SIHHAT project (see also Section 1.2.1.), on the selection and recruitment processes for the interpreters and on the trainings provided to the interpreters in the scope of the project, which were all obtained from the websites related to the project. The first material is the text released by the press unit of the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, giving information on the funding, basis and scope of the project, carried out in cooperation with the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Health and the EU (see Appendix 15). In the press release, it is mentioned that the project is carried

out through the budget of the EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT) (2.9 billion Euros) to improve the health status of the Syrian population under temporary protection status in Turkey. It is also mentioned that within the scope of the project, 178 migrant health centers and 10 community mental health centers will be established, and 1500 health personnel, including Syrian doctors and nurses, will be employed in these centers.

In the material titled "The Project Activities" obtained from the website of the project (see Appendix 16), the activities are mentioned under 12 titles, and one of them is the employment of 960 "Patient Guides", some of whom were addressed in this study. It is also mentioned that the duration of the project is 36 months and ends on December 1, 2019³⁷, and the activities will be carried out in especially 28 provinces with the highest Syrian populations (see Figure 1 for the ten provinces where the largest Syrian populations reside³⁸). Moreover, it is stated that the mentioned healthcare services are provided in accordance with the Directive on Principles Regarding Healthcare Services to be Provided to Those under Temporary Protection Status.

The other material is the job posting for the patient guides to be recruited in the scope of the project (see Appendix 17). In the job posting, the qualifications required of the candidates are mentioned under two separate headings for foreign nationals and the Turkish citizens. Generally, the qualifications required of the candidates are mentioned as having a good command of Arabic and Turkish, preferably having work experience in similar positions, having the ability to establish positive interpersonal relationships, being open to professional developments and innovations, and having good communication skills. No criterion related to the educational status of the candidates is specified.

Accordingly, the evaluation process is carried out in two stages. In the first stage, based on the submitted documents, the shortlist of candidates is compiled according to their educational status, work experience and language examination scores. The

³⁷ The interviewed patient guides stated that their contracts in the scope of the project were extended until 2021.

³⁸ This study addresses the patient guides in İzmir, Mersin, Adana and Gaziantep, the four provinces with the highest Syrian refugee population. For the rest of the provinces with the highest Syrian population, see <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>.

evaluation is made over 100 points, including 40 points for the educational status, 15 points for the documented work experience in similar positions and 45 points for the language examination score. It can be said that the educational status of the candidates is considered at this stage and constitutes an important part of the scoring. However, there are no criteria regarding the scope of the educational status. The candidates who are shortlisted in the first stage are entitled to take the language examination in the second stage. At the end of the evaluation process, the candidates are recruited according to their success scores.

In another material, the language proficiency examination taken by the candidates is mentioned (see Appendix 18). The Turkish and Arabic language examination, conducted by the Turkish and Foreign Language Application and Research Center of Yıldız Technical University (Yıldız TÖMER), consisted of reading, listening, speaking and writing parts and was simultaneously carried out in the provinces of İstanbul, Ankara, Osmaniye and Kilis.

In the material related to the assignment of the patient guides (see Appendix 19), it is mentioned that the assigned patient guides will work at the service of the provincial directorates of health, where they reside, and they need to contact with these directorates. Finally, in the material regarding the trainings given to the patient guides recruited within the scope of the project (see Appendix 20), it is mentioned that the five-day trainings will be provided to all recruited 960 patient guides in six rounds in various provinces until November 2019. It is also expressed that the trainings cover such modules as intercultural communication and communication skills, and the participants are given a certificate of participation at the end of the trainings.

3.3. THE PROCESS OF ANALYSIS OF THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH THE PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETERS IN THE THREE CONTEXTS

As the major data source of the present study, the semi-structured interviews conducted with the public service interpreters in the contexts of NGO, healthcare and

legal field have been separately subjected to thematic analysis. The data from the other complementary sources, namely the questionnaires conducted with the interpreters, the interviews conducted with the officials/service providers and the documents, are discussed in alignment with the findings of the thematic analysis of the interpreter interviews. Since the working conditions and the interpreting experiences of the interpreters are influenced by the dynamics differing according to the context, the data from the interviews with the three groups of interpreters have been analyzed separately, and later on the findings are discussed comparatively.

Thematic analysis is one of the most frequently used methods in qualitative data analysis. The main goal in doing thematic analysis is to make sense of and interpret the qualitative data. According to Matthews and Ross (2010: 373), thematic analysis is “a process of working with raw data to identify and interpret key ideas or themes”. Braun and Clarke (2006) view thematic analysis as a method in its own right. The aim of thematic analysis is to identify important and interesting themes, namely patterns, in the data and to discuss them in relation to the research topic (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79).

Thematic analysis provides researchers with a number of advantages. It enables researchers to process data in a very systematic manner, and as a flexible method, researchers can apply it to different theoretical frameworks (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 97). Moreover, it allows to summarize outstanding features in a large volume of data set and to produce “thick description”. Through thematic analysis, similarities and differences in the data can be underlined, and thus, results that are not foreseen beforehand can be reached (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 97). Thematic analysis can also be useful in producing insights that inform policy development. The disadvantages of thematic analysis generally stem from the analyses that are poorly carried out, and for a thematic analysis to go beyond mere description and to gain an interpretative nature, it needs to be used within a theoretical framework suitable for the research in question (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 96-7).

The analysis stages mainly involve familiarizing oneself with the data, which includes transcribing, reading and re-reading the data and noting down initial ideas; generating initial codes; interpreting the data, which includes identifying categories;

looking for relationships in the data and searching for overarching themes; reviewing themes and identifying sub-themes; defining themes and producing the report, which involves selecting illustrative extracts from the data, relating the analysis to research questions and literature and producing an academic report (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Matthews and Ross, 2010).

Accordingly, coding and categorizing data are the most critical stages in the analysis. In this way, researchers are able to condense a large volume of data into fewer elements (Stemler, 2001). A code is “a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (Saldaña, 2009: 3). On the other hand, a theme is the “*outcome* of coding, categorization, and analytic reflection” (emphasis in the original, Saldaña, 2009: 13). A theme, which is identified based on the research interests of the researcher and on the codes determined in the data set, forms the basis for the researcher's theoretical interpretation of the data (Bryman, 2012: 580).

According to Braun and Clarke (2006: 82), a theme is an important piece of information in the data related to the research question and refers to a response patterned to a certain degree in the data set. Emphasizing that there are no strict rules in determining themes in qualitative studies, Braun and Clarke (2006) state

A theme might be given considerable space in some data items, and little or none in others, or it might appear in relatively little of the data set. So, researcher judgement is necessary to determine what a theme is. (p. 82)

In determining the prevalence of a theme in the data set, flexibility needs to be shown, and the important point is to ensure consistency throughout the analysis. Prevalence of a theme is not based on quantitative measures but rather based on the meaning and importance of the data element in terms of the research question (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 82). Accordingly, prevalence of a theme can be determined based on the number of respondents mentioning that theme, as well as based on each occurrence of a theme in one source of the data set (such as a single interview) or in the entire data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 82).

Braun and Clarke (2006: 83-4) argue that thematic analysis can be performed in a deductive or an inductive manner. In the deductive analysis, the researcher has a certain theoretical interest, and the analysis is mostly guided by research questions. On the other hand, inductive thematic analysis is totally data-driven. In other words, inductive thematic analysis is not guided by the researcher's predetermined categorization framework. In this regard, the current study adopts the deductive analysis method. That is to say, the analysis is guided by the research questions (see Introduction), which have also been used in determining the structures of the data collection tools of the study.

Within the framework of the present study, in order to conduct the thematic analysis on the interpreter interviews, audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed verbatim and the transcripts were printed. The transcripts were read, and the initial ideas were noted down. After obtaining the general insights, codes were generated from the interview transcripts. For the coding stage, the traditional approach was adopted, and the interview transcripts were coded manually³⁹ according to the research questions. In general, *in vivo* coding method was adopted. Accordingly, the derived codes drew on the actual language of the participants (Saldaña, 2009) to ensure the objectivity of the coding process as much as possible. The emerging codes related to each research question were noted down with different colored pens on the margins next to the related data, and then a codebook was created in Excel format. A second coder, who had previously worked as a public service interpreter in Italy and had gained experience on interpreters' work environment and practices, also coded certain samples from the datasets in order to ensure the objectivity of the coding process to a certain extent. Such an approach is also useful in ensuring the reliability of the data analysis to some extent, as suggested by Creswell (2009: 177).

The codes for each research question were typed on a separate sheet in Excel, and on each sheet, the codes, their definitions, the page number where the code is located in the hardcopy of the transcripts and the analytic memos, which are guiding in the constant reflection on code selections, emerging categories, themes, sub-themes and

³⁹ The researcher preferred to use this method of analysis, since it was thought that in this way the data set could be examined in more depth, which would in turn create a higher command over the data during the discussion phase.

concepts during the analysis process (Saldaña, 2009: 32), were recorded. As expected, a large number of codes were derived for each research question. However, the system created in Excel made it relatively easy to categorize the large number of codes.

In the next stage, the codes that were similar in content and important for the relevant research question were categorized, and the relationships were sought among all the emerging categories in order to derive the preliminary themes. Then the preliminary themes were reviewed to identify overarching themes and related sub-themes. The prevalence of themes and sub-themes was determined based on the number of the respondents mentioning them. The same analysis method was followed separately for the three groups of interviews conducted with the NGO, legal field and healthcare interpreters.

In the discussion chapters, the defined themes are also addressed in relation to Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio*, as well as the literature on professional status and agency of interpreters and the ethical issues in interpreting. The data from the other complementary sources, namely the questionnaires conducted with the interpreters, the interviews conducted with the officials/service providers and the documents, are also discussed in alignment with the findings of the thematic analysis of the interpreter interviews.

Regarding the NGO interpreters, the emergent finding in the most general sense is the restricted agency under the institutional identity. During the interviews, the interpreters frequently mentioned their restricted role as interpreters within the NGOs they work for by also using such expressions as "machine", "robot" or "channel" to define their roles. They also expressed the high expectations of refugees from themselves and the problems they might face against these expectations. In addition, the responsibilities to other professional groups involved in interpreting processes and the interpreters' attempts to restrict their agency due to these responsibilities were also frequently expressed by the interpreters. However, the interpreters also made remarks hinting at their internalization of the interpreter's restricted authority, an issue which also became prominent in the institutional code of conduct provided to the interpreters and in the interviews conducted with the institution officials. In other words, it was understood

that the interpreters viewed this situation, namely the limited authority, as part of the interpreting job they practice.

From this point of view, during the analysis process, the codes and categories that emerged regarding the above-mentioned issue were gathered under the overarching theme of "the internalized limited authority of the interpreters" (see Appendix 21 for the Excel column for the theme, the sub-themes and the relevant codes). The related sub-themes were defined as "restricted role perception (the role of transmitter)", "reducing refugees' expectations", "responsibility towards the agents with greater authority" and "exercising restricted agency", involving the sub-themes of "avoidance of expressing own opinions", "avoidance of engaging in dialogues with refugees outside interpreting tasks" and "avoidance of undertaking initiative".

Another prominent issue that emerged in the interviews is the interpreters' awareness towards the commonly-accepted ethical principles of the interpreting profession. The interpreters, who are generally not trained in interpreting and who have learned interpreting on-the-job for the most part, made detailed remarks on the ethical issues, in particular on the issues of impartiality, accuracy, use of first-person pronouns and emotional stamina, which were also highlighted in the institutional code of conduct and which were also partly mentioned by the institution officials in the interviews. Hence, in the analysis process, the codes and categories that emerged regarding this issue were collected under the second overarching theme of "the interpreters' awareness towards the traditional ethical principles", and the related sub-themes were defined as "impartiality", "accuracy", "use of first-person pronouns" and "emotional stamina" (see Appendix 22 for the Excel column about the theme, the sub-themes and the relevant codes). Based on the aforementioned issues, it can be said that the NGO interpreters seem to be aligned with the institutional identity and role projected for themselves.

In addition, in the discussion chapter (Chapter Four), the social and work trajectory of the interpreters will also be addressed in relation to the above-mentioned themes and by using Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio*. Within the scope of the interpreters' social trajectory, such issues as ethnic origin, family background, educational background, and gaining and improving language skills will be

discussed. Within the context of their work trajectory, the interpreters' previous work experience and the motives that have led them to the interpreting job at the NGO will be addressed. Accordingly, the leading motives for the NGO interpreters can be said to be the desire to use the knowledge of the relevant language, the desire to help refugees, and the influence of the previous work experience in refugee-related areas and in temporary interpreting jobs (see Appendix 23 for the Excel column about the theme, the sub-themes and the relevant codes).

Another issue to be discussed is the practitioners' attitude towards the interpreting profession, involving such issues as their general perceptions of the interpreting profession, perspectives on the general awareness towards interpreting and the recognition of interpreters, perspectives on professional deficiencies, and maintaining *illusio* and perspectives on the sustainability of the interpreting job (see Appendix 24 for the Excel sheet about the theme, the sub-themes and the relevant codes). Accordingly, the practitioners in general view the interpreting job as a sort of social work, an opportunity to use their knowledge of languages as well as as a job in which practitioners have limited authority. Furthermore, the forms of capital, namely cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital, (un)available to the NGO interpreters in their work trajectory, and whether the available resources have the potential for the practitioners to form a professional identity will be addressed.

The leading finding as regards the legal field interpreters is the intrusive attitude in certain interpreting situations against their restricted authority. During the interviews, the interpreters frequently mentioned their restricted authority within the work environment by suggesting such issues as their efforts to reduce refugee expectations from themselves, avoiding dialogues with refugees out of interpreting tasks, displaying restricted agency in the courtroom and the supremacy of the court and its officials. The restricted role attributed to the practitioners is also highlighted by several interviewed public officials and in the manual provided to the eight interviewed interpreters, who attended the training titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes". On the other hand, the legal field interpreters also imply that they might act intrusively to a certain extent in interpreting processes and might make certain interventions, such as

corrections and changes in messages to be interpreted, summarization, giving advice and guidance to refugees, explanations made to the parties, especially to refugees, dialogues held with refugees during interpreting and reflection of emotions in traumatic situations.

Hence, the codes and categories that emerged regarding the above-mentioned issue were gathered under the overarching theme of "the interpreters as interventionist actors against restricted authority" (see Appendix 25 for the Excel column about the theme, the sub-themes and the relevant codes). One of the related sub-themes was defined as "the restricted authority of the legal field interpreters", with the further sub-themes of "reducing refugee expectations", "avoiding dialogues with refugees out of interpreting tasks", "restricted agency in the courtroom" and "supremacy of the court and its officials". The other related sub-theme is "the interventions by the legal field interpreters within the scope of the interpreting job", with the further sub-themes of "corrections", "changes in messages to be interpreted", "summarization", "giving advice and guidance", "explanations", "dialogues held with refugees during interpreting" and "reflection of emotions".

Another leading issue that emerged in the interviews with the legal field interpreters is the interpreters' awareness towards court ethics and legal responsibility. The practitioners, who are not trained in interpreting and who have gained interpreting experience on-the-job, made statements on court ethics and legal responsibility, particularly including the issues of impartiality, fairness and loyalty to the oath, which were also highlighted by the interviewed public officials and in the manual provided to the interpreters in the training titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes" as well as in various international ethical codes for court interpreters. Accordingly, the codes and categories as regards this issue were defined under another overarching theme of "the interpreters' awareness towards court ethics and legal responsibility", and the related sub-themes were defined as "court ethics" and "legal responsibility" (see Appendix 26 for the Excel column about the theme, the sub-themes and the relevant codes).

Furthermore, in the discussion chapter (Chapter Five), the social and work trajectory of the interpreters will also be addressed in relation to the above-mentioned

themes and by using Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio*. In the scope of the interpreters' social trajectory, such issues as ethnic origin, family background, educational background, gaining and improving language skills and the jobs mainly practiced by the interpreters will be mentioned. In the scope of their trajectory regarding the interpreting job, firstly, the factors that have enabled the practitioners to find the interpreting job worth practicing will be discussed. Accordingly, the leading motives for the legal field interpreters can be suggested as the desire to meet refugee needs, the income factor, and the prejudice against the mother tongue (see Appendix 27 for the Excel column about the theme, the sub-themes and the relevant codes).

Moreover, the practitioners' attitude towards the interpreting profession will be discussed, including the issues of general perceptions of the interpreting profession, perspectives on the general awareness towards interpreting and the recognition of interpreters, perspectives on professional deficiencies and maintaining *illusio* and perspectives on the sustainability of the interpreting job (see Appendix 28 for the Excel column about the theme, the sub-themes and the relevant codes). Accordingly, the practitioners consider interpreting as a sort of volunteer work and a means of meeting communication needs as well as as a platform where they can be the refugees' voice and where they fulfill an essential role. The last issue to be addressed is the forms of capital, namely cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital, (un)available to the legal field interpreters in their work trajectory and whether the available resources have the potential for the practitioners to form a professional identity.

As regards the healthcare interpreters, the last group of interpreters discussed in the present study, the outstanding finding in the most general sense is the active engagement in the processes involving refugees in the healthcare institutions. Within this framework, during the interviews, the healthcare interpreters mostly mentioned the additional tasks they perform apart from interpreting such as guiding and accompanying refugee patients in the healthcare institutions. They also implied the relationships they establish with patients out of interpreting by suggesting such issues as the dialogues they hold with patients before doctor interviews, the explanations they make to them and the recommendations and advice they give to them. Moreover, the healthcare interpreters

also hinted at the intrusive behaviour they display during interpreting by mentioning such issues as various kinds of explanations they provide to the parties, addressing misstatements, that is, correcting patients' mistakes, and modifications and omissions they make in messages to be interpreted. Several interviewed healthcare professionals also confirm that the interpreters carry out additional tasks besides interpreting, as is expected from them.

Accordingly, the codes and categories that emerged regarding the above-mentioned topic were gathered under the overarching theme of "the interpreters as active actors in the work setting" (see Appendix 29 for the Excel column about the theme, the sub-themes and the relevant codes). The related sub-themes were defined as "additional tasks performed by the interpreters"; "the relationships established with refugees out of interpreting" with the further sub-themes of "pre-interview dialogues", "explanations" and "recommendations and advice"; and "interventions during interpreting" with the further sub-themes of "explanations", "dealing with misstatements" and "modifications and omissions in messages".

Another prominent issue widely discussed by the healthcare interpreters in the interviews is the conditions that create challenges for them in the work environment. One of the major challenging factors suggested is gender-related issues, involving such points as patients' communication styles, their concerns for privacy and reservations about receiving service from a member of the opposite sex, and the difficulty of interacting with a member of the opposite sex experienced both by the interpreters themselves and by patients. The other most frequently emphasized challenging conditions are the shortage of interpreters in the healthcare institutions and the increased workload it brings along, bias and reactions of Turkish people and sometimes of public officials towards Syrian refugees, the tense atmosphere mostly caused by patients' lack of understanding of the medical procedures, and refugees', namely patients', expectations from the interpreters that go beyond the interpreters' role boundary.

Hence, the codes and categories as regards the mentioned issue were defined under another overarching theme of "the interpreters acting under challenging working conditions" (see Appendix 30 for the Excel column about the theme, the sub-themes and

the relevant codes). The related sub-themes were defined as “gender-related issues”, “shortage of interpreters and increased workload”, “bias towards refugees”, “tense atmosphere”, and “refugees’ problematic expectations”.

In the discussion chapter related to the healthcare interpreters (Chapter Six), the social and work trajectory of the interpreters will also be addressed in relation to the above-mentioned themes and in the light of Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio*. Within the frame of the interpreters' social trajectory, the issues of ethnic origin, family background, educational background, gaining and improving language skills will be mentioned. In the scope of their trajectory regarding the interpreting job, the interpreters’ previous work experience and the factors that have drawn them to the interpreting job they are currently practicing will be discussed. Accordingly, the leading motives suggested by the healthcare interpreters are the lack of job opportunities in other areas and the need to make a living, the desire to generate income during studentship period and the confidence developed through previous work experience (see Appendix 31 for the Excel column about the theme, the sub-themes and the relevant codes).

The practitioners’ attitude towards the interpreting profession will also be discussed, including the issues of general perceptions of the interpreting profession, perspectives on the general awareness towards interpreting and the recognition of interpreters, perspectives on professional deficiencies and maintaining *illusio* and perspectives on the sustainability of the interpreting job (see Appendix 32 for the Excel column about the theme, the sub-themes and the relevant codes). Accordingly, the healthcare interpreters in general view interpreting as a means of establishing communication between people who do not speak languages, a means of helping people and as a critical job, in which they take on an essential role. Lastly, the forms of capital, namely cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital, (un)available to the healthcare interpreters in their work trajectory, and whether the available resources have the potential for the practitioners to form a professional identity will be addressed.

3.4. CONCLUSIONS

The present study, which addresses the public service interpreters providing service between Turkish public officials and the Syrian population in three different institutional contexts, namely the NGO, legal field and healthcare, adopts a qualitative research method. In order to examine the relevant interpreting experiences and the social and work trajectory of the public service interpreters within the mentioned contexts, the study draws on the semi-structured interviews conducted with the public service interpreters and with the officials/service providers working with the interpreters, small-scale surveys including questionnaires for interpreters, providing descriptive results rather than inferential statistics, and written documents regarding the working conditions and work procedures for the interpreters within the contexts they are involved in.

In this respect, the present research is a study involving ethnographic principles, since the data collection methods used are largely associated with traditional ethnographic studies, which examine and describe cultural or social groups in their natural settings over a prolonged period mainly through the methods of observation and interviews or focus groups. The study also adopts the case study approach within the qualitative research paradigm, since it aims to explore, through multiple data sources, the experiences of specific groups of individuals, namely the public service interpreters, who are bounded by the contextual factors.

Within the scope of the field work, which was conducted between October 2018 and June 2019 in Gaziantep, Adana, Mersin and İzmir, four of the provinces, where the largest Syrian populations reside, the semi-structured interviews were conducted with 9 NGO interpreters, 10 legal field interpreters and 10 healthcare interpreters, giving service in the scope of the EU-funded project. In addition, questionnaires were collected from 34 NGO interpreters, 38 legal field interpreters and 27 healthcare interpreters. Furthermore, 3 NGO officials, 5 service providers in the legal context and 6 service providers in the healthcare context were interviewed. Lastly, documents related to working conditions and work procedures for the interpreters were obtained as data sources.

As the major data source of the study, the semi-structured interviews conducted with the public service interpreters have been separately subjected to thematic analysis, which mainly involve the phases of familiarization with the data, coding and categorizing the data, searching for relationships between the categories to identify overarching themes and sub-themes and lastly defining themes. The data from the other sources, namely the questionnaires conducted with the interpreters, the interviews conducted with the officials/service providers and the documents, are used as supplementary sources and discussed in alignment with the findings of the thematic analysis of the interpreter interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NGO INTERPRETERS: RESTRICTED AGENCY UNDER THE INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY

In recent years, the need for public service interpreters has increased in the face of the growing population of refugees in Turkey, and one of the settings where public service interpreters work is non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In this chapter, the trajectory and perceptions of the public service interpreters working at the units of the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), one of the NGOs in Turkey that provides a widescale service to refugees, will be addressed. More specifically, the issues to be examined are the practitioners' social trajectory and the motives behind their choice of the job, their perceptions regarding their agency and the ethical issues in interpreting as well as their perspectives on the interpreting profession in general. Finally, the forms of capital (un)available to the practitioners in the context of the interpreting job at the NGO will be discussed, and whether or not the forms of capital have the potential to contribute to the formation of the professional identity will be questioned.

4.1. THE MOTIVES DRIVING THE PRACTITIONERS TO THE INTERPRETING JOB AT THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION

In the most general sense, the NGO interpreters interviewed within the scope of this study are individuals who have been engaged in the job in response to the increased language needs in recent years in Turkey. Although this is the basic factor behind their giving service as interpreters at the NGO, the practitioners have also mentioned certain specific motives that have driven them to the job in question. Yet before specifying those specific motives, it is necessary to mention the social and educational background of the practitioners.

As discussed in Section 3.2.2.1., the majority of the interviewed practitioners (5/9) are Turkish citizens of Arab origin from the southern and southeastern border provinces, such as Antakya and Mardin⁴⁰. On the other hand, NGOI-5 is a Turkish citizen of Kurdish origin from Mardin. Three of the practitioners, NGOI-3, NGOI-7 and NGOI-8⁴¹, are Kurdish Syrians; and NGOI-3 and NGOI-7 have taken refuge in Turkey due to the civil war in Syria. As can be understood, the practitioners have acquired the knowledge of Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish languages to varying degrees based on their ethnic origin, region of origin, family background and social environment, which are the factors that partly form primary *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1972, cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 134; Bourdieu, 1998). It can also be suggested that the interpreters share a certain extent of cultural affinity with Syrian refugees, and they have been involved in the immigration issue based on the mentioned factors.

As regards the educational background of the practitioners, except for NGOI-4⁴², none of them holds a degree in translation and interpreting. The others have received education in different fields, such as teaching, business administration, journalism, law and French language and literature (see Table 2). NGOI-3, NGOI-7 and NGOI-8 received education in Syria⁴³. Besides, NGOI-4 received elementary and secondary education in Lebanon. The majority of the interviewed practitioners (5/9) have also attended specific language courses in Arabic or Turkish⁴⁴. All the practitioners have attended the 2-day-in-service trainings provided annually by the institution. And except for NGOI-4 and NGOI-6, the other practitioners have previous short-term work

⁴⁰ NGOI-1, NGOI-2, NGOI-6 and NGOI-9 are Turkish citizens of Arab origin from Antakya. NGOI-4, being of Turkish-Arab origin, is from Mardin (see Table 2).

⁴¹ NGOI-3 and NGOI-8 are Syrians from Aleppo. NGOI-3, being a refugee, is of Kurdish origin, and NGOI-8 is of Turkish-Kurdish origin and settled in a Southeastern border province in Turkey at the end of the 1990s upon marriage. NGOI-7, who is also a refugee like NGOI-3, is a Kurdish Syrian from Damascus (see Table 2).

⁴² NGOI-4 is a graduate of a German translation and interpreting department at a public university in Turkey.

⁴³ NGOI-3 is a dropout of a French language and literature department, NGOI-7 is a law faculty graduate, and NGOI-8 is a high school graduate.

⁴⁴ NGOI-2 has taken private Arabic language lessons, NGOI-3 has attended the Turkish language course of ASAM, NGOI-5 has received language education in Saudi Arabia, NGOI-8 attended a Turkish language course after she settled in Turkey, and NGOI-9 has taken an Arabic language course at a public education center.

experience either in interpreting or in the areas related to refugees, ranging from tutoring refugees in Turkish language, interpreting in a refugee camp and in a provincial directorate of migration management and interpreting for Arab traders and tourists (see Table 2).

Keeping these in mind, it can be suggested that except for NGOI-3 and NGOI-4⁴⁵, the other practitioners have been engaged in the interpreting job at the NGO basically based on the knowledge of the relevant languages, rather than formal training and long-standing investment in the field of interpreting. It is a fact that the knowledge of the relevant languages, acquired in the family and social environment and reinforced during education and training in language courses⁴⁶, transforms into linguistic capital, which Bourdieu (1991:61) views as a sub-type of cultural capital. More specifically, it constitutes part of the individual's "embodied linguistic capital" (Koskinen, 2020: 110). Furthermore, due to the large number of refugees in Turkey and their increased language needs, the linguistic capital possessed by the practitioners has to a certain extent turned into a "scarcity value" and has provided them with a source of distinction in Bourdieu's sense (1986:244).

Considering the educational background of the practitioners (except for NGOI-4) in different fields, such as journalism, business administration, teaching and law, it can be argued that this "embodied linguistic capital" in the form of "native-speaker capacity" (Koskinen, 2020: 110) has been more important for the recruitment to the interpreter position at the NGO than the institutionalized cultural capital in the form of

⁴⁵ Regarding training and investment in the field of interpreting, NGOI-3 and NGOI-4 are worth further mentioning. NGOI-3 is a dropout of a French language and literature department. In Turkey, she attended a Turkish course, previously worked in a translation agency for a short time, and tutored Syrian refugees in Turkish language. Moreover, she is engaged in translation work between Turkish and Arabic languages. She has also remarked that she has started to work on simultaneous interpreting and has been working on Arabic-Turkish terminology in different fields, such as medicine and psychology. In this respect, she seems to have been "taken in" by the translation and interpreting field in Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992) sense. NGOI-4 has been dealing with foreign languages from an early age. She received education in the foreign language class in high school and holds a bachelor's degree in translation and interpreting. In other words, she has made a long-standing investment in the field, which has made a contribution to her development of the *illusio* (see Bourdieu, 2000: 165).

⁴⁶ Moreover, self-development methods mentioned by several practitioners, such as watching movies and television series as well as reading books in the relevant languages, can also be viewed as a way of improving their language skills.

academic qualifications⁴⁷ (Bourdieu, 1986: 245). And this linguistic capital, existing in the embodied state in the form of a mother tongue and in the institutionalized state in the form of language education, has allowed the practitioners to acquire other types of capital, especially economic capital (Garreta i Bochaca & Solé, 2003, cited in Aguilar Solano, 2012: 32; Koskinen, 2020: 110).

As mentioned above, apart from possessing “embodied linguistic capital” (Koskinen, 2020: 110), the practitioners other than NGOI-3 and NGOI-4 are not equipped with the dispositions acquired from an early age towards the interpreting profession, and they have not made long-standing investments regarding the profession. In other words, they have not developed professional *habitus*⁴⁸, starting from an early age, the social environment and family; and they have not got into the job with a strong and well-founded *illusio*⁴⁹ for the interpreting profession. On the other hand, NGOI-3 and NGOI-4⁵⁰ tend to transform their “embodied linguistic capital” (Koskinen, 2020:

⁴⁷ This actually points to the weak structuring of the translation and interpreting profession compared to other established professions (Inghilleri, 2005a; Sela-Sheffy, 2005; Wolf, 2007; Colley and Guéry, 2015) (See Section 2.3.1.). Unlike professions in established fields, such as law and medicine, hard-earned degrees, and skills and knowledge acquired as a result of long-term investment in the field are not always sought in the entry to the translation and interpreting profession. This negatively affects the status of the profession and decreases the symbolic capital for the practitioners.

⁴⁸ According to Bourdieu (2000: 11), the formation of professional *habitus* is a gradual and mostly unconscious process, being nourished by primary *habitus*. In this regard, he states “[a]cquisition of the primary habitus within the family is very far from being a mechanical process of simple inculcation, analogous to the imprinting of a ‘character’ imposed by constraint. The same is true of the acquisition of the specific dispositions demanded by a field, which takes place in the relationship between the primary dispositions, more or less remote from what the field calls for, and the constraints inscribed in the structure of the field” [...] (Bourdieu, 2000: 164).

⁴⁹ Similarly, Bourdieu argues that the development of *illusio* does not take place suddenly and radically, saying “[t]he process of transformation through which one a miner, a musician, a teacher or an employer is long, conimperceptible, and, even when it is sanctioned by rites of institution (such as, in the case of the academic nobility, the long preparatory separation and the magic trial of the competitive examination), it normally excludes sudden, radical conversions. It starts in childhood, sometimes even before birth (since, as is particularly clear in what are sometimes called ‘dynasties’ - of musicians, entrepreneurs, academics, etc. - it involves the socially elaborated desire the father or mother and a whole lineage). It generally carries on without crises or conflicts - though this does not mean psychological or physical suffering, which, as a series of tests, is part of the conditions of development of the *illusio*” [...] (Bourdieu, 2000: 165).

⁵⁰ The fact that NGOI-3 and NGOI-4 have investments regarding the profession and tend to develop professional *habitus* makes no difference at least in their statements about their specific interpreting acts. As will be discussed in the following sections, compared to the other practitioners, they make more or less similar remarks about the interpreting acts. However, actual interpreting situations need to be observed in order to fully assess how their professional consciousness and investments are reflected on their interpreting acts.

110) into professional *habitus* through education, experience, and professional investments (see Footnote 48). In terms of these interpreters, primary *habitus* seems to fit in the job they perform. Compared to the other practitioners, they seem to have been drawn to the interpreting job at the NGO with stronger interest and commitment in the translation and interpreting field.

Even so, the practitioners, who are obviously not caught up in the interpreting job with "a fundamental belief in the interest of the game and the value of the stakes which is inherent in that membership" (Bourdieu, 2000: 11), namely with *illusio*, acquired from an early age, the social environment and family, have still found certain stakes of the job "worth pursuing" in Bourdieu and Wacquant's sense (1992: 116). Accordingly, the most prominent motives leading the practitioners to take an interest in the job of NGO interpreting are the knowledge of the relevant language as part of the "embodied linguistic capital" (Koskinen, 2020: 110), the desire to help people and the influence of the previous work experience.

Four of the NGO interpreters, interviewed within the scope of this study, express the accumulated knowledge of the relevant languages as the general factor that has led themselves to be engaged in the job. In that vein, NGOI-1, mentioning that she has acquired Arabic knowledge in the family and through her own language improvement efforts, denotes

[...] I had knowledge, but I didn't know where to transfer it. This place was a very good area⁵¹.

[...bir bilgim vardı ama nereye aktaracağımı bilmiyordum. Burası çok iyi bir alan oldu.] (NGOI-1, p. 3)

NGOI-3 (p. 7), who implies good language skills as a factor in being recruited at the NGO, indicates after achieving a high score in the exam in the Turkish course of the NGO, she was recruited at the same NGO unit at the recommendation of her teacher. NGOI-4 (p. 8), who graduated from the translation and interpreting department, states that one of the factors in choosing the interpreting profession in general is her language

⁵¹ Translation of all the excerpts from the interview transcripts and the other data sources into English belongs to the author.

skills that her teachers realized. She says after growing up in an Arabic-speaking country, she returned to Turkey and quickly learned Turkish, and she chose to study at the translation and interpreting department at the recommendation of her teachers. NGOI-5, stating that he has not had the opportunity to practice his main profession, implies he views interpreting as an area where he can generate income under the circumstances by using the “scarcity value” (Bourdieu, 1986: 244) created through the knowledge of Arabic and Kurdish. In this regard, NGOI-5, a graduate of journalism yet cannot turn this academic qualification into economic capital, says

Why did I choose this job? First, I know the language. And it was, I mean, it was the best I could choose.

[Neden seçtim bu işi? Birincisi dil biliyordum. Ve şeydi yani, seçebileceklerim arasında en iyisi buydu.] (NGOI-5, p. 4)

On the other hand, several of the interviewed NGO interpreters express their desire to help people and commitment to social work as a significant factor affecting their choice of job. As a matter of fact, the concept of humanitarian aid is also highlighted in the institution’s job posting for interpreters, and one of the job descriptions is indicated as “assistance to refugees in the procedures in institutions” (see Appendix 8), and in this case, the role of the interpreter "as a humanitarian service-provider" (Bahadır, 2011:264) comes to the fore.

In this regard, NGOI-1, mentioning her willingness to work with people due to its moral dimension as another motive (in addition to using her language skills) to choose the interpreting job, states she applied for the interpreting job at the NGO after realizing the needs of refugees while giving private lessons to refugee students. She remarks

Everything can be okay, but not being understood is a terrible thing. If there is a need of a segment of society in this regard, I wanted to fulfill it.[...]

[Her şey tam olabilir ama anlaşılamamak çok korkunç bir şeydir. Eğer bu konuda bir kesimin ihtiyacı varsa, bunu sağlamak istedim...] (NGOI-1, p. 5)

NGOI-4 (p. 3) mentions that one of the factors affecting her choice of the interpreting profession in general is her non-professional interpreting experience as a

means of helping people in her previous social environment. She further adds that the concept of humanity comes before the job in NGO interpreting and she feels happy to support people within the frame of this job.

By the same token, NGOI-6 and NGOI-9 mention the emotional dimension of the refugee issue, the empathy feelings and helping behavior developed through witnessing the immigration reality and the difficulties experienced by refugees in their hometowns. They imply that their motive in starting the job of interpreting for refugees is the affection they have felt after meeting with refugees and the desire to help them. In this regard, NGOI-6, affirming that she did not want to continue in her previous job, namely the banking sector, and preferred to work as an interpreter at the NGO, notes

[...] I had witnessed some of the difficulties that refugees experienced before I learned about this job area. When I realized that there was such a job opportunity, I understood that I could do something for them. Frankly speaking, just to alleviate the difficulties they have a little bit.

[...göçmenlerin ben bu iş alanını bilmeden önce yaşamış oldukları bazı zorluklara tanıklık ettim. Sonrasında da öyle bir iş imkanı olduğunu fark edince de hani benim de onlar için bir şeyler yapabileceğimi anladım. Açıkçası sadece onların yaşadığı zorlukları biraz olsun hafifletebilmek amacıyla.] (NGOI-6, p. 3)

NGOI-9, also asserting that the income earned from this job is not at the forefront, remarks

Actually, how did I get into this job? Well, we have specifically internalized the migration issue. As Turkey, we have been involved in the matter. As a border province, we have been close to the people. I mean, obviously, we have also seen the matter from an emotional perspective. So, it was necessary to start helping people from somewhere. Interpreting was in fact a good opportunity.

[Aslında, bu işe nasıl girdim? Yani, göç konusunu özellikle özümstedik. Öyle bir, Türkiye olarak, içinde bulunduk. Sınır ili olarak yakın olduk insanlara. Yani, duygusal olarak da baktık biraz işin açıkçası. Yani, insanlara yardım etmek konusunda belli bir noktadan başlamak gerekiyordu. Tercümanlık da güzel bir fırsattı aslında.] (NGOI-9, pp. 3-4)

Lastly, five of the interviewed interpreters mention the influence of their previous work experience in the areas related to refugees and in interpreting jobs (see Table 2) on their choice of the job at the NGO. For instance, as mentioned earlier, NGOI-1 remarks that while teaching refugee students, she realized refugees' needs for

assistance and applied to the NGO for the interpreting job thereafter. NGOI-2 (pp. 6-7) states he realized that this job was suitable for himself while working as an interpreter in a refugee camp when he was a university student and then applied to the NGO for the interpreter position. NGOI-5 (pp. 3-4), who gained his first interpreting experience when he gave service to Arab traders on behalf of a company, says after the end of this job, he started working as an interpreter at the NGO, considering that it was the best job he could choose as an individual knowing the relevant foreign language. Similarly, NGOI-7 (pp. 3-4) mentions that after working as a temporary interpreter in a provincial directorate of migration management, he applied to several institutions for the interpreter position, considering that interpreting was the most suitable job for himself. Lastly, NGOI-8 (p. 3) notes that she discovered her potential for such a job when she worked on a short-term project at the recommendation of her friends, and then she applied to the NGO for the interpreter position.

Overall, under the current circumstances, in which admission to the interpreting job does not require hard-earned degrees or competitive testing as is the case in medical, legal or technical professions, the main factors having created the “feel for the game” (Bourdieu, 1990b) for the practitioners could be proposed as the linguistic capital that exists in the embodied state, the desire to help people based on the empathy for the hardships refugees experience, and the influence of the previous work experience in refugee-related areas and in temporary interpreting jobs. Based on the mentioned factors, it can be said that the practitioners have found the interpreting job at the NGO worth practicing. And as will be discussed in Section 4.4.4., during their interpreting experience at the NGO, some practitioners' commitment and interest towards the job have increased, whereas some of them have become disinterested in the stakes of the job and have even become disillusioned.

4.2. THE INTERNALIZED LIMITED AUTHORITY OF THE INTERPRETERS

One of the issues frequently emphasized by the NGO interpreters interviewed within the scope of the study is their limited authority in interpreting situations. The

limited empowerment is manifested in the interpreters' accounts under various sub-themes, which are their role definitions, efforts to reduce refugees' high expectations from them, responsibility felt towards officials with more authority, and restricted agency covering the issues of avoidance of expressing own opinions, avoidance of undertaking initiative in interpreting tasks and avoidance of engaging in dialogues with refugees outside interpreting tasks. As will be discussed in the following sections, the principles and policies of the institutions to which the practitioners are affiliated also underline their limited empowerment.

4.2.1. The Role of Transmitter

Since public service interpreters serve in different settings shaped by differing institutional dynamics, the interpreter's role has become a controversial topic depending on these dynamics (Pöchhacker, 2015:73). In general, the interpreter is compared to a machine that renders what is said as literally as possible from one language to another (Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp, 1986:152). On the other hand, the role of the "invisible translating machine" (Pöchhacker, 2004:147) and the traditional "conduit" role (Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp, 1986; Clifford, 2004; Hsieh, 2006; Morris, 2011; Tipton, 2014) attributed to interpreters have been challenged by many researchers who have studied the role of interpreters in different settings, and a broader range of role definitions have been proposed such as "culture brokers and patients' advocates" (Kaufert and Koolage, 1984); "welcomers, bilingual professionals, community agents, cultural informants and educators" (Souza, 2016); "intercultural agents" (Barsky, 1996); "gatekeeper, facilitator of communication and faithful renderer of others' utterances" (Hale, 2008).

When the accounts of the interviewed NGO interpreters with regard to their role perceptions, mostly reached through experience and observation, are examined, it can be said that they do not mention the above-mentioned active interpreter roles. Rather, they define for themselves a fairly restricted role that is reminiscent of the "conduit" role traditionally attributed to interpreters. In this regard, seven of the interviewed interpreters use the analogies of "messenger", "machine", "bridge", "robot", "voice",

"video", "post", "mirror" and "channel" to define their roles as interpreters. For instance, NGOI-1, who states she tries to eliminate her facial expressions and reactions in order not to restrict the interviewees' statements during interpreting, uses the concepts of "messenger" and "machine" for her role as an interpreter. She defines her role as such:

A messenger who leaves feelings aside... I view [myself] as a messenger [...] trying not to show my own emotional reactions. I mean I can say, a machine that transmits words[...]

[Duygularını bir yerde bırakan bir elçi... [...] kendi duygusal tepkilerimi vermemeye çalışan bir elçi görüyorum. Yani, kelime aktaran bir makine diyebilirim...] (NGOI-1, p. 6)

When NGOI-2 (p. 14) describes his duty outside the institution, he states he can assist refugees in tasks other than interpreting, such as hospital procedures, yet he mentions he acts like a "robot" during interpreting. NGOI-3 implies the interpreter's limited power, by defining her role as only a "bridge" and "voice" that transmits ideas. Frequently using the concept of "people's voice and tongue", NGOI-3 remarks

[...]The interpreter is already like a voice, actually only a bridge. For example, I forget my presence while I am interpreting. I speak as if I were the person speaking. This is the correct interpreting anyway.

[...Zaten tercüman bir ses gibi. Köprü aslında sadece hani. Hani, ben mesela çeviri yaparken varlığımı unutuyorum. Sanki ben konuşan kişiymiş gibi konuşuyorum. Zaten bu hani doğru çeviri böyle olmalı.] (NGOI-3, pp. 4-5)

By the same token, NGOI-4 also uses the concepts of "bridge" and "video" while describing her limited role as an interpreter. Highlighting her impartiality in interpreting tasks, NGOI-4 mentions her role as such:

No. There is no [closeness]. For example, I am of Turkish origin. ... Especially at work I don't reflect this. I am only responsible for conveying what is spoken, like a video.[...]

[Yok. Hiç yok. Mesela ben Türk kökenliyim. Hani, yani şey yapmam. Hele iş yerinde ya da işte hiç bunu yansıtmam. Sadece konuşulanları aktarmakla görevliyim, video gibi...] (NGOI-4, p. 35)

In a similar vein, NGOI-5 also uses concepts that evoke the "conduit" role. Mentioning that he is a graduate of the faculty of communication, NGOI-5 (p. 6) likens his role to "a means of communication" and "post". NGOI-6 defines her role as "mirror"

in that she does not make any changes in what is spoken and she tries to reflect the body language of the parties. She remarks

I totally view my role as a mirror. I mean, being able to transfer what the counselee and the consultant want to convey as it is, without making any changes...

[Tamamen rolümü aynalık olarak görüyorum. Yani, danışan ve danışmanın aktarmak istediklerini hiçbir değişiklik yapmadan olduğu gibi aktarabilmek...] (NGOI-6, p. 4)

Lastly, NGOI-9 states that interpreters act as a “channel”, and he describes his role as follows:

Without adding anything, it is as if the interviewee and the consultant were directly talking to each other.[...]

[Yani, hiçbir şey katmadan direkt, sanki danışanla danışman arkadaş birebir konuşuyormuş gibi...] (NGOI-9, pp. 5-6)

As a matter of fact, in the institutional code of conduct provided to the interpreters, the role of the interpreter is defined as a “bridge” to the gap between the parties in the interviews, enabling effective message exchange between them (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 2). In a similar vein, the interviewed Official 3, also acknowledging that interpreters have a very important role, views the interpreter as a "means of communication" and a "bridge" who is responsible for transferring information correctly. She remarks

Very important [role]. Think like this: You go to Syria. You don't know Arabic. You will communicate, but you don't know the language. How will you explain your problem? You tell very traumatic things. Everything has to be transferred as it is. Therefore, it is very important for us that the person who is a means of communication conveys everything correctly and as it is. Her/his geniality, giving confidence...

[Çok önemli [rol]. Yani, şöyle düşünün: Siz Suriye'ye gittiniz. Arapça bilmiyorsunuz. İletişim kuracaksınız ama dil yok. Nasıl anlatacaksınız derdinizi? Çok travmatik şeyler anlatıyorsunuz. Her şeyin olduğu gibi aktarılması gerekiyor. Bu yüzden iletişim aracı olan kişi olduğu her şeyi doğru, olduğu gibi aktarıyor olması çok önemli bizim için. Güler yüzlü oluşu, güven veriyor oluşu...] (Official 3, p. 5)

As for the role of “bridge”, Official 3 notes

Well, it is the bridge that connects the two sides, provides the transfer, namely, a bridge that has a really very important role in transferring the correct information between the two sides. That's why that bridge should be very solid. It shouldn't shake. It has to be so sure of itself that it can really make the parties feel that information is conveyed correctly. Because when the counselee has the slightest doubt about this issue, she/he completely withdraws and doesn't convey. This obviously affects our work extremely negatively.

[Yani, o iki tarafı birbirine bağlayan, aktarımı sağlayan, yani, doğru bilgiyi iki tarafın da birbirine aktarmasında gerçekten çok önemli bir rolü olan köprü. O yüzden o köprünün çok sağlam olması lazım. Sallanmaması lazım. Kendinden emin olması lazım ki gerçekten bilginin doğru aktarıldığını hissettirebilsin. Çünkü danışan bu konu ile ilgili en ufak bir şüphe hissettiğinde tamamen kendi içine çekilir ve aktarmaz. Bu da açıkçası bizim yaptığımız işi son derece olumsuz hale dönüştürür.] (Official 3, p. 6)

As also acknowledged by Rudvin (2005:175), the interpreter's role is determined by various factors, such as institutional dynamics, the job description and ethical codes for interpreters among others. Within the framework of the above-mentioned institutional principles and expectations, the role of interpreters is considered as a "message transmitter", which is in line with the widely-held perception of the function of interpreters. Such an approach to the interpreter's role in fact reduces the interpreter to a mechanical and non-living status and a being without subjective, cognitive, conscious and conscientious properties. Based on the problematic role definitions of the interviewed NGO interpreters discussed above, it also seems that they have internalized this dehumanizing role, namely the role of "transmitter", which is traditionally and institutionally attributed to them.

4.2.2. Reducing Refugees' Expectations

A large number of the interviewed NGO interpreters speak of refugees' high expectations and their efforts to establish bonds with themselves. Refugees' high expectations can be said to mainly stem from their sharing a common language and culture with the interpreters or their unawareness of interpreter roles and responsibilities. Most of the interpreters describe those high expectations as a problem they need to get

over in the face of their limited authority. For example, in that sense, NGOI-4 frequently mentions that refugees view her as a person who can solve their problems and adds

Their expectation is solving their problems. They think I can solve them. Or even if I don't solve them, they expect me to direct them to upstairs [officials] without keeping them waiting. [...]

[Yani, beklentileri, mesela sorunlarını çözmek. Benim çözebileceğimi düşünüyorlar. Ya da ben çözmiyorsam bile ben yukarı çıkıp, bu danışanı alalım, hani ya da bu danışana fişsiz ya da fişli, direkt bekletmeden alalım, olayına giriyor...] (NGOI-4, p. 45)

Furthermore, NGOI-1, NGOI-5 and NGOI-7 mention that refugees expect them to talk to officials on their behalf, and NGOI-2 and NGOI-4 complain refugees directly share their problems with themselves before they are directed to officials. NGOI-5, NGOI-6 and NGOI-8 express refugees' hope for help because of the common languages they speak. NGOI-6 denotes

When they are distressed or have a problem, they hope for help from me because I speak the same language with them. They think I will solve their problems. This is the situation.

[Bir sıkıntısı veya sorunu olduğunda onunla aynı dili konuştuğum için hani benden medet umuyor. Olayı benim çözeceğimi düşünüyor. Öyle bir durum var.] (NGOI-6, p. 7)

Refugees' unawareness of interpreter role and responsibilities might also leave the interpreters in a difficult situation. In this regard, NGOI-2 and NGOI-4 report that during the interviews, refugees may sometimes try to talk to the interpreter directly by ignoring officials. NGOI-4 further states

The counselee usually ... for instance makes eye-contact with the interpreter. I pay attention, they don't make eye-contact with the consultant. You know, when the consultant asks something, I ask the counselee, but she/he directly responds to only me as if I were the only one there. And when I tell the colleague [consultant] about the matter, the counselee sometimes doesn't even look at the consultant.

[Danışan genelde tercümanla şey yapıyor, hani, mesela göz göze geliyor. Mesela dikkat ediyorum, sosyal danışanla çok göz göze gelmiyor. Hani, sosyal danışan bir şey sorduğunda ben ona soruyorum ya, o direkt bana, yani, sadece benle muhatap, sanki ben varmışım gibi sadece. O şekilde. Ve ben arkadaşşa dönüp anlattığımda o dönüp bakmadığı bile oluyor.] (NGOI-4, p. 43)

In a similar vein, NGOI-5 (p. 11) states that some refugees forget about the interpreter's role and feel intimate to him, asking for his opinions about sensitive issues. Apart from the interpreters, the interviewed officials and the institutional code of conduct (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 6.h) verify the issues of refugees' possible affinity to and high expectations from the interpreters. In this sense, Official 2 states

They see the interpreter as one of them. They confirm our answers with them outside. They value the interpreters more than us. They recognize the Iraqi and the two Syrian interpreters even from the dialect. An atmosphere of trust is thus created. They say, "I want that Iraqi interpreter." They establish a bond with them.

[Tercümanı kendilerinden biri olarak görürler. Bizim cevaplarımızı dışarda tekrar onlara sorarlar. Bizden daha fazla değer veriyorlar. Iraklı ve iki Suriyeli tercümanı lehçeden bile anlarlar, güven ortamı oluşur. "O Iraklı tercüman gelsin" derler. Bir bağ kuruyorlar.] (Official 2, p. 2)

As to the high expectations, Official 1 (p. 7) mentions that the interpreters might come under a lot of pressure in performing tasks against helpless people and adds that unless the interpreters find a solution to their problems, they are regarded as unhelpful. Officials 2 and 3 express that the interpreters might sometimes have difficulty persuading refugees who might repeatedly ask questions to them, and Official 3 (p. 7) further mentions that they might sometimes have to interpret the same issues over and over.

Although refugees' high expectations could be considered a sign of their attributing some form of symbolic value and power to the interpreters, the interpreters struggle to reduce refugees' expectations and restrict their bonds based on their relatively limited power, even at the cost of reducing the symbolic value attached to themselves. In this respect, almost all of the interpreters state while performing their duties, they need to remind refugees of their role and boundaries of their tasks when faced with high expectations. For instance, NGOI-1 (p. 19) states she reminds insistent refugees of her role and tells them further questions need to be forwarded to other departments. NGOI-3 (p. 24) and NGOI-4 (p. 16) note they need to remind refugees that they are only interpreters and they should not have high expectations from them. NGOI-2, NGOI-4,

NGOI-5, NGOI-7 and NGOI-9 state they politely remind refugees trying to engage in dialogues with themselves that their needs will be addressed by officials. More specifically, NGOI-5 remarks

You say, "Look, I am an interpreter. I have no authority here." Well, you need to give that trust to the service provider because she/he has chosen you. But you also tell the refugee that you are an interpreter and that you have no authority. Otherwise, they may start asking me, for instance, to talk to the doctor and have him/her prescribe certain medication. But when you say, "I am only an interpreter, I will convey what you say", they understand you better.

[...Siz diyorsunuz. Bak ben bir tercümanım diyorsun. Burada hiçbir yetkim yok. Mesela hizmet alana hizmet vereceğe o güveni vermiş olmanız gerekiyor. Çünkü o sizi tercih etmiştir. Ama hizmet alana da işte, kendinizin bir tercüman olduğunuzu ve hiçbir yetkinizin olmadığını belirtiyorsunuz. Yoksa diğer türlü mesela şey yapmaya başlayabiliyor. Ya sen doktorla konuşsan da bana şu ilacı da yazsa. Ama ben sadece tercümanım. Ona iletirim, dediğinizde o sizi daha iyi anlıyor.] (NGOI-5, p. 17)

Similarly, NGOI-7 states that he tells such refugees

"my job here is interpreting. I do not give counseling. The colleague in charge here will reply to your question".

[“benim burada görevim tercümanlıktır. Danışmanlık vermiyorum. Burada görevli arkadaş size bunun için cevap verecek.”] (NGOI-7, p. 12)

When the code of conduct is examined, it is understood that the interpreters’ attempts to reduce refugee expectations coincide with those stated in it. For instance, referring to *Freelance Court Interpreter Handbook* of the Wisconsin Director of State Courts Office (2012), the code of conduct stipulates

If the one benefiting from the interpreter has questions, these questions need to be directed to the authorized person or the interviewer through the interpreter; furthermore, the interpreter needs to inform the counselee that he/she is not authorized to answer questions from the client.

[Tercümandan yararlanan kişinin soruları varsa, bu sorular tercüman aracılığı ile yetkili kişi veya görüşme yapan kişiye yönlendirilmelidir; ayrıca tercüman, danışandan gelen soruları yanıtlama yetkisi olmadığı bilgisini vermelidir.] (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 6.1)

It is also emphasized in the code of conduct that the interpreter's reminding interviewees about their role boundaries is an ethical rule, which protects the interpreter

from unwarranted expectations, uncertainties and negative situations such as emotional abuses (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 7.1.A).

In general, it is understood that the interpreters do not tend to assume any responsibility other than interpreting in the face of refugee demands due to the institutional role boundary imposed on them, and they seem to have internalized this role boundary.

4.2.3. Responsibility Towards the Agents with Greater Authority

When mentioning their task boundaries and limited power, the interpreters at the same time highlight the greater authority of other professional groups, endowed with relatively high economic, social and symbolic capital, such as psychologists, lawyers, social workers. In this regard, especially NGOI-4, NGOI-5, NGOI-6, NGOI-7, NGOI-8 and NGOI-9 underline that those who have the main expertise, knowledge, authority and responsibility are the officials due to their educational status and institutional position. What NGOI-6 says about this issue is remarkable:

Well, as I said, we are there, well, our duty is just to interpret. There are experts. Our consultants are experts in this matter. I mean, they are the ones who can provide assistance in everything.[...]

[Yani, dediğim gibi, biz orada, yani, bizim görevimiz sadece tercüme etmek. Onun uzman kişileri var. Yani, danışmanlarımız bu konuda uzman zaten. Yani, her konuda yardımcı olacak kişiler onlardır...] (NGOI-6, p. 9)

Adopting a similar position, NGOI-4 expresses

When I am with the consultants, I usually interpret whatever they say because they are already educated and experts in their fields. Well, I try not to go beyond what they say, and I don't.[...]

[Danışmanların yanında olunca genelde zaten onlar eğitilmiş oldukları için, bir de kendi alanlarında uzman oldukları için ne diyorsa ben genelde çeviriyorum. Hani, dışına çıkmamaya çalışıyorum, çıkmıyorum da....] (NGOI-4, p. 21)

Accordingly, being aware of the responsibilities towards officials due to their relatively higher status, the majority of the interpreters mention that they act in

accordance with officials' permission or within their knowledge in certain situations during interactions with refugees. In this sense, the interpreters seem to have internalized their restricted autonomy compared to other professional groups. The interpreters express the responsibility felt towards officials when describing various situations. For instance, NGOI-2 (p. 26) reports that he informs the interviewer on refugees' attempts to establish a dialogue with him during the interview. NGOI-3 (p. 13) states when she realizes a missing part or an incorrect expression in the consultant's speech during the interview, she makes a correction only by getting the consultant's permission. NGOI-4 remarks that while providing general information about the institution to counselees, she directs counselees' questions to the officials, even if she knows the answer, and only by the official's permission does she answer the question. She says

[...]When she/he [refugee] has a question, I may know the answer, but I don't answer. I ask the question to the consultant. He says to me, okay, you can tell.

[...Kendisinin [mültecinin] sorusu olduğunda o sorunun cevabını biliyorum ama ben cevap vermiyorum. Sosyal danışana, işte, soruyu yöneltiyorum. O da bana diyor ki, tamam, anlatabilirsin.] (NGOI-4, p. 47)

Certain interpreters, such as NGOI-3 and NGOI-8, suggest that they feel the need to inform officials about cultural elements without direct equivalences in the target language or unclear expressions stemming from dialect differences and similar reasons. For instance, NGOI-8 remarks

There may be close proverbs, analogies. If there are idioms or proverbs [in that language], if there are no [in this language], I at least tell something close to that [expression] and tell consultant colleagues that it is close to that. You know, that word might play a role in the sentence, its arrangement may change.

[Yakın atasözleri olur, benzetmek olur. Ya da mesela, evet, yakın olur. En azından, tamam, bir atasözü ya da bir deyim orada varsa burada yoksa ona benzer bir şeyler ortaya indiririm ve danışmanlık veren arkadaşlara söylerim, bu buna benzer. Var, hani, kelime cümlede rol oynar. Değişir yeri, falan.] (NGOI-8, p. 11)

NGOI-4 (p. 34) points out when she has to talk to counselees about words or expressions she does not understand during the interviews, she definitely informs the official about the content of those dialogues. In a similar vein, NGOI-9 denotes when

counselees speak longer than the interpreter's capacity, he can stop them by receiving the approval of the consultant. He remarks

[...]Sometimes, with the consultant's approval, [I ask the counselee], "can you wait a minute? Let me transfer the information." Because the counselee doesn't know how or how much she/he is to talk.[...]

[...Bazen de yine danışmanın onayıyla danışandan [rica ediyorum], "bir dakika bekleyebilir misiniz? Bilgileri aktarayım." Çünkü danışan bilmiyor o kadar nasıl konuşması gerektiğini ya da ne kadar uzatacağını falan...] (NGOI-9, pp. 12-3)

The interpreters' limited authority against other officials with greater power and autonomy within the institution is an issue also highlighted by the interviewed officials. In this regard, when asked whether or not the interpreters can contact refugees by themselves, Official 1, Official 2 and Official 3 all highlight that such an issue is out of the question. What Official 1 asserts in that sense is noteworthy:

Well, the moment we realize something like that, the moment it comes to our ears, we have to dismiss them.

[Yani, böyle bir şey görüldüğü dakika, kulağımıza geldiği dakikada işe artık son vermek zorunda kalırız.] (Official 1, p. 6)

Official 2 (p. 2) states the interpreters act under their control when they need to undertake any initiative, and when asked whether or not the interpreters act independently and can undertake initiative, Official 1 (p. 6) responds that they are not even allowed to get emotional.

The greater empowerment of officials is also frequently implied in the institutional code of conduct (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019). For instance, it is stated that the official is the person to decide on the interpreting method (simultaneous, consecutive, etc.) during interviews (Section 5.A). It is also asserted that the official will determine the need for interpreters to summarize the information (Section 5.C). The code of conduct also stipulates that the physical contact between interpreters and service users (Section 6.j), if there is any, will be decided by the official, that the official will be notified of service users' offer of gifts to interpreters (Section 6.o), that explanations will be made with the permission of the official (Section 8), and that the official will be notified of service users' questions to interpreters (Section 13.1).

The interviewed officials' perspectives as well as the statements in the code of conduct, which partly reflect the institutional perception towards the interpreters, might explain to some extent the factor behind the interpreters' internalization of their limited authority. The general lack of opportunities for the interpreters' professional development as well as the low awareness of the interpreting profession in society might also be the other factors affecting the situation. Since public service interpreters generally act in "zones of uncertainty", namely spaces between strong fields without clear social definition (Bourdieu, 2000:157-8), their knowledge and the dynamics of interactions are generally controlled by other professional groups with a higher amount of symbolic capital generating status and authority to them (Inghilleri, 2005a:69-70).

4.2.4. Exercising Restricted Agency

As Koskinen and Kinnunen (2010:6-7) mention, an individual's agency is the outcome of her/his willingness, ability, status and acting in an area. The above-mentioned limited empowerment attributed to the interpreters and also internalized by themselves affect the mentioned elements that constitute the agency of the interpreters, and limited space is left to them for an active involvement in interpreting encounters (Rudvin, 2005:171). While the interviewed NGO interpreters describe their interpreting tasks and activities, a salient theme that emerges is their restricted agency, covering the issues of avoidance of expressing own opinions, of engaging in dialogues with refugees outside interpreting tasks and of undertaking initiative in interpreting tasks.

4.2.4.1. Avoidance of Expressing Own Opinions

It is understood from the accounts of the interviewed NGO interpreters that they tend not to express their own opinions nor give advice to counselees during the interviews. In this regard, the majority of the interviewed NGO interpreters generally imply that expressing their own opinions is not within the scope of their duties and mention that they express their opinions only when officials ask them or they do so by

officials' permission. For instance, especially NGOI-1, NGOI-5 and NGOI-7 imply that expressing their own opinions is beyond the limits of their job. More specifically, NGOI-1 (p. 10) remarks that if she expressed her own opinions or gave advice to refugees, she would go over the boundaries of the interpreting profession, which she thinks is not proper behavior. Likewise, NGOI-5 (p. 8) notes that expressing own opinions to refugees is part of the service provided by consultants, not within the boundaries of the interpreter's task. NGOI-5 further mentions a refugee who asked about his opinion on a sensitive issue and states he directed this person to the relevant official without expressing his own opinion. He remarks

[...]The counselee came and when our social worker colleague went to get a document, I think he felt close to me because I spoke Arabic. He said, "I tried to flee twice, I would flee again. What do you think?" I said, "I don't know. Let's better go and ask the official." I mean, I don't say one way or the other [tell my opinion]. I directly say I don't know and my colleague knows the best.

[...Şimdi danışan geldi. Buradaki sosyal çalışmacı arkadaşımız belge almaya gidip gelirken herhalde Arapça konuşmamdan dolayı danışan kendini bana yakın gördü ve şey dedi. Ya dedi, “ben iki defa kaçmayı denedim. Zaten onu söylemişti bir daha kaçayım, sence ne diyorsun”, dedi. “Ben bilmiyorum” dedim. “Bunu en iyisi işte görevliye gidip ona soralım.” Hani orada, şöyle ya da böyle demiyorum. Bu direkt bilmiyorum ve en iyisini arkadaşım bilir diyorum.] (NGOI-5, p. 11)

Adopting the same position, NGOI-7 expresses that when refugees ask him about his own opinions, he responds as such:

"my job here is interpreting. I do not give counseling. The colleague in charge here will reply to your question".

[Yani, dediğim gibi, “benim burada görevim tercümanlıktır. Danışmanlık vermiyorum. Burada görevli arkadaş size bunun için cevap verecek”.] (NGOI-7, p. 12)

On the other hand, NGOI-3 (p. 12) underlines that when she wants to express her own opinions, she definitely gets permission from officials, and similarly, NGOI-4 and NGOI-8 mention that they give their opinions only when asked by officials. On this point, NGOI-4, mentioning her opinions are generally not asked as an interpreter, notes

Well, generally our opinions aren't asked about. But it's like... For example, it is her/his [officials'] area of expertise, she/he gives counseling. But for example, when she/he asks me, "how do you think it should be?", I express my opinion.

[Yani, bu genelde fikrimiz sorulmuyor da çünkü şöyle. Mesela, onun uzmanlık alanı. Atıyorum, ona danışmanlık veriyor. Ama mesela, “sence nasıl olması gerekiyor”, dediğinde ben fikrimi söylüyorum kişiye....] (NGOI-4, p. 25)

Furthermore, several interpreters express when they are asked about their opinions by refugees, they inform officials about the situation, in fact pointing out that they are not authorized to express own opinions. For instance, NGOI-4 states

[...] when a Syrian asks about my opinion, I tell the consultant that she/he is asking about my opinion. After that, if the consultant tells me to express my opinion, I do so.

[...bir Suriyeli benim fikrimi sorduğunda ben sosyal danışana, benim fikrimi soruyor, diye söylüyorum. Ondan sonra sen fikrini beyan et, derse ben fikrimi beyan ederim.] (NGOI-4, p. 25)

NGOI-9 (p. 8) points to a different method and states that he directly interprets refugees' personal questions to the official and thus informs the official in that way. Along the same line, NGOI-6 states she sometimes has to express her opinions to counselees in field works outside the institution, but she definitely does so in line with the recommendations of the institution officials. She specifies the issue as such:

Well, works are done by experts here. When we go outside, to the hospital or elsewhere, it [expressing opinions] can happen sometimes because they [refugees] aren't very informed about the situation. Then if there is anything I can do, I do. Of course, I do that by taking the opinion of the officials in charge here. I inform them. I mean, I can't decide on my own in any way.

[Yani, uzmanlar tarafından yapılıyor buradaki işler. Dışarıda, hastaneye falan gittiğimiz zaman, hani, bazen olabilir [fikir verme]. Çünkü yani durum hakkında pek bilgili değiller [mülteciler]. O zaman eğer benim yapabileceğim bir şey olursa yapıyorum. Bizim buradan da onunla ilgilenen danışanlarımız, danışmanlarımız varsa tabi ki onun görüşünü alarak öyle bir şey yaparım. Onun bilgisini veririm. Yani kendi başıma hiçbir şekilde bunun kararını veremem.] (NGOI-6, p. 10)

Regarding the issue, the results of the questionnaires responded by 34 NGO interpreters are also parallel to those of the interviews. 27 out of the 34 respondents, namely the great majority of them, think that an interpreter cannot give advice to the parties. Moreover, 25 of the respondents (73.5%) mark that they never give advice to refugees.

Figure 26: Practitioner Views on the Issue of Giving Advice to the Parties

An interpreter can give advice to the parties.
33 yanıt

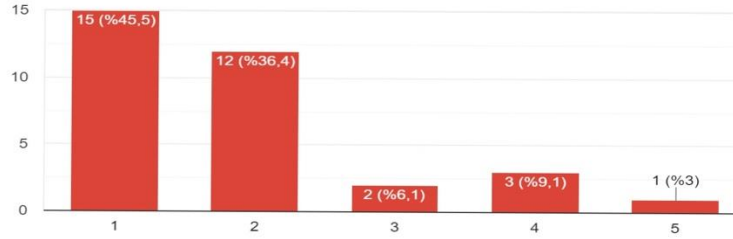
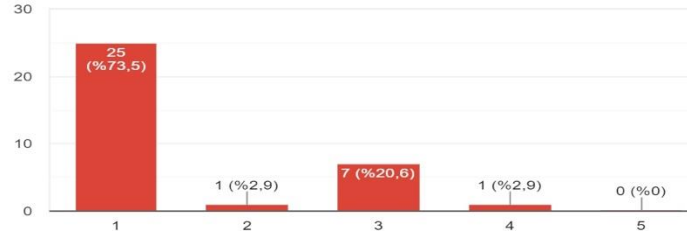


Figure 27: Practitioner Views on Whether They Give Advice to Refugees on Cultural Differences

I give advice to refugees on cultural differences.
34 yanıt



It can be said that the interpreters' behavior regarding the issue of expressing own opinions, as detailed above, corresponds to the behavior expected from them by the officials. For instance, the interviewed Official 3 asserts that it may be possible for the interpreters to give their opinions, but they cannot intervene in the situation by imposing their opinions on the parties. She remarks

Giving opinions is certainly possible, but it can't be like, "This is my opinion, and I think one should behave in this way". I mean such a thing as intervention in some way is out of the question.

[Fikir verme muhakkak oluyor ama öyle, "Benim fikrim böyle ve böyle davranılması gerektiğini düşünüyorum." deyip hani, bir şekilde müdahale gibi bir şey, durum söz konusu değil.] (Official 3, p. 7)

The institutional code of conduct provided to the interpreters also stipulates under the heading of "Professional Ethics in Interpreting" that interpreters need to avoid declaring their own opinions. In that sense, it is stated

[...]In cases where the victim, witness or accused must decide, the interpreter should never give own opinion. In addition, she/he should not behave in any way that would affect the counselee's decision and should not attempt to impose any certain thing. Even if the interpreter has an opinion, answer or choice for the benefit of the counselee, she/he should not explain them.

[...Mağdur, tanık veya sanığın karar vermesi gereken durumlarda tercüman kesinlikle kendi görüşünü bildirmemelidir. Ayrıca kendi görüşünü dile getirmese bile danışanın kararını etkileyecek hiçbir davranışta bulunmamalı ve belirli bir şey empoze etmeye kalkışmamalıdır. Tercümanın danışanın yararına olacak bir fikri, cevabı veya seçimi varsa bile bunları açıklamamalıdır.] (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 14.e)

Similarly, many international ethical codes for interpreters state that expressing own opinions is not within the role boundaries of interpreters. For instance, the AUSIT Code of Ethics and Code of Conduct (2012:9) stipulates under the heading of "Impartiality" that "[i]nterpreters and translators do not voice or write an opinion, solicited or unsolicited, on any matter or person during an assignment". In a similar vein, the code of conduct of NRPSI (2016) lays the issue down as such:

Practitioners carrying out work as Public Service Interpreters, or in other contexts where the requirement for neutrality between parties is absolute, shall not enter into discussion, give advice or express opinions or reactions to any of the parties that exceed their duties as interpreters. (p. 5)

The mentioned issue is also specified in the California Standards for Healthcare Interpreters, and accordingly, interpreters are required to

[r]efrain from interjecting personal opinions, beliefs or biases into the patient/provider exchange even when interpreters disagree with the message, or perceive it as wrong, untruthful, or immoral. (CHIA, 2002:26)

The Canadian National Standard Guide for Community Interpreting Services (HIN, 2007:26) also stipulates under the heading of "Maintenance of Role Boundaries" that "[t]he interpreter does not enter into the discussion, give advice or express personal opinions about the matter of the encounter, or show reactions to any of the parties".

Overall, the NGO interpreters' avoidance of expressing own opinions is in agreement with the principles stated in the institutional code of conduct as well as in some of the international ethical codes for interpreters. Considering that the interpreters view the mentioned behavior as the task of the consultants, not of the interpreters, and even if they declare their own opinions, they do so with the consent of the consultants, it can be argued that they tend to act within the frame of the restricted autonomy, projected for them by the institutional and other external factors, and also internalized by them, as mentioned earlier.

4.2.4.2. Avoidance of Engaging in Dialogues with Refugees outside Interpreting Tasks

The limited agency of the NGO interpreters also becomes apparent in their tendency not to engage in dialogues with refugees apart from interpreting tasks. The institutional code of conduct provided to the interpreters also addresses the issue, stating

Before, after and during the interview or during a break from the interview, in cases where the interpreter is alone with the counselee, the interpreter should not talk about the interview, ask questions or answer questions about the interview and respond to requests related to the interview.[...]

[Tercüman görüşmeden önce, görüşmeden sonra, görüşme esnasında veya görüşmeye ara verildiği süre içerisinde danışanla baş başa kaldığı durumlarda görüşme hakkında konuşmamalı, soru sormamalı, görüşme hakkında sorulan sorulara cevap vermemeli ve görüşmeyle ilgili gelen taleplere karşılık vermemelidir....] (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 7.1.A)

In the code of conduct, it is also emphasized that the above-mentioned rule should not be seen as an unwarranted restriction on interpreters, on the contrary, it should be considered as a measure that protects interpreters from unexpected situations (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 7.1.A). Accordingly, the vast majority of the interviewed interpreters note they do not have interviews or engage in dialogues with refugees outside interpreting tasks. To give an example, NGOI-7 states it is not the duty of the interpreter to have a pre- or post-interview with refugees apart from the interpreting task and further adds

We never interpret anything to the counselee after the interview, related to the interview or... .. If possible, we go to the interviewer again and [ask], "She/he [refugee] asked this question, how would you answer?"

[Hiçbir zaman müracaatçıya, yani, görüşmeden sonra hiçbir çeviri yapmıyoruz görüşmeyle alakalı ya da... .. Mümkünse tekrar görüşmecinin yanına gidip tekrar, "[mülteci] bu soruyu sordu, nasıl bir cevaplarsınız?" [diye sorarız]] (NGOI-7, p. 11)

NGOI-1 and NGOI-6 also mention that they do not engage in dialogues with refugees in order to prevent their expectations. NGOI-1, expressing that she tries not to have pre-interview talks with refugees in order not to raise their expectations, remarks

I try not to talk too much. I mean, whatever my duty, whatever my instruction... Otherwise, the counselee has different expectations from you. [...]

[Çok konuşmamaya çalışıyorum ben. Yani hani görevim neyse, yönlendirmem neyse... Çünkü o zaman artık danışanın sizden farklı beklentileri oluyor....] (NGOI-1, p. 18)

NGOI-6 clearly states she is provided with only general information about interpreting tasks by the institution, but she does not receive any information about the content of tasks, and she finds it risky to have pre-interview talks with refugees, saying

We never talk about content. The consultant never does that, either. With the immigrant, as I have already said, we try to maintain the distance and we can't get into this thing. Because it affects our impartiality and increases the immigrant's expectations from us.

[İçerikle ilgili asla konuşulmaz. Danışman da asla bunu yapmaz. Göçmenle de zaten, dediğim gibi, mesafeyi korumaya çalışırız ve hani bu şeye giremeyiz. Çünkü hem tarafsızlığınızı etkiler hem göçmenin bizden olan beklentilerini artırır.] (NGOI-6, p. 13)

Furthermore, the institutional code of conduct provided to interpreters emphasizes the need to inform the official about any conversation between the counselee and the interpreter, denoting

[...]If there is anything that needs to be explained to the person to be interviewed, this needs to be done in company with the expert or the authorized person, and everything that is said to the interviewed person needs to be interpreted into Turkish.

[...Eğer görüşme yapılacak kişiye açıklanması gereken herhangi bir şey varsa, bu, uzman veya yetkili kişinin eşliğinde yapılmalı ve görüşme yapılan kişiye söylenen

her şey Türkçeye de tercüme edilmelidir.] (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 2)

Accordingly, for instance, NGOI-4 and NGOI-6 assert they inform the consultant even on the small dialogues they have with refugees during interviews. More specifically, NGOI-4 (pp. 23-4) states that she notifies the consultant of bilateral talks with refugees, including refugees' friendly conversations and their questions about the interpreter's opinions during interviews and even her greetings to refugees.

On the other hand, NGOI-1 and NGOI-2 express that they do not need to hold pre-interview talks with refugees in the field works thanks to the information forms provided to them by the institution. The interpreters mention that these forms enable them to make preparations on the subject before the interpreting assignments. Moreover, NGOI-3 (p. 23) expresses that she does not need prior information for most of the interviews within the institution thanks to the daily language used in conversations. Similarly, NGOI-4 (p. 42) denotes that she does not need preliminary information before interpreting assignments due to both the daily language used in the interviews and the command she has gained over time of the technical language used therein. On the other hand, NGOI-6 and NGOI-8 mention that they do not prefer to receive preliminary information regarding interpreting tasks, thinking that this might influence their perspective as an interpreter. When asked whether not being informed about the content of interviews affects interpreting, NGOI-6 responds as follows:

No. On the contrary, if [you] have information about that subject, you can sometimes do things accordingly. I think it will affect you more. This is already the case most of the time in interviews. I mean, we don't have information. They are cases that were previously followed up. We just come and resume them. Whatever we are told...

[Hayır. Aksine eğer o konu ile ilgili bilgi sahibiysem bazen ona göre şey yapabiliyorsunuz, hani, yani o sizi bence daha fazla etkiler diye düşünüyorum. Zaten çoğu zaman görüşmelerde böyledir. Hani, bilgimiz yoktur. Daha önceden takibi yapılmış bir vakadır. Biz gelip, hani, olduğu yerden devam ettiriyoruz sadece. Ne söyleniyorsa o...] (NGOI-6, p. 13)

Similar results have also been found in the questionnaire for the NGO interpreters. For the items “I exchange information with the parties before interpreting”

and “I exchange information with the parties after interpreting”, which also cover the issue of dialogues with counselees outside interpreting tasks, 67.6% and 73.5% have chosen the “Never” option respectively.

Figure 28: Practitioner Views on Whether They Exchange Information with the Parties Before Interpreting

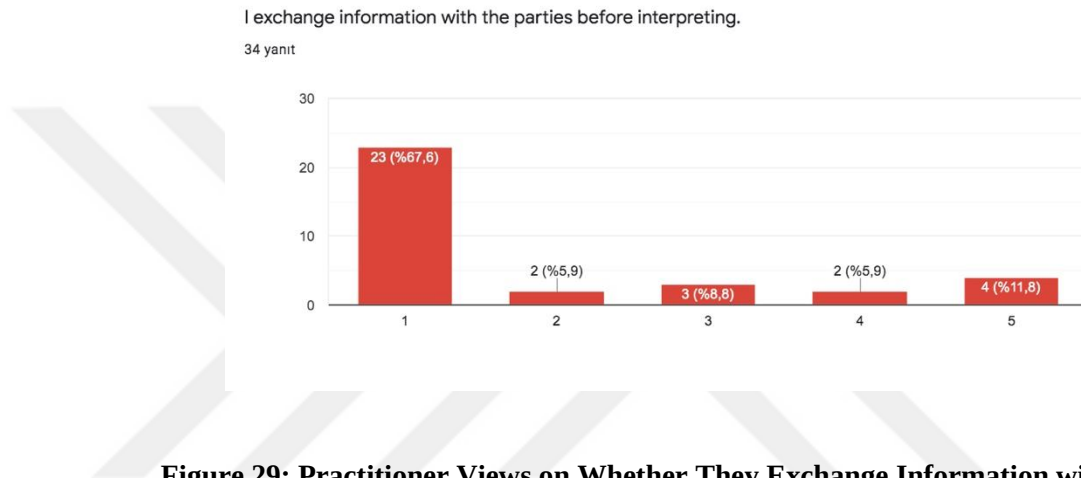
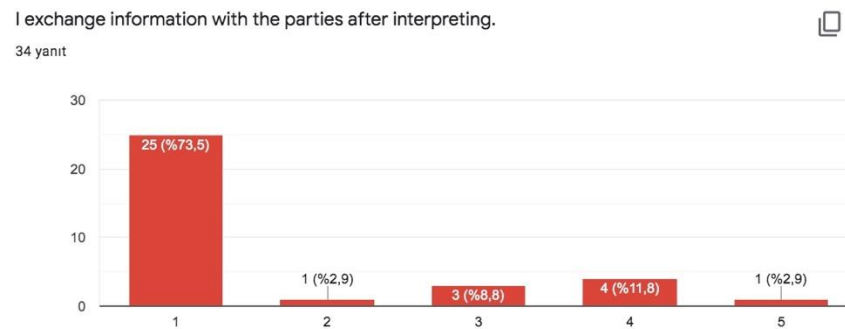


Figure 29: Practitioner Views on Whether They Exchange Information with the Parties After Interpreting



As Tipton (2014) has also found in her study, providing interpreters with background information about cases might be avoided due to concerns that they may have too much confidential information or reflect their own viewpoints on cases. However, it is a fact that interpreters' lack of background information about cases may affect their interpreting performances and limit their agency during interpreting. Yet on

the other hand, in the institutional code for interpreters, they are expected not to engage in dialogues with counselees about interpreting cases, and it can be argued that within the scope of their limited autonomy, the interviewed interpreters and also those responding to the questionnaire are inclined to meet this expectation, and they do not find it proper to have bilateral talks with counselees outside interpreting.

4.2.4.3. Avoidance of Undertaking Initiative

One of the situations in which the interviewed interpreters imply their limited agency is related to undertaking initiative. Nearly all of the interviewed interpreters imply they do not lean towards undertaking initiatives, especially within the institution, either due to the institutional obligations imposed on them and their role boundaries as interpreters or the position of the officials equipped with more authority than themselves.

Regarding the issue, NGOI-2 (p. 13) states he tries not to go beyond what directors and interviewers say, especially within the institution. NGOI-3 (p. 12) expresses that it is wrong for a professional interpreter to undertake any initiative and adds that she even warns her interpreter colleagues not to do so. Likewise, NGOI-8 (p. 6) clearly states interpreters are not authorized to undertake any initiative.

By hinting at the institutional rules, NGOI-4 (p. 14) states when she encounters refugees outside the institution, she hesitates to take steps on their behalf and when they ask questions about the issues concerning the institution, she tells them she cannot give information outside the institution and they need to visit the institution for such matters. Moreover, NGOI-4 points out the educational status and expertise of the consultants and remarks, especially in the presence of consultants, she acts within the boundaries drawn by them. She says

When I am with the consultants, I usually interpret whatever they say because they are already educated and experts in their fields. I mean, I try not to go beyond, and I don't.[...]

[Yani, danışmanların yanında olunca genelde zaten danışmanlar eğitilmiş oldukları için, bir de kendi alanlarında uzman oldukları için ne diyorsa ben genelde

çeviriyorum. Hani, dışına çıkmamaya çalışıyorum, çıkmıyorum da...] (NGOI-4, p. 21)

NGOI-5 and NGOI-6 emphasize that they are constantly in contact with the officials of the institution during their interpreting assignments and do not make their own decisions. NGOI-5 expresses

Since I generally perform interpreting tasks within the institution, there is always someone I can reach. I don't undertake initiative.

[Genelde zaten tercümanlık, hani, sürekli burada iş yerinde yaptığım için her zaman ulaşabileceğim biri oluyor. İnisiyatif almıyorum.] (NGOI-5, p. 7)

Furthermore, NGOI-6 clearly asserts that it is not possible for the interpreter to undertake any initiative, since this might undermine the position of consultants and states that only consultants, who are experts in their fields, can take steps in necessary situations. She remarks

Our consultants are already experts. I mean they are the people who can assist [counselees] in every matter. Our intervention totally affects our impartiality, and it may cause us to give more hope to migrants. It may also affect the consultant's position a bit. There can be no such thing as undertaking initiative.

[...Yani, danışmanlarımız bu konuda uzman zaten. Yani, her konuda yardımcı olacak kişiler onlardır. Yani, bizim olaya müdahale etmemiz tamamen tarafsızlığımızı etkilemekle beraber göçmen kişilere de daha fazla umut vermemize sebep olabilir. Danışmanın da biraz, yani, konumunu etkileyebilir o durum. İnisiyatif alma gibi bir durum olamaz.] (NGOI-6, p. 9)

NGOI-7 (p. 10) also finds the initiative used by the interpreter problematic since this might cause counselees to misunderstand the role of the interpreter, and he further mentions that all the responsibility should belong to the consultants.

Along the same line, certain interpreters report they do not directly intervene in the tense atmosphere during interpreting assignments, and, if necessary, they delegate responsibility to officials in such situations, which is also a sign of their avoidance of undertaking initiative. In this regard, NGOI-2 (p. 17) states in such situations, he acts based on the instructions given in the in-service trainings and directly contacts the relevant official in the institution. Likewise, NGOI-6 (p. 11) asserts she does not get involved in such situations especially in the fieldwork outside the institution, and she

definitely reports the situation to the relevant officials of the institution. NGOI-9, mentioning, as an interpreter, he is not in a position to correct the situation in the tense atmosphere during the interview, points out

Anyway, there is visibility distance between the counselee and the consultant. They already understand how they are, whether they are nervous or angry, from each other's expressions. It can also be understood from tone of voice. So, it is in their hands to fix something. I am only responsible for the interpreting in between.

[Zaten danışanla danışman arasında o şey var, görüş mesafesi var. Birbirlerinin ifadelerinden nasıl bir durumda olduklarını, gergin mi olduklarını, sinirli mi olduklarını zaten anlıyorlar. Hani, ses tonundan da anlaşılabilir zaten. Hani onların elinde bir şeyleri düzeltmek. Ben sadece aradaki tercümeden sorumluyum.] (NGOI-9, pp. 8-9)

The NGO interpreters' tendency not to use initiative is also evident in the results of the questionnaire responded by 34 participants. For instance, 24 respondents indicate they never or hardly ever correct the information they deem wrong during interviews. Moreover, 73.5% of the respondents express that they never defend refugees/counselees against officials during interpreting tasks. Similarly, 21 of them mark they never or hardly ever intervene in the tense atmosphere between the parties during interpreting assignments.

Figure 30: Practitioner Views on Whether They Correct the Wrong Information Given by the Parties

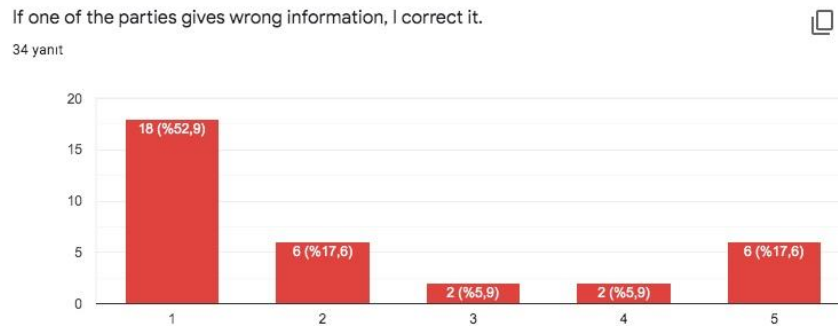


Figure 31: Practitioner Views on Whether They Defend Refugees When Necessary During Interpreting

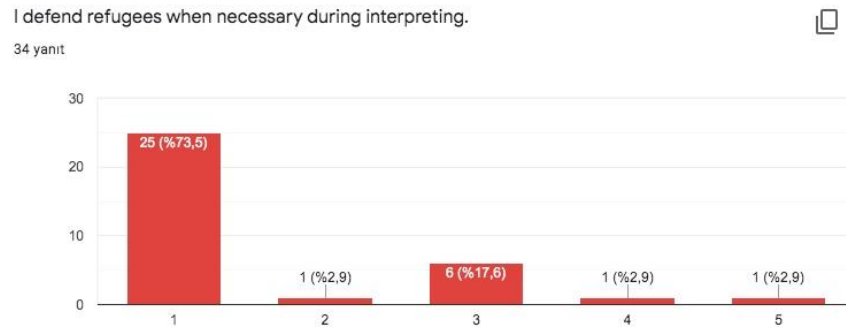
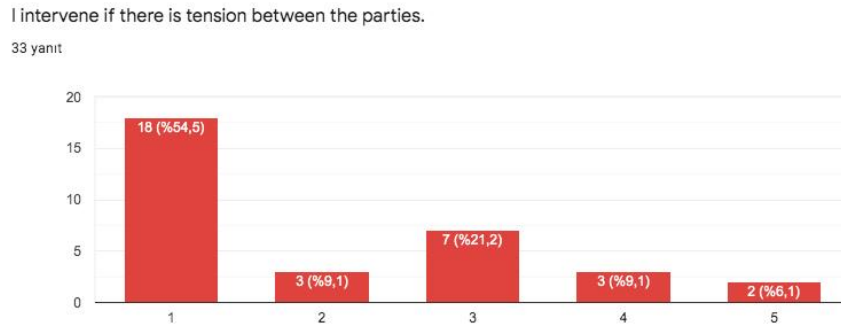


Figure 32: Practitioner Views on Whether They Intervene in the Tense Atmosphere Between the Parties



The interviewed officials also assert that interpreters cannot use their initiative within their institutional role boundaries. For instance, interpreters' undertaking initiative in situations other than interpreting is described as a risk by the interviewed Official 1 (p. 5). Furthermore, Official 2 (p. 1), stating that the interpreters pay attention to the institutional rules, and their work agreement will be terminated otherwise, specifies those rules as ethical contract, disciplinary regulations, word-for-word interpreting, avoidance of establishing personal relationship with refugees, attention to manners as well as to behavior in sensitive cases such as psychological counseling and interviews with rape victims. In a similar vein, Official 1 outlines the institutional rules as follows:

Well, these [rules] are mentioned in the contracts we sign as soon as we hire them [interpreters]. Some of the most important things in our work are not to act with the feeling of pity, only to do interpreting work, not to communicate about money in any way, not to communicate [with refugees] outside office hours. Everything is stated there, including particularly male interpreters' need to pay attention to communication with females [refugees], female interpreters' with males [refugees].

[Yani bunu zaten biz, bizim her işe alır almaz imzalattığımız sözleşmelerde de bunlar [kurallar] mevcut. Yani en önemli şeylerden birisi bizim bu işlerde, hani, bir kere acıma duygusuyla hareket etmemekten, sadece tercüme işi yapmaktan, hiçbir şekilde parayla ilgili iletişime geçmemekten, mesai saatleri dışında [mültecilerle] iletişim kurmamaktan geçer. Özellikle de, hani, erkek tercümanların, kadınlarla [mültecilerle] olan iletişimine dikkat etmesi, kadınların erkeklerle [mültecilerle] olan iletişimine dikkat etmesine kadar her türlü şey belirtilmiştir orada.] (Official 1, p. 6)

On the whole, since the interpreter-mediated encounters could not be observed in the present study due to the linguistic constraints and the institution's confidentiality policy, to what extent and how the interpreters actually display the behaviors they have mentioned in terms of restricted agency cannot be assessed. However, on the basis of their above-mentioned accounts, in which they frequently emphasize the institutional role boundaries and their restricted positions vis-à-vis the institution officials, it can be argued that the practitioners in general tend to exercise restricted agency, which is mostly limited to mere interpreting. Although the practitioners do not explicitly refer to the institutional code of conduct during the interviews, it is observed that their statements regarding the issue are also in line with what is expected of them by the institutions officials and in the institutional code of conduct, as discussed above.

Due to the public perception of the interpreting profession and the lack of training opportunities and of functional professional ethics that would provide practitioners with the necessary mechanisms they can operate in decision-making processes as active individuals, they become inured to the restricted role boundary projected for themselves and acknowledge it as part of the interpreting profession. Under the circumstances, in which interpreters are not provided with necessary resources that enable them to gain professionalism, they adopt and internalize "submissive behavior", as suggested by Simeoni (1998).

Yet on the other hand, several of the interviewed NGO interpreters indicate that they might sometimes have to exercise discretion and go beyond their limited power, especially in the field work outside the institution, due to such factors as time constraints, refugee needs and officials' unawareness of procedures or interpreter tasks and responsibilities. For instance, NGOI-1 (p. 17) mentions that she sometimes has to summarize the most significant points because of time constraints in doctor interviews. NGOI-3 (p. 21) also remarks that, while interpreting in women committees within the institution, she sometimes has to omit the details that she thinks are unnecessary due to time constraints. Yet she also notes she later reports the omitted parts to the relevant official. NGOI-7 (p. 15) also mentions that he sometimes has to interpret with less explanation in doctor interviews due to the same reason.

Moreover, certain interpreters mention that due to refugees' unfamiliarity with the procedures especially in healthcare institutions, they might have to fulfill tasks other than interpreting such as guiding refugees to related departments or taking a queue number. To give an example, NGOI-1 (pp. 8-9), mentioning the lack of signboards to guide refugees in healthcare institutions, says she can take a queue number for refugees at information desks or direct refugees to certain units within healthcare institutions. Likewise, NGOI-2 (p. 14), mentioning that processes become complicated if he does not provide guidance to refugees in healthcare institutions, denotes he sometimes continues to deal with refugee needs after doctor interviews in other hospital procedures and he accompanies them to the relevant units. NGOI-6 (p. 10) also expresses that she takes steps when necessary in similar situations in healthcare institutions by notifying the relevant official to whom she is responsible at the NGO unit.

At times, the interpreters may also deviate from their role boundaries, in case of officials' lack of awareness of procedures or interpreter tasks and responsibilities. In that sense, NGOI-1 (p. 9) mentions public officials who are prejudiced against refugees and question the assistance provided to them, and she remarks she might have to explain why refugees need to be helped in that case. NGOI-7 (p. 11) denotes in some situations when officials do not notice a piece of information that is vital for refugees, he might act on behalf of refugees and call officials' attention to that piece of information.

As also suggested by Hsieh (2006), service providers' expectations or communicative practices may also create challenges to interpreters' performances, and certain statements of NGOI-2, NGOI-5 and NGOI-4 exemplify this situation. NGOI-2 mentions that doctors sometimes interrupt the speech during interpreting and want him to make explanations to refugees outside, yet he says he does not pay attention to such instructions of doctors, thinking that there might be incompleteness in his renditions. He notes

[...]especially in this case I have a lot of difficulty. I go inside [doctor's room] with the counselee. ... let's say the counselee tells me something, I say it. [Doctor] Directly says to me, "don't talk, don't talk, don't talk, cut it short." ... For example, I try to explain what he [doctor] says. He [doctor] directly says, "later, later, explain outside, explain outside." But when you explain what he says outside, there will definitely be incomplete words, things.

[...özellikle bu durumda çok sıkıntı yaşıyorum. İçeriye [doktorun odasına] geçiyorum danışanla beraber. ... diyelim ki, danışan bana bir şeyler söylüyor, onu söylüyorum. [Doktor] Direkt bana diyor, "konuşma, konuşma, konuşma, kısa kes." ... Mesela kendisinin [doktorun] de anlattıklarını anlatmaya çalışıyorum. Direkt diyor, "sonra, sonra, dışarıda anlat, dışarıda anlat." Ama dediklerini daha dışarıda anlatana kadar illa ki eksik kelimeler olacak, şeyler olacak.] (NGOI-2, pp. 28-9)

Similarly, NGOI-5 (p. 18) says when some public officials who do not know how to work with the interpreter give instructions, he continues to perform the interpreting task according to his own methods rather than to those instructions. NGOI-4 (p. 51), touching on some Arabic-speaking officials who intervene in interpreting processes, asserts that she might remind such officials of her area of responsibility as an interpreter. In this case, the mentioned practitioners, whose role as an interpreter is challenged by officials unaware of the interpreter's role and tasks, try to safeguard their roles and professional boundaries by resisting the officials' demands (Rudvin, 2005:175).

The above-mentioned exercises of discretion can be said to be indicative of the practitioners' "agency" or "decision-making", which is necessary in certain situations not addressed by general norms laid out for interpreters (Skaaden, 2019: 709). Hence, it can be argued that the practitioners, exercising a more restricted agency within the institution due to the institutional rules and the position and authority of the institution officials, cannot always act within the role boundaries determined for them under all

real-life conditions, an issue also proposed in many scholarly studies (Roy, 1993; Barsky, 1996; Angelelli, 2004a; Leanza, 2005; Hale, 2008; Rudvin and Tomassini, 2008; Souza, 2016). At this point, the important thing is to raise their level of awareness, which will enable them to gain experience in this direction and allow them to make decisions self-assuredly at the right time and right points, which can in turn be realized through comprehensive interpreter trainings and professional standards.

4.3. THE INTERPRETERS' AWARENESS TOWARDS THE TRADITIONAL ETHICAL PRINCIPLES

Communication needs arising between migrants/refugees and public officials in the host country are generally met by available bilinguals who do not have any interpreting training. (Pöchhacker, 2004; Wadensjö, 2009; Hale, 2015). By the same token, none of the NGO interpreters, except for one, interviewed within the scope of this study has received any extensive interpreting training, and the only guiding elements for the interpreters while performing interpreting tasks are the 2-day-in-service trainings and the institutional code of conduct for interpreters. It is also reiterated by the interviewed Official 1 and Official 3 that the available interpreters are generally individuals who are not trained in this field. Especially Official 1 mentions that Turkey was generally unprepared when the refugee crisis first arose, and that people and institutions, including NGOs, serving refugees have learned the work through experience. Regarding the scarcity of trained interpreters, Official 1 further remarks

[...] When the crisis in Syria broke out and when we started this work, neither Turkey nor any NGO was prepared against the situation. NGOs themselves have turned into schools a little bit. So, people have learned through one-to-one experience. In other words, it is not easy to find a person who has been trained as an interpreter for the job here.

[...Biz bu işe başladığımız zaman, Suriye'de kriz olduğu zaman ne Türkiye ne de herhangi bir STK duruma hazırlıklı bir durumda değildi. Biraz da kendisi okul haline dönüştü STK'ların. Yani, hani, insanlar birebir tecrübe ederek öğrendi. Yani böyle, özellikle tercümanlık eğitimi almış, burada bunu yapacak bir kişi bulmak zaten çok kolay bir iş değil.] (Official 1, p. 4)

Official 1 also touches on the regular in-service trainings provided to the interpreters and states that the interpreters receive supervision on such issues as communication methods and interpreting techniques. The official responsible for the training and supervision of the interpreters, who was interviewed on the phone for more detailed information about the in-service trainings, also denotes that the most important criterion when recruiting interpreters is the knowledge of two languages. He adds that there is almost no graduate of translation and interpreting department among those working as interpreters and that at the very most there are graduates of departments related to languages such as French, Persian, English. Moreover, the supervisor mentions when interpreters are first recruited, they are subjected to an orientation training, and then 2-day trainings are organized annually for them in the form of meetings or case studies. It is also remarked by the supervisor that the trainings include practical and functional information, such as institutional structure and ethical principles, according to the existing conditions. Furthermore, it is highlighted that since interpreting requires more than only knowing two languages, the trainings aim to prepare people speaking two languages for the interpreting work in the field. In short, the functional information provided in the in-service trainings helps people who are not trained as interpreters to act as interpreters in the field.

As detailed below, another issue that is widely implied by the NGO interpreters, the majority of whom have only received short-term trainings and have learned the job through experience for the most part, is their awareness of the ethical issues in interpreting⁵². Accordingly, similar to the findings of several other studies (Mesa, 2000; Chesher *et al.*, 2003; Tryuk, 2007; Valero Garcés, 2017), the majority of the practitioners mention they are generally inclined to pay regard to the professional and institutional ethics in interpreting assignments. In this regard, impartiality, accuracy, use of first-person pronouns and emotional stamina, the issues also specified in the institutional code of conduct for interpreters as well as in a number of international ethical codes (CHIA, 2002; NAJIT, 2002; Bancroft, 2005; Hale, 2007; AUSIT, 2012;

⁵² As mentioned earlier, only one of the interviewed interpreters, NGOI-4, holds a bachelor's degree in translation and interpreting. However, the other interviewed NGO interpreters, who have not received extensive trainings in the field, also imply similar degree of awareness regarding ethical principles.

NRPSI, 2016), emerge as the principles addressed by the practitioners in more detail in their accounts.

It is also noteworthy that the 34 practitioners who have responded to the questionnaire have also made choices which point to their awareness of ethical principles for interpreters. In this regard, nearly all of the respondents (32/34) acknowledge that interpreters are bound by ethical principles, and all of the respondents agree that an occupational guide is necessary for interpreters.

Figure 33: Practitioner Views on Whether Interpreters Are Bound by Ethical Principles

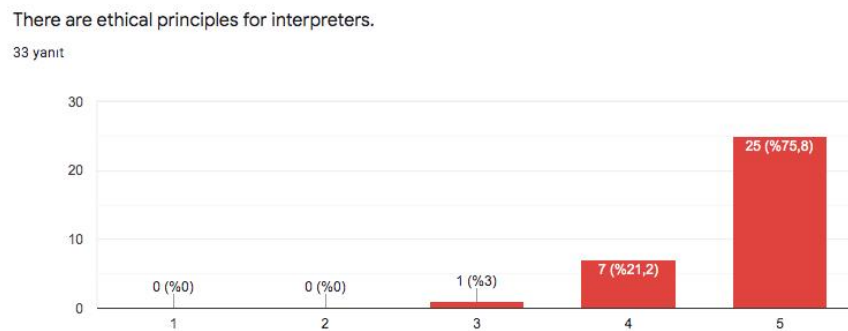
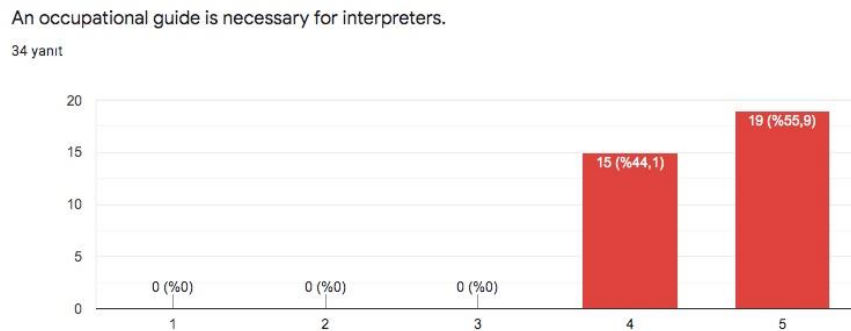


Figure 34: Practitioner Views on Whether an Occupational Guide Is Necessary for Interpreters



4.3.1. Impartiality

Impartiality is one of the most prominent ethical issues elaborated by the interviewed NGO interpreters. Almost all of the interviewed interpreters have made statements indicating that they are aware of the requirements of the principle of impartiality⁵³, which is defined as one of the major ethical principles for the interpreting profession (Bancroft, 2005; Hale, 2007), and which is also emphasized in the institutional code of conduct (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019). With regard to taking sides, the code of conduct provided to the interpreters stipulates as such:

The interpreter is not in a position to defend the counselee or the interviewer and should maintain impartiality in all cases..[...]

[Tercüman, danışanı veya görüşme yapan kişiyi savunma görevinde değildir ve bütün durumlarda tarafsızlığını korumalıdır....] (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 6.k)

In this regard, NGOI-6 highlights the issue of impartiality when she mentions her approach to the issues of using initiative, intervention in the tense atmosphere between the parties and pre-interview talks with counselees. She asserts that undertaking initiative outside interpreting tasks (p. 9), interventions in the tense atmosphere (p. 10) and dialogues with counselees out of interpreting assignments (p. 13) might affect the interpreter's impartiality. Likewise, NGOI-7 (p. 10) emphasizes impartiality when mentioning the issue of undertaking initiative and states that impartiality prevents misunderstandings of the parties.

Furthermore, some of the interpreters mention their respect to cultural and ethnic differences. For instance, while complaining about some officials' prejudice towards refugees, NGOI-1 (p. 23) underlines that as an interpreter, she cannot question cultural background of people. Along the same line, NGOI-4 and NGOI-8 also express their respect for different cultures and beliefs. Attributing her adoption of the principles of impartiality and non-discrimination to her growth in an area with high ethnic diversity and to acquaintance with people from different cultures, NGOI-4 notes

⁵³ The interviewed interpreters have made no remarks, indicating that their ethnic origin and nationality (see Table 2) affect their approach to impartiality.

For example, I am of Turkish origin. Especially at work I don't reflect this. I am only responsible for conveying the spoken words, like a video. Also, because of the environment where I grew up, there were many ethnic races in Lebanon. Christians, Muslims, Shafiis, everybody... Maybe it is because of those ethnic races. Or I worked in the tourism sector, traveled to Germany and got to know a lot of different cultures, different people. Maybe it is because of this. Yet anyway it [discrimination] isn't in my personality. Maybe my personality developed there in that way.

[Mesela ben Türk kökenliyim. Hani, yani şey yapmam. Hele iş yerinde ya da işte hiç bunu yansıtmam. Sadece konuşulanları aktarmakla görevliyim, video gibi. Bir de yani ben büyüdüğüm çevre gereği çok etnik ırk vardı Lübnan'da. Hristiyanı, Müslümanı, Şafisi, her şeyi vardı. Belki o etnik ırk da bunu şey yapıyordur ya da işte, turizmde çalışınca, Almanya'ya gidince bir sürü farklı kültür, farklı insanlar tanıyınca belki de sen şey yapıyorsun. O da olabilir ama kişiliğimde yok zaten. Belki o şekilde orada kişiliği oturtturmuşumdur.] (NGOI-4, p. 35)

Moreover, especially the refugee interpreters, namely NGOI-3 and NGOI-7, state they do not prefer to give an interpreting service for their acquaintances coming to the institution, considering the detriment to impartiality and neutrality, an issue also mentioned in the institutional code of conduct (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 6.p).

The issue of impartiality is also indicated by the practitioners who have responded to the questionnaire. The vast majority of the respondents (27/34) disagree that interpreters may feel closer to the party with whom they share common characteristics. In addition, 88.2% of them mark that they never feel closer to the party with whom they share common characteristics.

Figure 35: Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Feeling Closer to Any Party

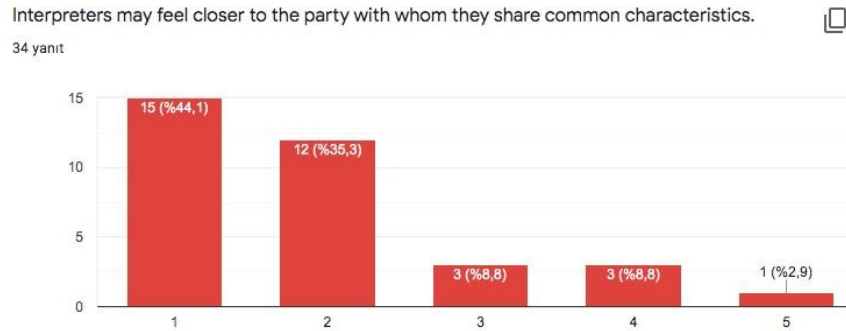
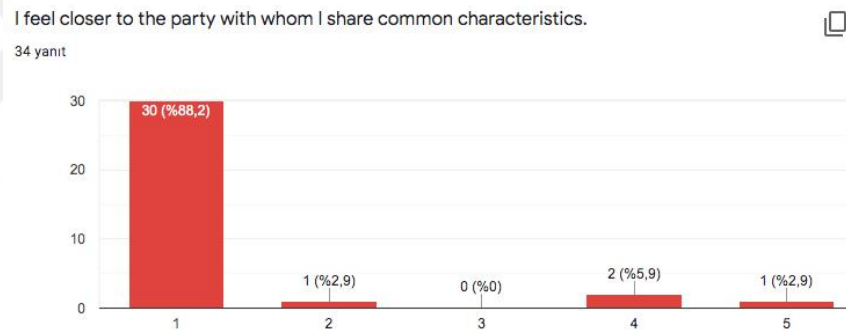


Figure 36: Practitioner Views on Whether They Feel Closer to Any Party



If the actual communication situations involving interpreters could have been examined, diverging findings related to the issue of impartiality might have been obtained. Indeed, the fact that some practitioners, such as NGOI-1 and NGOI-7, sometimes go beyond the specified task boundary and make some attempts in favor of refugees indicates that they might sometimes deviate from the ethical principle of impartiality to a certain extent. For instance, emphasizing the helplessness of refugees to prejudiced public officials (NGOI-1 p. 9) and calling officials' attention to an unnoticed piece of information on refugees' behalf (NGOI-7 p. 11) are in fact signs of a position assumed by the interpreter on the side of refugees rather than a neutral position. Yet still, based on the practitioners' perceptions in the interviews and questionnaires, it can at

least be claimed that the majority have the awareness of the principle of impartiality and its requirements in interpreting assignments.

4.3.2. Accuracy

Another ethical issue the interviewed interpreters expand on is related to accuracy. Accuracy is an issue widely covered in most codes of conduct for interpreters. For instance, the NAJIT code of ethics stipulates that “[t]he rendition should sound natural in the target language, and there should be no distortion of the original message through addition or omission, explanation or paraphrasing” (NAJIT, 2002). Another code of conduct, that of the UK’s NRPSI states that “[p]ractitioners shall interpret truly and faithfully what is uttered, without adding, omitting or changing anything” and that “in exceptional circumstances a summary may be given if requested” (NRPSI, 2016:5). In a similar vein, the AUSIT Code of Ethics and Code of Conduct (2012:10) specifies under the heading of “Accuracy” that “[i]nterpreters and translators do not alter, add to, or omit anything from the content and intent of the source message”. Another important guidance for healthcare interpreters, the standards of CHIA defines an interpreter as “[a]n individual who mediates spoken or signed communication between people speaking different languages without adding, omitting, or distorting meaning or editorializing” (CHIA, 2002:70).

The issue of complete rendition of spoken words is also mentioned in the institution's job posting for interpreters. Within the scope of the job description of interpreters, the posting mentions

Interpreting orally during the interviews and following and completely conveying the issues discussed

[Görüşmelerde sözlü olarak tercüme yapmak ve konuşulan konuları takip ederek eksiksiz aktarmak] (see Appendix 8)

Furthermore, the institutional code of conduct also frequently underlines the issue of accuracy and complete rendition of spoken issues, which is explained in detail

under the heading "Approaches To Be Avoided By Interpreters". The issue is specified as such:

[...]Consequently, the interpreter is obliged to interpret the sentences or words expressed in the source language as they are without refining, mitigating, correcting, changing, manipulating, clarifying, adding, omitting, commenting, abridging, summarizing and interrupting communication.

[...Sonuç olarak tercüman kaynak dilde dile getirilen cümle veya kelimeleri kibarlaştırmadan, masumlaştırmadan, hafifletmeden, düzeltmeden, değiştirmeden, manipüle etmeden, netleştirmeden, artırmadan, eksiltmeden, yorumlamadan, kesmeden, özetlemeden ve iletişimi kesintiye uğramadan olduğu gibi tercüme etmekle mükelleftir.] (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 6)

When the interviewed interpreters' accounts regarding the issue are examined, it can be said that almost all of the interpreters find it wrong to make such changes as additions, omissions or summarization. NGOI-5 (p. 14) even adds that interpreting everything as it is reduces the interpreter's responsibility. Certain interpreters, such as NGOI-3, NGOI-4 and NGOI-9, mention that they prefer to stop counselees in order to interpret all that is said in the event that they speak longer than the interpreters' capacity, an issue that is also suggested by the institutional code of conduct (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 8) and a kind of intervention specified in the code of conduct of NRPSI (2016: 6) in the form of alerting the parties for a situation impairing the communication process. In that case, the practitioners in fact take the control of the communication process and put forward their interpreter identity as "active discourse participant" in order to ensure effective communication (Rudvin, 2005:173). In this regard, NGOI-3 reports

[...]Or sometimes some people forget the interpreter. They begin to form long sentences. I usually stop the person in such situations. Or before the person starts speaking, I say "make your sentences as short as you can, so I can convey all the ideas." I request the person. Then that person starts talking.

[...Ya da bazen bazı kişiler mesela tercümanı unutuyor. Uzun uzun cümleler kurmaya başlıyor. Ben genelde bu gibi durumlarda durduruyorum kişiyi. Ya da kişi başlamadan önce ona şey diyorum, hani, "yapabildiğin kadar cümlelerin kısa olsun ki ben bütün fikirleri iletayım." Kişiden rica ediyorum. Sonra o kişi konuşmaya başlıyor.] (NGOI-3, p. 22)

Although few interpreters mention they might sometimes summarize what is said by the parties due to time constraints, they do not express this situation as an adopted behavior during their interpreting activities. In this regard, NGOI-3, also mentioning that she is cautious about summarizing, notes

But summarizing is actually like this: For example, I am interpreting in the committee. A woman is talking. In general, women talk long and long. They tell detailed stories. For example, I know, I don't need to interpret some points. I know that point isn't impressive. For example, "we sat down, had dinner, drank tea", etc. I can omit this, but there are important points. One shouldn't forget them. I summarize. Then I tell the colleague what the woman has said. ... But sometimes one has to summarize because you can't catch up due to time [constraints] and so on.[...]

[Ama özetleme şöyle oluyor aslında. Diyelim bir kişi, işte, mesela ben komitede çeviri yapıyorum. Bir kadın konuşuyor. Genelde kadınlar konuştukları zaman uzun uzun konuşuyorlar. Hikaye hepsini anlatıyor yani, detaylı. Mesela bazı noktalarda zaten hani, çevirmesem de olur, biliyorum mesela o nokta etkileyici bir nokta değil. İşte, mesela “oturduk yemek yedik, çay içtik”, falan fistan. Bunu es geçebiliyorum mesela ama önemli noktalar var mesela. Onları unutmamak lazım kesinlikle. Özet geçiyorum. Daha sonra mesela ben arkadaşına anlatıyorum böyle böyle dediğini. ... Ama mesela vakitten dolayı falan bazen insan hani yetişmediği için özet geçmek zorunda kalıyor....] (NGOI-3, p. 21)

Another issue emphasized in the institutional code of conduct for interpreters is the importance of rendering every detail in speeches, including slang, abusive or obscene expressions. In this sense, the code of conduct indicates

[...]As interpreters are obliged to interpret correctly and completely, if the interviewee says slang, obscene, vulgar or abusive expressions, they are expected to interpret them into the closest equivalent in the target language no matter how disturbing they are. Although what is said and the words used may be disturbing to others, the interpreter should not correct and soften what is said.

[...Tercümanlar doğru ve tam tercüme yapmakla yükümlü olduklarından, eğer görüşme yapılan kişi argo, müstehcen, kaba veya küfürlü konuşuyorsa, ne kadar rahatsız edici olsa da hedef dilde en yakın karşılığına çevirmeleri beklenir. Söylenenler ve kullanılan kelimeler diğer kişilere rahatsız edici gelse de tercüman söylenileni düzeltip yumuşatmamalıdır.] (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 6.q)

Along the same line, the interviewed Official 3 also states they expect interpreters to convey everything that is said, including abusive or vulgar expressions. More specifically, she notes

[...]And as I said, when they [interpreters] convey everything and when the other party says something bad, we need to know and prepare a conversation accordingly. ... Instead of saying "He/she is angry", transferring directly... For example, if he/she says something like, "What are you doing here?"[in a rude manner], it has to be transferred as it is.

[...Bir de her şeyi, dediğim gibi, olduğu gibi aktarırsa biz de karşıdaki bir şey söylüyorsa, kötü bir şey söylüyorsa bilip bizim de hani, ona göre bir konuşma hazırlamamız gerekiyor ona karşı. ... “Aa, sinirlenmiş, öfkelenmiş.” demek yerine direkt olduğu gibi... Atıyorum, [kaba bir şekilde] “Senin burada ne işin var?” gibi bir şey söylüyorsa evet, bunun olduğu gibi aktarılması gerekiyor.] (Official 3, p. 8)

The mentioned issue is also pointed out in the standards of CHIA, which at same time touches on the possible hesitation interpreters might have towards rendering such obscene expressions. The issue is specified as such:

Maintain the tone and the message of the speaker even when it includes rudeness and obscenities.

Note: different cultural understandings and levels of acceptance exist for the usage of obscene expressions and profanities, and we understand the resistance most interpreters have towards uttering such expressions, although interpreters need to honor the ethical principle of “Accuracy and Completeness” by striving to render equivalent expressions). (CHIA, 2002:30)

Certain practitioners, such as NGOI-3, NGOI-6, NGOI-7, NGOI-8, also underline that everything spoken needs to be interpreted, since every detail in the conversation might be important to the interviewer. In that sense, NGOI-7 notes

It is beneficial to interpret word-for-word especially in the hospital because if any term, any statement is missed, there may be trouble. Because it's life-threatening. In other words, interpreting especially in the hospital is important and troublesome at the same time.

[Hastanede özellikle birebir çevirmekte fayda vardır. Çünkü herhangi bir terim, herhangi bir deyim kaçınılırsa sıkıntı olabilir. Çünkü hayati riskine dair bir şeydir. Yani, özellikle hastanede tercümanlık yapma önemlidir ve sıkıntılıdır aynı zamanda.] (NGOI-7, p. 15)

NGOI-8, emphasizing the necessity of complete rendition of what is said, asserts

All. All must be interpreted. No way. If I omit two words in the sentence, those may be very important for the consultant. So I try to interpret all that is said.

[Hepsi. Hepsi çevrilmeli. Olmaz yani. Bakarsınız cümlede ben iki kelimeyi eksilttiysem o kelime danışmanlık veren arkadaş için çok önemli olur. O yüzden tane tane hepsini çevirmeye çalışırım.] (NGOI-8, p. 12)

Moreover, most of the practitioners reiterate that they interpret obscene or vulgar expressions without making any changes on them, although some of them, especially NGOI-1, NGOI-3 and NGOI-6, accept they have difficulty in interpreting such expressions as they are. In this regard, NGOI-3 expresses

[...]When I started as an interpreter at this institution, I signed [a contract] that I would interpret everything in full. And actually this is the correct way. You have to completely interpret whatever is spoken. ... It is a little difficult, but when you think of it as a job, you forget about it.[...]

[...İşyerime zaten ben başladığımda hani tercüman olduğum için birebir her şeyi çevireceğime mesela ona göre ben imza attım yani. Ve doğrusu da bu aslında. Birebir ne konuşulursa hepsini çevirmek zorundasın zaten. ... Biraz zor oluyor aslında ama şey olarak, iş olarak düşündüğün zaman unutuyorsun bazen kültürleri, diğer şeyleri mesela....] (NGOI-3, p. 20)

By the same token, it is understood that the practitioners who have responded to the questionnaire hold similar opinions regarding the issue of accuracy. For instance, almost all of the respondents (33/34) agree that interpreted statements need to be precise, and an interpreter should not make assumptions out of the parties' speech. Moreover, the majority of the respondents (22/34) defend the idea that it is necessary to render every detail during interpreting. Besides, 26 of the 34 respondents are of the opinion that professionalism in interpreting means not adding the interpreter's voice to the communication process.

Figure 37: Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Making Assumptions

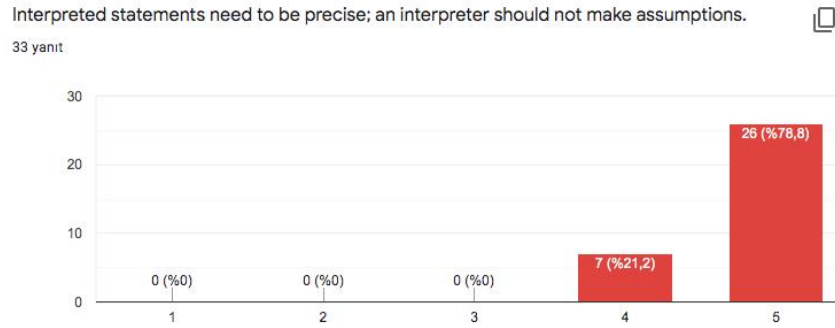


Figure 38: Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Rendering Every Detail in Communicated Messages

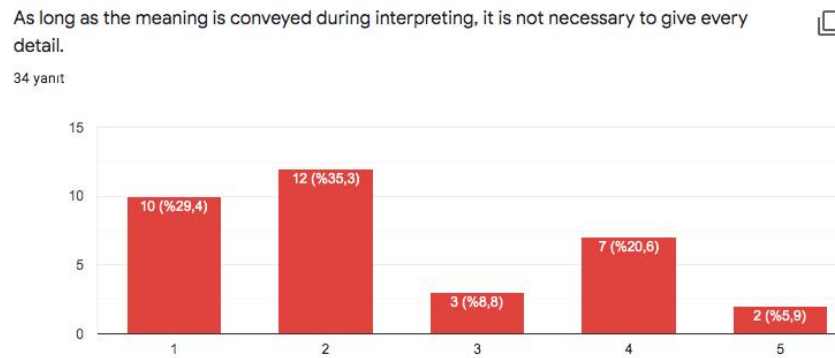
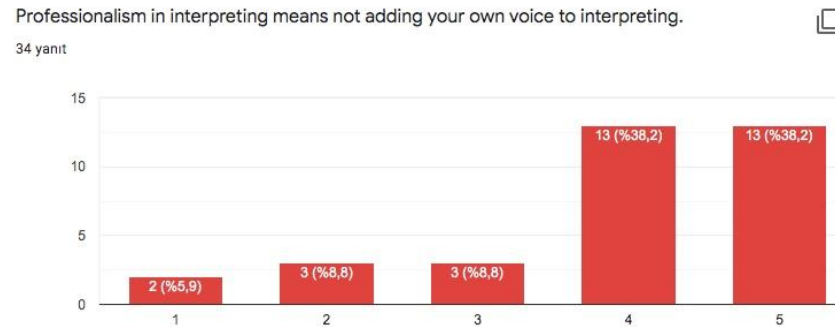


Figure 39: Practitioner Views on the Issue of Adding the Interpreter's Voice



On the whole, regarding the issue of assessing accuracy in interpreter-mediated encounters, the major limitation of the present study is that the actual communication situations could not be examined. Based on the available data sources, namely the interviews and the questionnaires, it can be suggested that the practitioners' perceptions regarding the issue of accuracy tend to be in accordance with the principles specified in the institutional code of conduct and the universal ethical codes. Accordingly, the practitioners in general seem to find it important not to make changes such as additions or omissions in messages to be interpreted, considering that every detail, including obscene or vulgar expressions, might be important for the interviewer.

4.3.3. The Use of First-Person Pronouns

Another issue that is worth mentioning regarding the practitioners' perceptions of the ethical principles is the use of first-person pronouns during interpreting, a commonly accepted norm for the interpreting profession. The institutional code of conduct features the use of first-person pronouns among the basic rules of interpreting and specifies it as such:

There are some rules to be followed in interpreting. The first is that the pronoun used in interpreting is the first-person pronoun.

[Tercümede uyulması gereken bazı kurallar bulunmaktadır. Bunlardan birincisi sözlü tercümanlıkta kullanılan zamirin birinci tekil şahıs olmasıdır.] (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 3)

The rule of first-person interpreting is also underlined by various international codes of conduct such as the AUSIT Code of Ethics and Code of Conduct (2012) and the standards CHIA (2002) among others. For instance, the AUSIT Code of Ethics stipulates under the title of “Completeness in interpreting” that “[i]nterpreters interpret in the first person” (AUSIT, 2012: 14). Likewise, expanding on the issue, the standards of CHIA denotes

Use the *first person* (“I”) as the standard form of interpreting, to enhance direct patient/provider communication, and to exercise discretion in switching to the “third person” when the first person form causes confusion or is culturally

inappropriate for either or both parties. (emphasis in the original, CHIA, 2002:35-6)

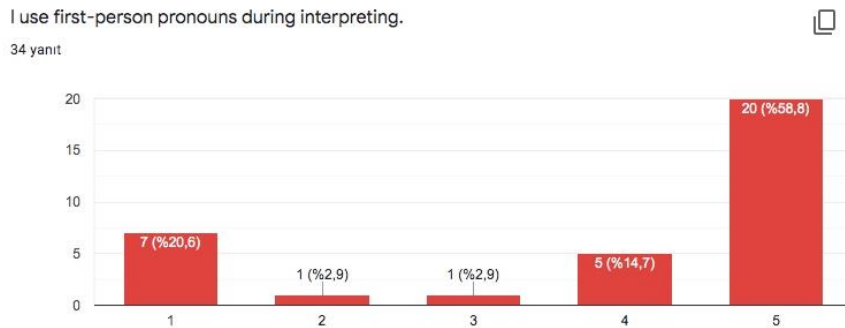
Regarding the issue, based on the accounts of the interviewed interpreters, it is understood that the majority think the use of first-person pronouns during interpreting is necessary. While NGOI-3, NGOI-4 and NGOI-8 mention that they have used first-person pronouns from their first experience onward, independent of the in-service trainings they have received, the other interpreters imply the influence of the trainings on their use of first-person pronouns. It is understood that NGOI-4, being a graduate of translation and interpreting department, views such pronoun uses as part of her job. NGOI-3 and NGOI-8, on the other hand, express when they first started to work as an interpreter, they were using the first-person pronouns without even realizing it. In that vein, NGOI-8 denotes

Instinctively... I was completely untrained. I was a mother. I left my home and started at ASAM. And I worked in this way instinctively. And I felt it. It was correct, then they confirmed it.[...]

[İçimden gelerek... Ben tamamen eğitimsiz gördüm. Anneydim. Evimden çıktım ve ASAM'a girdim ve içimden gelerek bu şekil çalıştım. Ve hissettim. Bu şekil doğruymuş. Sonra onayladılar....] (NGOI-8, p. 8)

It is also worth mentioning that the majority of the practitioners who have responded to the questionnaire (25/34) indicate that they usually or always use first-person pronouns during interpreting.

Figure 40: Practitioner Views on the Use of First-Person Pronouns



Since the interpreter-mediated encounters could not be examined within the scope of the present study, the practitioners' actual uses of first-person pronouns cannot be assessed. Yet the practitioners in general seem to be cognizant of the use of first-person pronouns in interpreting, and they mostly view it as the interpreter's responsibility, as also specified in the institutional code of conduct and the international codes for interpreters.

4.3.4. Emotional Stamina

Due to the emotional dimension and sensitivity of the field they work in, namely interpreting for refugees, public service interpreters may find it difficult to cope with emotional distress. This issue is also expressed by the interviewed Official 1, who says

Sometimes they face really deep traumas. I think coping with this is really the major challenge for them. [...]

[Bazen gerçekten çok derin travmalarla karşılaşıyorlar. Bununla baş etmek gerçekten onlar için birinci zorluk diye düşünüyorum....] (Official 1, p. 7)

Moreover, Official 1 also implies his appreciation for the work done by refugee interpreters who have had similar traumatic experiences to those of other refugees. He remarks

To put it roughly, they are the most likely group to go crazy. I mean, if you are working especially with Syrians (by providing them with work permits)... They have already lived [these experiences] and have come here, and they listen to those with the same experiences and interpret them over and over. This is an incredible thing, it's not an easy job.

[Yani biraz kabaca olacak ama delirmesi en muhtemel grup da onlar. Yani özellikle Suriyeli çalıştırıyorsanız, çalışma iznine tabi tutarak, yani zaten kendi yaşamış, gelmiş buraya yaşayanları dinliyor, bunları tekrar çeviriyor, oradan oraya dönüyor, bu inanılmaz bir şey yani, hani, öyle kolay bir iş değil gerçekten.] (Official 1, p. 5)

On the other hand, interpreters are generally expected to be mature in emotional matters as part of their job. Regarding the issue, the institutional code of conduct provided to the practitioners denotes

A good interpreter displays emotional maturity and stamina in severe cases. Indeed, an interpreter who shares the same culture or the same traumatic past may lose neutrality by causing emotionality in their own behavior. In such cases, the interpreter should show emotional maturity and stamina and avoid behaviors that may adversely affect the interview.

[İyi bir tercüman, ağır vakalarda duygusal bir olgunluk ve dayanıklılık sergiler. Nitekim aynı kültürü veya aynı örseleyici geçmişi paylaşan bir tercüman, kendi davranışlarında duygusallığa yol açarak tarafsızlığını kaybedebilir. Böyle durumlarda tercüman duygusal olgunluk ve dayanıklılık sergileyerek görüşmeyi olumsuz yönde etkileyecek davranışlardan uzak durmalıdır.] (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 10)

Accordingly, nearly all the interviewed practitioners have made statements in parallel to those mentioned in the institutional code of conduct. In that sense, they affirm they can control their emotions during interpreting even if they are emotionally affected. For instance, NGOI-1 points out

For example, I thought that I would wear out more in terms of emotions, I could be more sensitive, I would have a little more difficulty due to emotions, but no, I need to do whatever I should do. Because it's so important. Sometimes the events we hear here can be very sensitive. In other words, during the day, we can many times hear things that we can't get over for days while watching them in a movie . In that sense, I have realized that I have a principle. I have to be careful.

[Mesela, duygu anlamında daha çok yıpranacağım, daha böyle hassas olabileceğim, duygudan kaynaklı biraz daha zorlanacağımı düşündüm ama hayır yani olması gereken neyse onu yapmam gerektiğini. O çünkü çok önemli. Burada bazen duyduğumuz olaylar vesaire çok hassas olabiliyor. Yani bir film olsa günlerce etkisinden çıkamayacağımız şeyleri biz gün içerisinde defalarca duyabiliyoruz. O anlamda bir prensibimin olduğunu fark ettim. Hani, dikkatli olmam gerekiyor.] (NGOI-1, p. 14)

In a similar vein, NGOI-5 and NGOI-7 emphasize the importance of controlling emotions in order to create solutions in interpreting assignments. Especially NGOI-5 admits he experiences deep emotional distress during emotionally-charged interviews but implies he is aware that, as an interpreter, he should not reflect this to the refugee. He notes

It does not affect my service, but I am affected individually and emotionally. I don't reflect it to the service at that moment, but I am also expecting to calm that feeling in my inner world. I live this. Then its effect persists. It even attracts the attention of the colleague, with whom we have conducted the interview together. When we talk about it, we feel even sadder, because we can't do anything. ... Of course, I don't reflect. Anyway, the atmosphere is such ... that if you burst with

emotions, the other side also falls apart because emotionality and difficult things are told in trauma. If we burst with emotions there, the other side also can't recover.

[Hizmetimi etkilemiyor ama bireysel ve duygusal olarak etkileniyorum. İşte onu o an hizmete yansıtmam ama şeyi de bekliyorsunuz. Hani, o duyguyu sakinleştirmeyi içinizde... Bunu yaşıyorsunuz. Sonra etkisi sürüyor ama. Hatta bunu, sonra başka böyle mesela, beraber görüşme aldığınız arkadaşınızın da dikkatini çekiyor. Üzerine konuştuğumuzda böyle bir daha da hüzünleniyorsunuz, biz hiçbir şey yapamıyoruz diye. ... Tabi, tabi. Yansıtmıyorum. Zaten, şey, ortam o kadar bir şey ki, bir koparsanız karşı taraf da dağılıyor. Çünkü zaten travmada bir duygusallık ve zor şeyler anlatılır. Orada koparsak karşı taraf da toparlayamıyor.] (NGOI-5, p. 12)

NGOI-6 implies that reflecting emotional affection is not within the scope of the interpreter's work and remarks

Of course, we are humans. Sometimes even if I am emotionally [affected], I never reflect it to my work. Otherwise, interpreting loses its meaning and it becomes something else.

[İnsanız tabi. Bazen duygusal olarak olsa bile bunu asla işime yansıtmam. O zaman tercümanlığın bir anlamı kalmıyor çünkü. Başka bir hale geliyor olay.] (NGOI-6, p. 12)

Emotional stamina is also often expressed in various codes of conduct. For example, in the standards of CHIA, it is stated that “[i]t is critical for interpreters to be aware of their own level of emotional responses to what is happening around them, and to know how to protect their own health and well-being” (CHIA, 2002:38). The standards of CHIA (2002:37) also proposes several methods on how interpreters can deal with emotional distress, such as "taking a brief time out or finding resources for emotional support". It is understood that certain practitioners interviewed in the present study also display behaviors in line with the mentioned methods. For example, NGOI-2, NGOI-3 and NGOI-5 state they talk with the interviewer about the relevant situation after emotionally-charged interviews. NGOI-3, herself a refugee, explains this situation as follows:

I was affected when I first started the sessions because I had just come [to Turkey]. I was affected but I wasn't showing it to the other person. For example, after the session, I was sitting and talking to the psychologist colleague. For example, I was saying "I had been affected by that". This method is actually very

good. When you are affected by something, telling it directly, rather than repressing it inside.[...]

[İlk seanslara başladığımda etkileniyordum. Çünkü ben de yeni gelmiştim. Etkileniyordum ama ben karşıdaki kişiye belli etmiyordum. Mesela seanstan sonra ben oturup psikolog arkadaşla konuşuyordum. Mesela, işte, “bunda etkilendim” falan. Çünkü bu yöntem çok iyi aslında. Bir şeyden etkilendiğin zaman direkt anlatmak, yani içime atmaktansa....] (NGOI-3, p. 18)

Regarding the issue of reaching emotional maturity, especially NGOI-2, NGOI-3, NGOI-4 and NGOI-8 state they have overcome emotionality over time and through experience. For instance, NGOI-4 mentions that her previous work experience at a child protection institution and in a project for disabled children in Germany has helped her build up emotional stamina. She further states when she first started working as an interpreter at the NGO, she was affected emotionally during the interviews, and at one occasion, she even took a time and cried outside the room. Yet she mentions after getting to know the institution and the working conditions, she has got over emotionality and started not to reflect it in the interviews. She remarks

[...]when I first started, I performed interpreting in an emergency interview. I sat on the chair without knowing what the case was, what urgency was, what they [refugees] lived, where I would work. When the refugee explained something, I was really about to cry. But I thought what our lecturer had said: "Take a tough stance. Don't do anything." That education always comes to my mind. I didn't reflect, but I remember going to the toilet and crying. But those were the first days. The other day, for example, I worked with a psychologist. For orientation at another institution of ours... Maybe it took 3-4 days, and day by day I got to know the institution, what we do, who we work with. After getting to know these, it doesn't happen any more. I mean even if it happens, I don't reflect it or I don't cry in the toilet.

[...ben ilk geldiğimde gerçekten acil bir vakaya girmiştim. Ben daha mesela vaka nedir? Aciliyet nedir? Bunların hayatları nedir? Nerede çalışacağımı bilmeden oturdum sandalyede. Mesela o bir şeyler anlatınca ben gerçekten böyle ağlayasım gelmişti. Ama hep şeyi düşündüm. Hani, bizim hoca öyle diyordu. “Dik dur”, diyordu. “Hiçbir şey yapmayın”, diyordu falan. O eğitim hep aklıma gelir. Onu yansıtmadım ama tuvalete gidip ağladığımı hatırlıyorum. Ama şimdi daha bir şey, o ilk günlerdi mesela. Diğer günde mesela psikologla çalışmışım. Oryantasyon için diğer kurumumuzda... Gün geçtikçe o 3-4 gün sürmüştü belki o şey. Sonra tanıdım. Merkezi tanıdım. Biz ne iş yapıyoruz, kimlerle çalışıyoruz, falan bunları tanıyınca artık olmuyor. Olsa bile mesela yansıtmıyorum ya da gidip yani tuvalete ağlayasım gelmiyor.] (NGOI-4, p. 37)

Likewise, while NGOI-8 talks about her first experiences, she narrates a situation in which she experienced high emotional distress due to the empathy she established with the refugee and adds that she has overcome this feeling over time. She points out

It was my second month. The session was difficult for me. Then it was over. ... I sat. I was restrained. But I unavoidably shed tears in front of the counselee. The psychologist colleague also felt it. After all, I was a mother and I was untrained. Then even the counselee kept silent. She looked at me. Because she was a mother, and I was a mother, too. ... Her [The refugee's] one word... She said, "my child told me "Mom". That word, "Mom", impressed me. ... And I unwillingly shed tears, but then I ended it.[...]

[İkinci ayımdı. Seans bana ağır gelmişti. Sonra bitti. ... Oturdum. Kendimi tuttum. İster istemez göz yaşlarım danışanın karşısında aktı. Psikolog arkadaş da duydu. Sonuçta bir anneydim ve eğitimsiz girmiştım. Sonra hatta danışan kendi de sustu. O bana baktı. Çünkü o da anneydi, ben de anneydim. ... Bir kelimesi, dedi ki, "çocuğum bana "Anne" dedi". O "Anne" kelimesi beni etkiledi. ... Ve gözyaşlarım istemeyerek aktı ama sonra bitirdim...] (NGOI-8, p. 10)

Public service interpreters generally work with vulnerable groups of the community, such as refugees, and even some interpreters can be refugees themselves. In this case, it is important that interpreters, who sometimes have to listen and interpret traumatic stories, be able to control their emotional state so that they can perform their work effectively. However, interpreters are sometimes inevitably affected emotionally in traumatic situations due to empathy with vulnerable groups, an issue reported by NGOI-2, NGOI-3, NGOI-4, NGOI-5 and NGOI-8. Although the issue is also touched on by the interviewed officials and in the institutional code of conduct provided to the practitioners, no suggestions are proposed about how the interpreters can cope with emotional distress. The only method mentioned in this regard is talking to the interviewer colleagues on traumatic issues after the interviews, which is reported by NGOI-2, NGOI-3 and NGOI-5.

Apart from that, the interviewed interpreters seem to comply with the expectations from them and understand the importance of controlling emotions. While some state they have adopted it as a principle from the very beginning, others mention that they have overcome emotionality over time. In this regard, it is important to provide practitioners with the necessary mechanisms for dealing with emotional situations within the scope of training programs and institutional working conditions, as also suggested in

some of the universal ethical codes for interpreters, such as the standards of CHIA (2002:38).

By and large, since the interpreter-mediated encounters could not be observed in the present study, to what extent and how the interpreters actually display the behaviors they have mentioned in terms of the ethical principles is a matter further discussion. Yet based on the above-mentioned accounts, it can be said that the practitioners, who have learned interpreting on-the-job for the most part, seem to have developed awareness towards the traditional principles of interpreting, although they have not received sufficient interpreter training. It can be suggested that the in-service trainings and the institutional code of conduct provided to them might be the factors guiding this issue. Moreover, the fact that the practitioners highlight the principles specified in the institutional code of conduct, although without explicitly referring to the mentioned code, indicates that they are mostly aligned with the institutional identity and role projected for themselves, as is the case with their restricted agency.

On the other hand, although the interpreters seem to be informed of the traditional ethical principles in interpreting, their internalization of such ethical principles and their ability to practice those principles during interpreting activities depend on a number of conditions. First of all, as also suggested by certain scholars (Rudvin, 2007, 2015; Hale, 2007, 2008; Bahadır, 2011; Bancroft, 2015), the ethical principles laid out for interpreters need to be more applicable to real-life situations and need to pay heed to the social aspect of the interpreting processes and the expectations of the parties from interpreters. Moreover, as also underlined by various scholars (Wadensjö, 1998; Clifford, 2004; Leanza, 2005; Hale, 2007), the interpreters need to develop a thorough understanding of ethical principles and their implications in practice, which is only possible through comprehensive interpreter trainings that will bring professional awareness to the interpreters.

4.4. THE PRACTITIONERS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE INTERPRETING PROFESSION

In this section, the general attitude of the interviewed NGO interpreters regarding the interpreting profession will be evaluated. More specifically, the practitioners' general perceptions of the interpreting profession and their perspectives on the professional development will be mentioned. Their perspectives on the general awareness towards interpreting and the recognition of interpreters will also be discussed. Lastly, this section will address whether the practitioners have built self-esteem in their work trajectory, whether they are able to maintain the *illusio*, and whether they view interpreting as a sustainable job.

4.4.1. The Practitioners' General Perceptions of the Interpreting Profession

In general, the NGO interpreters view the interpreting job as a sort of social work, an opportunity to use their knowledge of languages as well as a job, in which practitioners have limited authority. As mentioned earlier, some of the interviewed NGO interpreters imply that interpreting is a social work involving the issue of assistance to people. In this sense, for instance, NGOI-1 (p. 7) mentions the moral feeling felt through working with refugees and likens the role of interpreters to those of the backstage heroes of a theater. NGOI-2 (p. 9) and NGOI-4 (p. 55) remark that they feel happy and morally satisfied by providing support to people in the relief agency. Along the same line, NGOI-6 (p. 3) and NGOI-9 (p. 4) state after witnessing the difficulties experienced by refugees, they have chosen this job since they view it as an area where they can help them. On the other hand, certain practitioners, especially NGOI-5 (p. 4) and NGOI-7 (p. 4), mentioning that they can not practice their main profession, imply they consider interpreting as job area where they can use their available cultural capital, including the linguistic capital, as a response to the increased language needs in Turkey.

As thoroughly discussed in Section 4.2., the vast majority of the interviewed practitioners imply that interpreting is a job, in which its own practitioners have limited

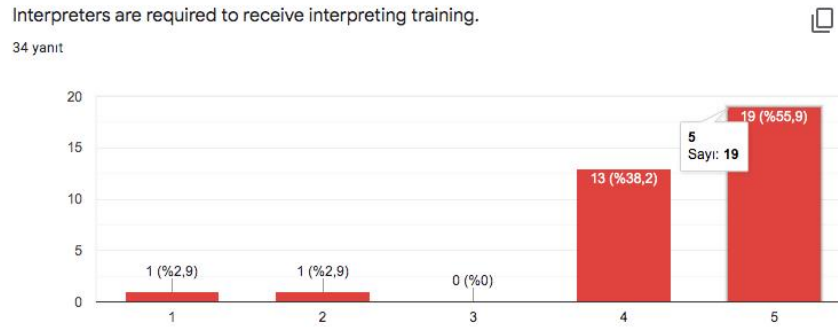
autonomy against other professional groups endowed with more authority and symbolic power. In this regard, many practitioners define their roles as only a transmitter, using such expressions as “messenger”, “voice”, “video”, “post” and “channel”. Nearly all the practitioners express that within the scope of their restricted roles, they remind counselees of their task boundaries in the face of their high expectations, and they exercise a restricted agency by avoiding expressing their own opinions in communication encounters, avoiding bilateral meetings with counselees other than interpreting situations, and leaving the initiative to the authorities at critical points, especially within the institution.

Furthermore, almost all the practitioners underline that it is the officials who have the expertise and knowledge and mention their responsibilities towards them in interpreting situations. They express that they inform officials or get their permission, even in ordinary situations that might naturally arise during interpreting, such as addressing counselee questions, cultural explanations and requests for plain language from the parties. In general, as discussed earlier (see Section 4.2), based on the practitioners’ definitions about their role and task boundaries, it is understood that they have mostly internalized and have become inured to their limited autonomy within the scope of the interpreter position, considering it as an inherent property of the interpreting profession.

4.4.2. The Practitioners’ Perspectives on the Professional Development

As for professional development, all the interviewed practitioners and the vast majority of those who have responded to the questionnaire (32/34) agree that interpreters need to receive interpreting trainings.

Figure 41: Practitioner Views on the Necessity of Interpreter Training



In addition to interpreting trainings, NGOI-4 (p. 53), who is a graduate of a translation and interpreting department, mentions the need for a monitoring institution to supervise interpreters. NGOI-6 (p. 17) underlines the need for interpreters to watch films narrating the customs and traditions of the relevant culture and the need for them to live for a while in the relevant countries to learn the culture. NGOI-9 (p. 17) expresses the need for students studying in related departments to do internships and to study abroad.

On the other hand, the practitioners' understanding of the scope of interpreting trainings is also an issue that is worth mentioning. For instance, the practitioners in general find the short-term in-service trainings provided to them sufficient. There are also practitioners who associate professional development in interpreting with the improvement of language skills and who recommend interpreter trainings in courses instead of comprehensive university education on the subject. For instance, NGOI-7 (p. 18) remarks that interpreting trainings can be given in public education centers, which are in fact institutions that only organize Arabic language courses. NGOI-3 (p. 29) and NGOI-8 (p. 15) highlight the need for courses that provide certificates for people with relevant skills.

The questionnaire results on the issue are also remarkable (Figure 8). Of the 16 practitioners who have marked that they have received an interpreter training, 4 have indicated the type of interpreter training as bachelor's degree, 1 as master's degree and 7 as certificate program. Given that, as previously mentioned, the practitioners recruited to

the institution are in general not trained in the field of translation and interpreting⁵⁴, it is highly likely that those who have chosen these options have reduced interpreting training to language trainings. Besides, while referring to the type of interpreter training, 1 respondent has indicated it as "my native language", 1 has remarked "I have improved it abroad", and 1 has noted "within family". Accordingly, it can be understood that these practitioners also reduce the interpreter training to the improvement of language skills.

Figure 8: The Type of Interpreter Training



In a similar vein, the interviewed NGO officials also reduce the skills required for interpreting only to language skills. For instance, when asked what needs to be done to improve interpreting services, Official 2 (p. 3) underlines the shortage of practitioners and recommends encouraging more people to learn the relevant language so that they can practice interpreting. Likewise, Official 3 (p. 8) states people need to learn the relevant language instead of resorting to an interpreter for their communication needs, and she further suggests that language learning conditions and infrastructure need to be improved to this end. On the whole, the above-mentioned perceptions of the practitioners regarding the interpreter training seem to be in parallel with the general perception in society. Most of the practitioners also think that qualifications required for

⁵⁴ As mentioned in Section 4.3., the official responsible for the training and supervision of the interpreters in the institution remarks that the most important criterion when recruiting interpreters is the knowledge of two languages. He further mentions that there is almost no graduate of translation and interpreting department among those working as interpreters and that at the very most there are graduates of departments related to languages such as French, Persian, English.

the interpreting job can be acquired through narrow-scoped trainings. Accordingly, it can be said that the interpreting profession is not viewed even by its practitioners as a profession with strong *habitus* like other professions such as law, psychology and medicine, for which comprehensive and formal education is required.

4.4.3. The Practitioners' Perspectives on the General Awareness Towards Interpreting and the Recognition of Interpreters

As discussed earlier, translation and interpreting in general is viewed as a secondary profession, and translators and interpreters are considered as a semi-professional group (Sela-Sheffy, 2005; Wolf, 2007). The low prestige and status of the profession mostly stems from the lack of laws protecting the profession, and the lack of formal educational opportunities, commonly accepted professional ethics, professional associations and eligibility criteria to perform the profession, which are the requirements of institutionalization (Sela-Sheffy, 2005; Wolf, 2007). As a result, the profession has not acquired a large amount of symbolic capital, the form of capital, which is manifested as prestige, recognition, esteem and credit in others' eyes (Bourdieu, 1998; 2000). The lack of recognition and appreciation is even more evident in public service interpreting, the practitioners of which mostly give service to socially and economically weak groups, such as refugees.

As a matter of fact, almost all of the interviewed NGO interpreters point to the lack of awareness towards the interpreter's tasks and responsibilities especially among officials working with interpreters in public institutions. In this regard, for example, NGOI-1 (p. 22) remarks that some public officials, ignoring the effect of the differences between languages on the length of interpreting, question whether the interpreter adds or omits details while interpreting. NGOI-1 also mentions the officials who demand that the interpreter interrupt the speech of counselees. Drawing attention to the wrongness of this situation, NGOI-1 says

[...]sometimes when the counselee speaks, [public officials can say to me] "come on, tell her/him [the counselee] to cut it short. Ok, enough." They don't know that this could be wrong.[...]

[...bazen şöyle bir şey de olabiliyor: Danışan konuşunca bana şey de yapılabiliyor. “Hadi, söyle kısa kessin. Tamam, yeter.” Bunun yanlış olabileceğini de bilmiyorlar...] (NGOI-1, p. 22)

Likewise, NGOI-2 (pp. 28-9) and NGOI-5 (p. 13) also note that public officials sometimes interrupt the interpreter's or counselees' speech. NGOI-2, adding that especially doctors sometimes want him to make explanations to refugees outside the doctor's room, remarks that he does not pay attention to such instructions of doctors. Similarly, NGOI-5 (p. 18) points out that when some public officials who do not know how to work with the interpreter give him instructions on the interpreting manner, he does not pay regard to such instructions and he performs the interpreting task according to his own methods. NGOI-4 (p. 19) mentions that officials generally call interpreters to work without allowing them to prepare for the interviews, which she thinks might be challenging for interpreters. NGOI-4 (p. 51) also remarks that some officials who know the relevant language may sometimes intervene in the interpreter's speech and that in this case, she might warn such officials not to intrude into her area of responsibility as an interpreter. Thus, the mentioned practitioners, who are sometimes offended or disrespected by officials, might resist the officials' demands and safeguard their roles and professional boundaries (Rudvin, 2005:175).

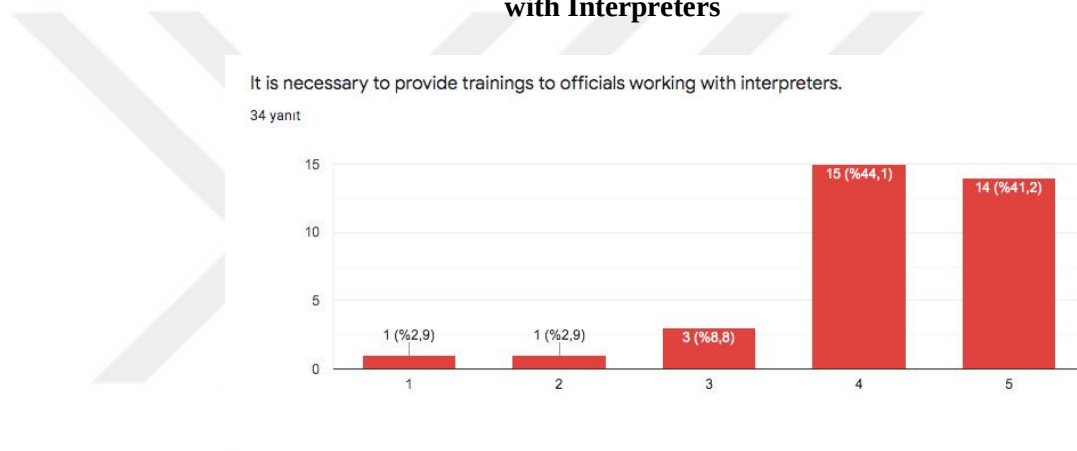
By the same token, NGOI-7 (p. 8) and NGOI-9 (p. 16) mention the officials who speak without a break, ignoring the brain capacity of the interpreter. And NGOI-8 (p. 14) expresses that doctors' excessive use of medical terms can create difficulties for interpreters. The aforementioned practitioners, who talk about the challenges they face in interpreting situations involving public officials from different professions, can be said to act in a sort of "zone of uncertainty"⁵⁵ (Bourdieu, 2000), in which their performances are overshadowed by the agents of the dominant fields (Inghilleri, 2005a: 83). The practitioners, already acting in a relatively weak field (see Sections 1.1.3. and 2.3.1.) and not having strong investments towards acquiring the *habitus* of this field (see

⁵⁵ According to Bourdieu (2000) "“zones of uncertainty” are social spaces where positions are “ill-defined” and the expectations of the habitus as regards the position it ought to occupy are not met, thus generating a problematic gap that allows agents to bring in their own dispositions and shape the field activity (emphasis in the original, pp. 157-8).

Section 4.1.), may not always find adequate strength to safeguard their roles in such “zones of uncertainty”.

Having said this, it is also worth mentioning that all the interviewed practitioners agree that public officials need to receive trainings on how to work with interpreters. Likewise, 85.3% of the practitioners (29/34) who have responded to the questionnaire agree that it is necessary to provide trainings to officials working with interpreters.

Figure 42: Practitioner Views on the Necessity of Training for Officials Working with Interpreters



Apart from the lack of awareness towards specific interpreter tasks and responsibilities, certain practitioners also argue that their skills and roles as interpreters are not sufficiently recognized and that the interpreting profession is not considered as prestigious as the other professions within the institution. More specifically, the interpreters mention that they are not considered important by other professional groups, that they feel dependent on those professional groups rather than feeling as an agent with individuality, and that they are not sufficiently motivated for their professional development. In that vein, NGOI-3 (p. 26) mentions that she is sometimes viewed in the background as an interpreter by some officials, especially those who do not have experience in working with an interpreter. NGOI-3 (p. 28) further remarks that her skills and university education are sometimes not sufficiently recognized, saying that some officials ignore the interpreter's knowledge on cultural issues and do not ask her for her opinions. She adds that such officials sometimes give her orders, which makes her feel

inferior. Emphasizing the need to increase the level of awareness that the interpreter is an individual with expertise, NGOI-3 remarks

[...]Actually, we can tell people that an interpreter is an individual, and she/he exists. Yes, I'm just here as a voice. We can explain this in the trainings and create awareness. I mean, the interpreter isn't, for example, a slave who works with you or not your apprentice. Actually, we are doing a joint work. We are working together. We can actually explain this equality. There is equality here. It is very important to convey this. And that person [the interpreter] really has value.[...]

[...Kişilere şeyi anlatabiliriz aslında. Hani, tercüman da bir birey, o da var. Evet, ben ses olarak sadece buradayım. Bunu zaten eğitimlerde hani, bunu anlatabiliriz, farkındalık yaratarak. Yani, tercüman şey değil yani, mesela senin yanında çalışan bir köle değil ya da mesela senin çırağın değil. O sana aslında siz ortak bir çalışma yapıyorsunuz. Beraber çalışıyorsunuz. Bu eşitliği anlatabiliriz aslında. Eşitlik var burada yani. Bunu sadece iletmek çok önemli aslında. Ve o kişinin de gerçekten değeri var....] (NGOI-3, p. 30)

Along the same line, NGOI-4 (p. 18) states the belief she held as a student of translation and interpreting department that the profession was respectable has been shattered after starting to work as an interpreter. She mentions she has realized that the awareness regarding the profession in real life is rather low. She expresses her disillusionment due to such issues as the lack of her own workspace and the extra tasks other than interpreting such as fulfilling registration procedures of refugees in the institution. NGOI-4 (p. 49) further mentions that some officials do not respect the interpreter's roles and skills, which she expresses as a condition that degrades her performance. All the mentioned factors can be said to have brought about weakened self-esteem for NGOI-4. Underlining that the interpreting profession requires more skills than only speaking a foreign language, NGOI-4 states she is not able to improve herself professionally, and therefore, she is constantly questioning herself. She remarks

I am satisfied, thinking that I help people, I feel happy. But I don't improve [myself] professionally. This is my opinion. Maybe when we ask a manager or ask other colleagues, they may say they improve themselves. But the theoretical information I got... For example, I was improving myself more at school. I was translating more texts, I was dealing with different areas.

[Yani, böyle insanlara yardımcı olduğumu düşünerek tatmin olurum, seviniyorum. Ama mesleğimi geliştirmiyorum. Yani, geliştiğini düşünmüyorum. Bu benim düşüncem. Belki mesela bir müdürümüze sorduğumuzda ya da diğer arkadaşlara sorduğunuzda onlar kendilerini çok geliştiriyor olabilirler. Ama ben o aldığım

teorik bilgiler, mesela okulda daha çok geliştiriyordum kendimi. Daha çok metin çeviriyordum. Daha çok farklı alanlara yöneliyordum.] (NGOI-4, p. 55)

Similarly, NGOI-5 (p. 7) believes that the interpreting profession has been discredited in Turkey after the refugee influx, and it has become a job that can be practiced by even uneducated people who know the relevant foreign language very little. Moreover, he notes that there are not sufficient opportunities for practicing interpreters to professionally develop, and they are not adequately motivated, causing them to feel worthless compared to other professional groups. He says in this regard

For example, generally, the interpreters have a concern while working. They think they aren't valued. "My presence depends on the social worker." They [social workers] are referred as members of a profession. Instead, what can be done is... For example, if the interpreters have a deficiency, they should be given confidence. "Look, you're an interpreter. You are important to us. If you have a financial loss, let's fix it, but you are to professionalize in this field. So we expect you to improve yourself and we give you the training." I mean they need to be given that confidence.[...]

[Genelde mesela tercümanların şöyle bir kaygısı oluyordu bizim çalıştığımız zamanlar. İşte, şey görüyor. İşte, ah ben, bana değer verilmiyor. "İşte hani, sosyal çalışmacı varsa ben varım." Hani o yüzden o [sosyal çalışmacı] meslek elemanı diye geçiyor. Onun yerine işte şey yapabilir. Tercümanların mesela bir eksikliği varsa ya şu güveni verebilmeniz gerekiyor. "Bak, sen tercümansın. Bizim için önemlisin. Maddi olarak bir kaybın varsa onu düzeltmeye gidelim. Ama sen bu alanda profesyonelleş. Yani senden kendini geliştirmeni bekliyoruz ve biz elimizden gelen eğitimi sana veriyoruz." Hani, ona orada bir güveni vermeleri gerekiyor...] (NGOI-5, pp. 15-6)

Expressing their disillusionment and the lack of motivation in their current job, NGOI-3, NGOI-4 and NGOI-5 do not have the power to change the mentioned offending situations in the face of the lack of professional resources, rewards and support. Under the current circumstances, which also pose a challenge for the profession's future, they express their indecision to pursue the current job in the future, as will be discussed in the following section.

On the other hand, a number of practitioners seem satisfied with the attitude of the officials towards them, especially within the NGO unit they work for. In this respect, especially NGOI-6, NGOI-8 and NGOI-9 mention that they are respected as interpreters within the institution and that their skills and responsibilities are recognized by the

officials. For instance, NGOI-6, saying that everyone in the institution is an expert in their field and performs their job within the scope of the job description, also affirms that she does not feel like a tool, since she is informed about interpreting assignments beforehand. More specifically, she remarks

When we go somewhere, we are informed about that. Being informed, I mean, never about the content of the case, such a thing is not possible. But let's say there is a case. An explanation is made at least. I mean, we don't go at random and are not asked to interpret something. Of course there is a communication between us. There can never be such a conversation about the content of the case, but at least about my work. Why we go, where we go, how we go, when we return. I mean, they don't see me as a tool for interpreting. That's why I feel respected.

[Bir yere çıkacağımız zaman bir bilgilendirme falan oluyor. Şöyle bilgilendirme, hani, olayın içeriği ile ilgili asla değil, öyle bir şey olamaz. Ama hani şu an, hani, bir durum var. Onun için gidiyoruz. Bir açıklama yapılıyor en azından. Hani pat, diye gidip evet, şunu tercüme et, değil. Aramızda bir iletişim oluyor tabi ki. Vakanın içeriğiyle ilgili asla böyle bir muhabbet olamaz ama hani en azından işimle ilgili. Neden gittiğimizi, nereye gittiğimizi, nasıl gideceğimizi, ne zaman döneceğimizi gibi. Hani, bence yani, dikkate alarak, yani, beni hani bir sadece tercümanlık yapmak için araç olarak görmüyor. Saygı duyulduğumu hissediyorum o yüzden.] (NGOI-6, p. 6)

NGOI-8 notes that her persuasive skills are recognized by the institution officials (p. 7), and she is shown as an example for her interpreting performance (p. 8). She further acknowledges that there is no superior-subordinate relationship among the institution employees, and officials do not give her any instructions about interpreting tasks (p. 14). NGOI-8 (p. 13) also mentions that consultants sometimes ask her about her opinions on refugees after the interviews, which can also be considered as a sign that her opinions as an interpreter are valued by other professional groups within the institution. In a similar manner, NGOI-9, mentioning that other professional groups within the institution are sufficiently aware of the interpreter's role and responsibilities, also expresses that he is thanked by the institution officials for solving the issues as an interpreter. He remarks

I get positive feedback, which makes me happy. Or issues are solved thanks to my interpreting and you see that you help people. The other colleagues already say that. Or when the counseling is over, the colleagues thank me. [...]

[İyi dönütler alıyorum, o da mutlu ediyor beni. Ya da mesela olayların çözüm aşamasında tercümanlığım sayesinde bazı şeyler mesela çözülüyor. İnsanlara

yardım ettiğinizi görüyorsunuz. Diğer arkadaşlar da bunu zaten dillendiriyor. Ya da danışmanlık bittiğinde arkadaşlar da teşekkür ediyor zaten...] (NGOI-9, p. 6)

As a matter of fact, the interviewed institution officials, who attribute a restricted realm of authority to the interpreters (see the whole of Section 4.2.) on one hand, also express their recognition of the interpreters' role and skills on the other. To give an example, Official 1 defines the role of interpreters as a key role and states they cannot carry out tasks without the interpreters. He says

Obviously, we can't carry out work without them. Because, as an institution, we assign them to hospitals and they are the ones who bear the brunt. I mean, some sensitive cases need to be directly followed and taken care of. So the interpreter's role is very very big here.

[Onlar olmasa iş yürütemeyiz açıkçası. Çünkü bunun en çok şeyini çeken, ceremesini çeken kurum olarak mesela hastane yönlendirmelerimiz oluyor. Yani bazı hassas vakalarda ve birebir ilgilenilmesi, takip edilmesi gerekiyor. Bunda yani, tercüman rolü çok çok büyük.] (Official 1, p. 5)

Moreover, Official 1 (p. 5) remarks that especially the interpreters who are refugees themselves and who have experienced traumas similar to those faced by other refugees do a great job in their interpreting performances. Along the same line, Official 3 (p. 6) mentions that the interpreters are an important bridge in the communication processes with refugees. Moreover, underlining that it is important for those who practice the interpreting profession to be experts in the field and to know the requirements of the profession, Official 3 (p. 8) asserts that the interpreters working for ASAM are more equipped than those working for other public institutions.

Based on the accounts of the above-mentioned interpreters and officials, it can be argued that the linguistic and cultural knowledge of the interpreters, namely the major form of capital of the interpreting profession, is recognized by some of the institution officials, which can be said to generate esteem and thus symbolic capital to the interpreters to a certain extent. However, the increase in the symbolic value of public service interpreters in general depends on the societal, national and international recognition of this form of interpreting as a profession, requiring special skills and formal education, and on the adoption of practices and policies to this end.

4.4.4. Maintaining *Illusio* and Perspectives on the Sustainability of the Interpreting Job

As discussed in Section 4.1., the majority of the NGO interpreters interviewed in this study have received education in the fields other than translation and interpreting, such as law, journalism, and teaching (see Table 2). Furthermore, other than NGOI-3 and NGOI-4, the practitioners have not mentioned any comprehensive and long-term investments in the translation and interpreting profession, apart from several language courses and short-term work experience (see Table 2). In other words, it can be said that the majority of the practitioners have not developed a fundamental interest, namely *illusio*, in the interpreting profession and have not acquired the dispositions required by the profession, which are long-standing processes nourished by primary *habitus* (see Bourdieu, 2000: 164-5). Yet still, in the face of the increased language and communication needs of the large refugee population in Turkey, the practitioners, whose most important form of capital for the interpreting job is "embodied linguistic capital" (Koskinen, 2020: 110), have taken an interest in the job of NGO interpreting. While the interest and commitment of some practitioners have increased during their work experience, some of them have not been able to maintain their interest in the job to the same extent for various reasons, as will be discussed below.

As mentioned in Section 4.4.3., NGOI-6, NGOI-8 and NGOI-9 point to the increased self-esteem resulting from officials' recognition of their skills and responsibilities, especially within the NGO units they work for. Thus, the mentioned practitioners seem to maintain their motivation in the job they are currently performing. On the other hand, as also discussed in Section 4.4.3., especially NGOI-3, NGOI-4 and NGOI-5 speak of the disillusionment they feel, resulting from the lack of recognition of their skills and responsibilities as interpreters and of the interpreting profession in general. Feeling undervalued, the mentioned practitioners seem to have lost their motivation, which hints at a weakened *illusio* (cf. Guéry, 2014; Colley & Guéry, 2015). In other words, over time, they have started to think that the stakes of the interpreting job at the NGO are not adequately worth pursuing, which has led them to be indecisive

about continuing this job as a future career. However, although NGOI-3 and NGOI-4, who have made certain investments for the translation and interpreting profession and who seem more prepared to act in this field than the other practitioners (see Section 4.1.), have been disillusioned by the lack of resources, rewards and recognition in their current work, they want to continue in different areas of translation and interpreting, as they have strong *illusio* and investments for this field.

Despite working at the NGO units within the scope of projects carried out in cooperation with national and international institutions and organizations (see Section 3.2.), none of the interpreters express any concern regarding the continuity of the jobs at the NGO units. However, they hold diverging opinions about the sustainability of the interpreting job as their future career. For instance, NGOI-2 as well as NGOI-6 and NGOI-8, who, as previously mentioned, have a relatively positive perception of the interpreting job at the NGO, affirm that they want to continue it as a future career. NGOI-2, who started the job in the institution as support staff in the first instance and was recruited as an interpreter after the second application, expresses that he feels happy to assist people in the humanitarian aid sector (p. 9). NGOI-6, who changed her job in the banking sector to the interpreting job at the humanitarian aid sector, asserts that she wants to continue the job as long as possible. NGOI-8, who views her job as a source of happiness and therapy for herself, says she has turned down different projects offered by other institutions for the sake of her current job (p. 16). Accordingly, it can be suggested that these practitioners find the interpreting job in the institution satisfactory and consider it as a sustainable job. Thanks to the moral dimension of the work and the satisfaction they derive from the job, they seem to maintain the “feel for the game” (Bourdieu, 1990b), which has led them to be engaged in the interpreting job.

On the other hand, as noted above, NGOI-3, NGOI-4 and NGOI-5, who are disillusioned with their current job, since their expectations are not fulfilled, express their indecision about continuing this job. In particular, NGOI-3 and NGOI-4, who seem not to have got the return of their investments in the translation and interpreting field in this job, want to perpetuate their investments in other areas of the translation and interpreting field. NGOI-3 (pp. 31-2), stating that she likes all areas of the translation

and interpreting field, expresses that she wants to improve herself especially in simultaneous interpreting, to obtain a translator certificate of oath and to learn other foreign languages and use them as working languages. Finally, she adds that as a person having a mastery of the two languages, namely Turkish and Arabic, and of the cultures, she finds herself privileged and may want to work in a position other than interpreting at a state institution.

Similarly, NGOI-4, the only one holding a bachelor's degree in translation and interpreting among the interviewed interpreters, mentions that she wants to wend her way to other areas of the translation and interpreting field (pp. 54-5). She believes that she can professionally improve herself more in the areas of legal or literary translation or as a certified translator having her own translation agency. Accordingly, it is understood that under the current circumstances, public service interpreting at the NGO, which is a sort of charity work, does not meet the career and status expectations of NGOI-3 and NGOI-4 and that they want to pursue their career in other areas of the translation and interpreting field.

NGOI-5, touching on the lack of motivation resources for the interpreters (p. 17), also denotes that he can only continue to work as an interpreter on condition that these resources are increased. NGOI-5, who has been educated in another field (journalism) and who does not have the same level of preparedness and investments for the interpreting profession as NGOI-3 and NGOI-4, implies that he can completely leave the interpreting field unless his expectations are met.

It is also understood that NGOI-1, NGOI-7 and NGOI-9, who do not have negative perceptions of their current job at the NGO, are also indecisive about the sustainability of the interpreting job. While NGOI-1⁵⁶ remarks that she can work in a different area where she can provide assistance through the knowledge of foreign language, NGOI-9 mentions that he can work in a position other than interpreting within NGOs in order to improve himself⁵⁷. NGOI-7, a graduate of law faculty, makes it clear

⁵⁶ NGOI-1 and NGOI-9 hold a bachelor's degree in teaching.

⁵⁷ NGOI-1 and NGOI-9 have not made any remarks regarding what kind of alternative job opportunities they consider for their future career. Yet it is understood that they think of a job different from interpreting.

that he views interpreting as a temporary job and wants to continue his career as a lawyer in the future. Based on these, it can be suggested although the mentioned practitioners are currently satisfied with the interpreting job at the NGO, they are likely to prefer different job opportunities to the interpreting job in the future, since they hold different expectations for the future based on their other skills and educational background that is not related to translation and interpreting.

4.5. THE FORMS OF CAPITAL (UN)AVAILABLE TO THE NGO INTERPRETERS AND THE (NON)FORMATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

One of the settings where public service interpreters serve is the NGOs, and in Turkey, ASAM is one of the few NGOs that employ in-house interpreters, who give service both within the institution and in other public institutions, such as healthcare facilities and police units. As previously mentioned, the NGO interpreters, the majority of whom are not trained in the interpreting field and do not have significant investments in it (see Section 4.1.), are mostly engaged in the interpreting job by relying solely on their linguistic capital, a sub-type of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991:61), which exists in the embodied state rooted in primary *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1972, cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 134; Bourdieu, 1998) and in the institutionalized state; namely in the form of language knowledge acquired in the family and in the social environment, and through language education in courses and schools.

Linguistic capital becomes the most significant form of capital for interpreters, and even it is mostly more important than the institutionalized cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications for the recruitment to the institutions. This is also the case for the interpreters of ASAM discussed within the scope of the present study. And due to the increased need for Arabic-speaking individuals in Turkey, the mentioned linguistic capital has turned into "scarcity value", which generates "profits of distinction" (Bourdieu, 1986:244) for the interpreters. In other words, cultural capital, which can be converted into other types of capital (Bourdieu, 1986), primarily produces

economic capital in the form of a regular salary and also some sort of social capital in the form of institutional identity and membership for the interpreters.

The interviewed NGO interpreters might sometimes develop social bonds with refugees, which are generally created through assistance and affection, rooted in the empathy feelings and helping behavior towards refugees as well as in the moral dimension of humanitarian aid. For instance, NGOI-1 (pp. 8-9) and NGOI-2 (p. 14) state refugees usually need the interpreter's assistance in the procedures in public institutions outside the NGO, which they imply naturally brings along the development of bonds with refugees. Along the same line, NGOI-4, emphasizing that NGO interpreting is different from interpreting in other settings since the concept of humanity is more prominent (p. 16), notes that she patiently and sympathetically explains the procedures of the institution to refugees coming to the NGO and assists refugees, whose problems she already knows, in the arrangement of urgent interviews with the relevant specialists (p. 45), which all lead to the development of intimate relationships with refugees. In fact, such situations mentioned by NGOI-1, NGOI-2 and NGOI-4 indicate that they also adopt a sort of "intercultural mediation approach" (Duman, 2018:141).

Moreover, the practitioners might sometimes develop emotional bonds with refugees based on their empathy feelings. For instance, NGOI-5, as well as NGOI-3 and NGOI-8, being individuals who share the same nationality, cultural background and past experiences, in other words common *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998), with refugees, mention a few times when they have established empathy with refugees and have become highly emotional, although they say that they mostly suppress their feelings during interviews.

Yet the mentioned social bonds developed with refugees, a group with relatively low social, cultural and economic capital, cannot be said to generate high symbolic capital to the interpreters. As Bourdieu (1986:247) argues, in order for such relations to be productive, connections need to be established with groups endowed with other types of capital. It could be suggested that the social bonds developed with refugees primarily generate a sense of moral satisfaction to the interpreters. In this sense, for instance, NGOI-1 (p. 5) remarks that she feels happy with the positive feedback she receives from

refugees, and NGOI-8 (p. 11) mentions that there are refugees, who always prefer to get service from her, which, according to her, is a source of pride.

On the other hand, the social capital the interpreters accumulate through the institutional identity and membership has the potential for generating a 'credential' (Bourdieu, 1986:246) and other types of capital for them. The NGO, for which the interpreters work, carry out a wide range of activities in the field of asylum and immigration in Turkey, runs projects through the UN funds and cooperates with the state institutions in Turkey, all of which have the potential for bringing economic, social and symbolic capital and thus social recognition to the institution. In this regard, the interviewed NGO officials also emphasize the social recognition the NGO has gained in the eyes of the other public institutions. For instance, Official 2 (p. 3) notes that they are respected for the quality of their work and that there is a trust relationship between the NGO and public institutions despite the conflicts occurring from time to time. It can be suggested that the interpreters' membership to such an institution and their institutional identity might confer on them the social and symbolic capital possessed by the NGO to some extent. However, it can also be argued that the interpreters may not benefit from this social capital as much as the other professional groups with a greater amount of capital due to their relatively less authority within the scope of the interpreter position in the institution and the lack of public awareness towards the interpreting profession.

As mentioned earlier, based on the accounts of the interviewed NGO interpreters, it can be argued that they have formed an alignment with the institutions, of which they are members, an issue also discussed in several other studies (Rudvin, 2007, 2015; Bahadır, 2011; Aguilar Solano, 2012). Accordingly, the practitioners are inclined to comply with the institutional constraints which are binding for them, and there seems to be a sense of commitment to the institutional ethics, which is specified in detail in the institutional code of conduct for interpreters and which is highlighted by the interviewed NGO officials. Furthermore, the practitioners generally imply they act within the role boundaries defined for them, and they frequently highlight their responsibility towards other professional groups, who they think have the expertise and knowledge, necessary in communication processes with counselees.

They also commonly imply that interpreters have in fact limited authority compared to officials who hold greater amount of capital and symbolic power than themselves, and it seems that they have taken this situation for granted and have internalized it as part of the job they perform. In that sense, it can be argued that the practitioners, viewing interpreting as a secondary activity against the jobs of other professional groups, have conceded the low social prestige of their job, as also suggested by Simeoni (1998). The practitioners' mentioned perception of the interpreting job can be said to largely stem from the general lack of opportunities for the interpreters' professional development as well as the low awareness of the interpreter's roles and responsibilities among officials and in other segments of the society, which is also addressed especially by NGOI-3, NGOI-4 and NGOI-5.

On the other hand, certain resources that the NGO interpreters possess, such as cultural capital involving the knowledge of languages, the regular in-service trainings, the economic capital in the form of a regular salary and the social capital in the form of institutional membership and identity, have the potential for generating a relatively higher amount of symbolic capital for them. For instance, the cultural capital possessed by the practitioners actually adds distinction to them and provides them with a "source of power" in Rudvin's (2005:171-2) sense in communication processes, since, unlike the other parties of the interactions, they are the ones who can understand all the spoken details and who are likely to have the cultural knowledge necessary for addressing cultural differences (Rudvin, 2005:171-2). In that sense, the practitioners can be said to act in the capacity of a "culture broker" (Niska, 2002: 138) or a "cultural expert" (Rudvin, 2005:172).

As a matter of fact, the interviewed practitioners also mention the situations in which they put their cultural knowledge forward. For instance, NGOI-3 (p. 12), NGOI-5 (pp. 12-3) and NGOI-6 (p. 15) underline that they make explanations about cultural differences when necessary. By the same token, based on their cultural knowledge, especially NGOI-1 (p. 15), NGOI-3 (p. 19), NGOI-4 (p. 32) and NGOI-8 (p. 11) clearly express that they try to find the closest available equivalence in the target language for cultural elements without direct equivalences.

The privileged knowledge and competence of interpreters in communication processes is also mentioned in the institutional code of conduct for interpreters. In this regard, it is denoted

[...]However, in the case of linguistic vagueness or ambiguities, or if the explanation of a term or idiom that has no equivalent in the target language is necessary or a misunderstanding that only the interpreter can clarify arises, the interpreter is expected to intervene and clarify language-related issues because he/she is the only person with specific knowledge and competence, who can realize misunderstandings arising from cultural or linguistic differences between the parties and incorrect assumptions made accordingly.[...]

[...Bununla birlikte, dilsel açıdan muğlaklık ya da iki anlamlılık söz konusu olduğunda veya eğer hedef dilde bir karşılığı olmayan bir terim ya da deyim in açıklanması veya sadece tercümanın açıklığa kavuşturabileceği bir yanlış anlama gibi bir durum ortaya çıkarsa, tercümandan müdahale etmesi ve dil ile ilgili konuları aydınlatması beklenir. Çünkü soru ve cevaplardan, taraflar arasında kültürel veya dil farklılığından kaynaklanan yanlış anlama ve buna bağlı olarak geliştirilen yanlış varsayımların olduğunu fark edebilecek spesifik bilgiye ve donanımına sahip tek kişi tercümandır. ...] (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 8)

In this respect, this knowledge and competence can create value for the interpreters, yet it hinges on several conditions such as the amount of symbolic capital the other parties have in communication processes and the relationships between individuals (see Bourdieu, 1993a:112-144) as well as the general perception of the interpreter's status and role and the autonomy of the interpreter to exercise her/his discretion (see Rudvin, 2005:171-2).

In that sense, although the institutional code of conduct highlights the knowledge and competence of the interpreters, as noted above, it downgrades their role from time to time. For instance, on the one hand, it is mentioned that interpreters play an important role as a bridge to the gap between interviewers and counselees, but on the other hand, it is stated that the presence of the interpreter reduces the effectiveness of the interview and that the interpreter needs to create an interview environment similar to that of bilateral meetings as much as possible (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 1). It is also indicated that the interpreter is as professional as she/he is invisible (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, Section 6.r). Besides, the greater empowerment of officials is also widely underlined in the institutional code of conduct, and it is

frequently emphasized that decisions regarding interpreting processes, such as deciding on the interpreting method (Section 5.A) and on the physical contact between interpreters and counselees (Section 6.j) and determining the need for interpreters to summarize the information (Section 5.C), need to be taken by officials rather than interpreters.

Likewise, the interviewed institution officials acknowledge the importance of the interpreters' role in communication processes and define it as a "key role" (Official, 1 p. 5) and as a "bridge" (Official 3, p. 5), though they also highlight the limited empowerment of the interpreters (Official 1, p. 6). In general, when such contradictory perspectives on the interpreter's role are combined with the lack of strengthened professional standards and with the scarcity of trainings that would enable interpreters to become aware of their own competence and roles and that would raise them as professional individuals making their own decisions in interpreting situations, the interpreters themselves also take a position, in which they downgrade their roles and view themselves as subservient to the officials with greater amounts of capital. Although the interpreters hold university degrees in certain fields like institution officials, they view themselves at a lower level mainly due to their job position.

Apart from their linguistic and cultural capital, the regular in-service trainings provided to the NGO interpreters are a valuable opportunity for their professional development, considering the scarcity of interpreter trainings both in Turkey and in many other countries. Such trainings have the potential of increasing the interpreters' knowledge and skills and thus can contribute to their symbolic capital. However, the short-term in-service trainings provided only once a year cannot be said to be adequate for practitioners without any prior interpreting training to form a strong professional identity, since, as also mentioned by Guéry (2014:5), such trainings in general do not provide interpreters with sufficient resources to solve the issues and challenges faced by them under real-life conditions.

In addition, the economic capital in the form of a regular salary and the social capital in the form of institutional membership and identity, namely the significant elements of institutionalism, are also the resources possessed by the NGO interpreters in

the present study. As a matter of fact, almost all of the interviewed interpreters state that they are satisfied with their salary, which is on average close to the salary of a novice nurse or teacher in Turkey. These resources, which many practicing public service interpreters do not possess, are an opportunity that could contribute to the symbolic capital of the interpreters. However, as frequently underlined previously, the fact that the practitioners do not act in an autonomous field with a clear social definition (see Bourdieu, 1984, 1993b) is likely to decrease the chances of the interpreters' accumulating as much symbolic capital as the other professional groups. Moreover, the fact that the practitioners generally do not have dispositions acquired in the long run for the interpreting profession, as also discussed earlier (see Section 4.1.), further weakens their position in the spaces, in which they act.

Individuals' gaining professional *habitus*, in other words, doing activities related to the profession on an unconscious level, depends on their internalization of the rules of that specific field as well as on the combination of these rules and the feel that triggers them to act in this field (see Bourdieu, 2018:92-3). Except for the three of the interviewed NGO interpreters (NGOI-2, NGOI-6 and NGOI-8), the others mention either their uncertainty about continuing the job as a future career or the possibility of changing the job when there find opportunities other than interpreting. Thus, it seems that the practitioners in general do not view interpreting as a job that can be sustained lifelong.

The practitioners, the majority of whom have already not made long-term investments to gain professional *habitus* in interpreting and thus are unable to firmly define their presence in this field, do not find it worth further investing in the public service interpreting job, since they are not located in an established field that promises them certain rewards and sufficient external mechanisms allowing their available capital to be aligned with this field (see Bourdieu, 2018:41). In this case, the formation of professional identity on the part of the practitioners and thus their performing a professional act in the fullest sense do not seem quite possible.

As public service interpreters generally act in a “zone of uncertainty”, namely in a space without clear social definition (Bourdieu, 2000:157-8), where their knowledge

and the dynamics of interactions are generally controlled by other professional groups with a higher amount of symbolic capital (Inghilleri, 2005a:69-70), it also seems quite difficult for even NGOI-3 and NGOI-4, who have more investments for the interpreting profession and who seem to be equipped with the *illusio* of the profession (see Section 4.1.), to form a professional identity.

Under the circumstances, in which urgent communication needs are awaiting to be fulfilled yet individuals who are well-trained and disposed to meeting the needs are scarce, the formation of strong professional *habitus* in terms of public service interpreting depends on several conditions. First of all, the criteria for the recruitment to the interpreter position need to be raised⁵⁸, and an aptitude test needs to be administered to the candidates. Moreover, those who are recruited need to be provided with more comprehensive and regular in-service trainings involving both theoretical and practical issues in cooperation with the relevant university departments. The practitioners' professional development also needs to be monitored. Other professional groups working with interpreters also need to be provided with practical trainings, in which the significance of the interpreter's role and the problems that may be caused by unprofessional interpreting services are highlighted. Above all, in order to achieve these, strong professional standards need to be specified in cooperation with the academic world and the professional associations; awareness of the society and governmental institutions towards public service interpreting needs to be raised; and formal training and education opportunities need to be increased.

The interpreter trainings organized under these conditions need to equip the practitioners with the competence of exercise of discretion and with necessary decision-making skills (Skaaden, 2019:713). In addition, interpreters need to be made aware of their own roles (Bahadır, 2011:267). Furthermore, they need to be provided with the skills to have full control over the communication processes, and their authority in these processes need to be recognized by the other parties to the processes (Rudvin, 2005;

⁵⁸ In fact, the criteria of ASAM for the recruitment of interpreters seem to be quite high (see Appendix 8). However, considering the educational and professional backgrounds of the interpreters interviewed in this study, it can be argued that these criteria are not always fully met. This may be related to the scarcity of individuals with extensive training background and strong professional experience in this field.

Tipton, 2014). In a nutshell, the necessary elements for the formation of a more stable “interpreting habitus”, in which interpreters can move out of “zones of uncertainty”, are formal interpreting training programs, training of professionals working with interpreters, and strengthened professional standards for interpreters, which will in turn yield interpreters the power to define their roles and to come to terms with “who they are” (Inghilleri, 2005a:82).

4.6. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, the trajectory and the perceptions of the public service interpreters working at the units of ASAM, one of the NGOs in Turkey providing a broad range of services to refugees, have been addressed through the data obtained from the semi-structured interviews with 9 practitioners and the questionnaire responded by 34 practitioners. The issues that have emerged from the mentioned data have also been discussed in the light of the data from the interviews with 3 institution officials and the institutional documents, such as the job posting and the code of conduct for interpreters.

Accordingly, it has been found that the practitioners, the majority of whom are not trained and have very little investment in the field of interpreting, except for several language courses and short-term work experience, have mostly found the interpreting job worth practicing based on their linguistic capital existing in the embodied state rooted in primary *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1972, cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 134; Bourdieu, 1998) and in the institutionalized state, and also based on the willingness to assist refugees created through the empathy for them. In addition, considering the educational background of the practitioners in the fields other than interpreting, it is understood that the linguistic capital they possess becomes more important for the recruitment to the institutions than the institutionalized cultural capital in the form of academic qualifications in the interpreting field.

As for their interpreting activities, one of the widely-emphasized issues by the practitioners is their limited authority compared to other officials equipped with higher amounts of capital and symbolic power. In that sense, the practitioners define their role

as only a "transmitter", and they express that they struggle to reduce refugees' high expectations from them and generally act with a sense of responsibility towards officials. Moreover, they imply they mostly exercise restricted agency, which is manifested in the form of avoidance of expressing own opinions, of undertaking initiative in interpreting tasks and of engaging in dialogues with refugees outside interpreting tasks. In this regard, the practitioners seem to have internalized their restricted authority within the scope of the interpreting job they perform. Acting in a "zone of uncertainty" in Bourdieu's (2000) sense, where their performances are overshadowed by the agents of other established professions (Inghilleri, 2005a: 83), the practitioners, most of whom are not trained in interpreting and do not have sound investments for the interpreting profession, seem to have adopted the submissive behavior traditionally associated with translators/interpreters (Simeoni, 1998).

It has also been found that the practitioners, who have learned interpreting through experience to a great extent, have generally developed an awareness towards the ethical issues in interpreting and are inclined to pay regard to the professional and institutional ethics in interpreting assignments. In this sense, impartiality, accuracy, use of first-person pronouns and emotional stamina are the principles elaborated by the practitioners. The mentioned restricted agency and commitment to the institutional ethics, the two issues which are also widely emphasized in the institutional code of conduct for interpreters and by the interviewed institution officials, can be said to be a sign of the practitioners' alignment with the institutional identity and role laid out for themselves.

Lastly, as for the practitioners' perceptions of the interpreting profession in general, some practitioners imply that interpreting is a social work, and the vast majority assert that interpreting is a job, in which its own practitioners have limited autonomy. Moreover, while the large majority of the practitioners agree that interpreters need to receive interpreting trainings, they hold diverging opinions on the scope of interpreting trainings. The practitioners in general find short-term trainings sufficient, and most of them reduce the interpreter training to the improvement of language skills. Furthermore, almost all of the interviewed practitioners point to the lack of awareness of the

interpreter's tasks and responsibilities, especially among public officials out of the NGO units they work for. In this regard, all the interviewed practitioners and the majority of the respondents of the questionnaire agree that public officials need to receive trainings on how to work with interpreters.

A number of practitioners mention the increased self-esteem and commitment as an interpreter, resulting from the institution officials' recognition of their skills and responsibilities, and from the humanitarian aspect of the job they perform, whereas certain practitioners point to the weakened self-esteem they feel and the loss of commitment necessary for maintaining the *illusio* in the interpreting job mainly due to the lack of recognition of the interpreting profession and of professional rewards and incentives. Moreover, most of the interviewed practitioners, the majority of whom have not developed any commitment and professional *habitus* in interpreting from an early age, do not view public service interpreting as a job that can be sustained lifelong. In this regard, several practitioners, who hold different expectations for the future based on their other skills and educational background that is not related to translation and interpreting, imply that they want to pursue their future career in different areas other than translation and interpreting. A limited number of practitioners, who seem to have developed a stronger interest in the field of translation and interpreting and who have made long-standing investments accordingly, mention their disillusionment in the job they perform due to the above-mentioned professional deficiencies. On the other hand, implying their sustained *illusio* in the field of translation and interpreting, these practitioners stress that they want to pursue their future career in other areas of the field, such as simultaneous interpreting and literary translation, which they believe will better satisfy their career expectations and will also match up with their available skills.

Overall, it can be argued that the practitioners are not able to transform the forms of capital available to themselves, namely the linguistic capital in the embodied and institutionalized state, the economic capital in the form of a regular salary and the social capital in the form of an institutional identity, into symbolic capital as much as the other professional groups with greater amounts of capital, since they do not act in an autonomous field with a clear social definition in Bourdieu's (1984, 1993b) terms. In the

face of the lack of strengthened professional standards, of recognition towards public service interpreting and of the opportunities to contribute to the professional development of interpreters, the practitioners, who are already not strongly equipped with the dispositions required by the interpreting profession, are not currently in a position to form a strong professional identity, which is the situation for many public service interpreters throughout the world today.



CHAPTER FIVE

THE LEGAL FIELD INTERPRETERS: INTERVENTIONIST ACTORS AGAINST RESTRICTED AUTHORITY

In this chapter, the trajectory and perceptions of the public service interpreters working in the legal field, including courthouses and police units, will be addressed. The issues to be examined are the motives that have driven the practitioners to the interpreting job, their perceptions regarding their agency and the ethical issues in court interpreting as well as their perspectives on the interpreting profession in general. Finally, the forms of capital (un)available to the practitioners in the context of the interpreting job they are engaged in, and whether or not the forms of capital have the potential to contribute to the formation of the professional identity will be questioned.

5.1. THE MOTIVES DRIVING THE PRACTITIONERS TO THE INTERPRETING JOB

Similar to the NGO interpreters, the legal field interpreters within the scope of this study have been engaged in the job basically to address the language needs of the increased refugee population in Turkey in recent years. And similar to most of the NGO interpreters, the practitioners in the legal field⁵⁹ are generally individuals who are not trained in interpreting. They have entered the interpreting field not based on accumulated resources and knowledge required by the field, but rather based on "embodied linguistic capital" in the form of "native-speaker capacity" (Koskinen, 2020: 110), which has to a certain extent turned into a "scarcity value" in Bourdieu's (1986: 244) sense in the face of the communication needs of the large number of refugees in Turkey. Unlike the NGO interpreters, the legal field interpreters do not work under an institutional identity, since they are not the permanent staff of courthouses. Those who

⁵⁹ The legal field refers to the settings of courthouses, police units, legal interview rooms and child monitoring centers.

are included on the annual lists of justice commissions are sporadically called by the relevant courthouses when needs arise.

As mentioned in Section 3.2.2.2., all the interviewed legal field interpreters in the present study are Turkish citizens, which is the first condition to be included in the interpreter lists according to the relevant regulation (see Appendix 10, Appendix 11). The interpreters are of Arab or Kurdish origin from the southern and southeastern provinces of Turkey, populated with mostly Turkish citizens of Kurdish and Arab origin⁶⁰. Several practitioners, LFI-2, LFI-3⁶¹ and LFI-10, have ancestors from certain Arab countries, such as Lebanon and Tunisia (see Table 3). As also mentioned in Section 3.2.2.2., LFI-5 and LFI-6 mostly provide interpreting services in the Kurdish language, yet they also perform interpreting tasks in Arabic, albeit limited.

The majority of the practitioners in the legal field have also acquired the knowledge of their working languages, namely Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish, to varying degrees based on their ethnic origin, region of origin, family background and social environment⁶², the factors partly constituting *primary* habitus (Bourdieu, 1972, cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 134; Bourdieu, 1998). The linguistic capital acquired in this way is a part of the embodied state of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991). Only for LFI-7, who is of Turkish origin and learned Arabic during his education at a religious high school and at the theology department at Open Education Faculty at a

⁶⁰ LFI-1 and LFI-8 are from Antakya, and LFI-2, LFI-3, LFI-4 and LFI-10 are from Mardin. LFI-5 and LFI-9 are from Batman, a province in the Southeastern Anatolia Region, populated with mostly Turkish citizens of Kurdish and Arab origin. While LFI-5 is of Kurdish-Arab origin, LFI-9 is of Arab origin. LFI-6 is of Kurdish origin from Diyarbakır, a province in the Southeastern Anatolia Region, populated with mostly Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin. LFI-7 is of Turkish origin from Kilis, a southeastern border province in Turkey (see Table 3).

⁶¹ LFI-2 and LFI-3 are sisters.

⁶² In this respect, LFI-1 (p. 2) states that only Arabic was spoken in the social environment where he grew up, and he even learned Turkish when he started school. LFI-3 (p. 3) mentions that she receives assistance from her father about Arabic words and expressions she does not know, and LFI-5 (p. 14) remarks that he learned Arabic from his mother and Kurdish from his father. Similarly, LFI-9 (p. 3) expresses that when he was a child, he spent summer holidays with his Arabic-speaking grandmother in the Arabic-speaking social environment. LFI-9 (p. 3) also states that he learned Kurdish from the Kurds in his social environment. LFI-10 (pp. 4-5) mentions that he receives assistance from his elder brother about Arabic words and expressions he does not know and that there is an exchange of information about language issues among family members.

public university in Turkey⁶³, institutionalized form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), in the form of school education, forms the basis of the linguistic capital. For several other practitioners, who have received education or course training in the Arabic language⁶⁴, institutionalized form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), i.e. school and course education, is only a factor that has reinforced the available linguistic capital in the embodied state⁶⁵.

Similar to most of the NGO interpreters, the interviewed legal field interpreters, who hold a bachelor's degree, have studied in fields other than translation and interpreting, such as education, history, theology, and economics and administrative sciences (see Table 3)⁶⁶. As can be understood, the institutional cultural capital in the form of university degree or a relevant training certificate is not the determining factor in the admission to the interpreter lists. Even primary school graduates are admitted to the interpreter lists (see Article 6 in Appendix 10). Furthermore, among the admission criteria for the lists, there is no mention of any requirement of competence, skill or documents related to the interpreting job and working languages (see Appendices 10 and 11). The interpreters are only required to confirm in writing that they know the relevant languages without submitting any language certificate or document (see Appendix 13)⁶⁷. Under these conditions, the practitioners' proficiency in the working languages becomes open to question.

As mentioned earlier, legal field interpreters do not work as the permanent staff of courthouses, and according to Article 324 of the Turkish Code of Criminal Procedure (Appendix 9) and Article 12 of the regulation on drafting the lists of interpreters (Appendix 10), they are paid a fee determined by the court and covered by the state

⁶³ LFI-7 has also attended a course at a public education center to improve his Arabic language skills.

⁶⁴ LFI-8 (p.1) remarks that she learned Arabic at the academic level during university education. LFI-9 (p. 3) mentions that the Qur'an course he attended when he was a child contributed to his learning Arabic. LFI-10 (p. 2) notes that he attended a special course on Arabic dialects (see Table 3).

⁶⁵ Moreover, similar to the NGO interpreters, several legal field interpreters also mention certain self-development methods for improving their existing language skills, such as reading books in Arabic and watching Arabic channels and Kurdish videos with subtitles in the internet.

⁶⁶ Only one practitioner, LFI-8, has a master's degree, which is in the field of history. Besides, LFI-5 and LFI-6 hold an associate degree in law, LFI-2 is a high school graduate, and LFI-3 is a secondary school graduate.

⁶⁷ These all show that the criteria for acting as an interpreter in the legal field are quite low in Turkey.

treasury for each job they are called for. Hence, interpreting in this area can not be the main job for many interpreters to maintain their lives. As a matter of fact, as also mentioned in Section 3.2.2.2., only LFI-4 and LFI-8⁶⁸ perform interpreting as their main job, while most of the practitioners carry out interpreting as a side job⁶⁹ (see Table 3).

Unlike the NGO interpreters, the majority of the legal field interpreters in the present study do not have any significant work experience in refugee-related areas or in the field of translating and interpreting. It can be said that they have mostly gained interpreting experience on-the-job. The only exception in this regard is LFI-8⁷⁰, who has several relevant experiences, such as teaching Turkish to Syrians in a refugee association, working for a translation office as a sworn translator, and performing academic and legal translations as a freelancer. Several other practitioners⁷¹ also mention a few relevant experiences, although not as extensive as those mentioned by LFI-8. And unlike the NGO interpreters, there are no institutional in-service trainings for the legal field interpreters. The only relevant training received by the interpreters apart from LFI-5 and LFI-6 is the three-day training as part of the Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes (see Section 1.2.3. for more details). Yet it is controversial how much this non-comprehensive training has contributed to the professional development of the practitioners⁷².

⁶⁸ LFI-4 and LFI-8 indicate that they are actively engaged in the interpreting job, saying that they are called from the relevant courthouses and/or police units for a large number of interpreting tasks. LFI-4 even states that she is called for at least four interpreting tasks a day, including weekends (p. 3), and she sometimes works for up to 18 hours a day (p. 17).

⁶⁹ LFI-1 primarily works as a deputy principal at a secondary school, and LFI-5 works as a clerk at a law office. LFI-7 is an attendant at an office building, LFI-9 is the chief clerk at a courthouse, and LFI-10 is the fiscal manager at a courthouse. On the other hand, LFI-2, LFI-3 and LFI-6, being housewives, do not perform interpreting tasks as actively as the other practitioners.

⁷⁰ LFI-8 as well as LFI-5 are also included in the lists of court experts. Within the frame of this task, they translate and transcribe court files sent from the relevant courthouses.

⁷¹ LFI-2 and LFI-3 speak of the volunteer interpreting work they have carried out to assist neighbors or acquaintances who do not speak Turkish. And LFI-5, who states that he is familiar with the court environment since he works as a clerk at a law office, is also a sworn translator at a notary.

⁷² Under the circumstances, the practitioners mostly have to act intuitively during interpreting activities, and they have to take initiatives themselves, if any, for their professional development. Indeed, several interpreters talk about their attempts to learn and improve legal terminology. In this respect, LFI-2, LFI-4, LFI-8, LFI-9 and LFI-10 mention that they research unknown legal terms and expressions themselves in the internet or in a relevant written source.

Overall, considering the mentioned social and educational background of the practitioners, it is understood that the practitioners in the legal field are not equipped with the dispositions acquired from an early age towards the interpreting profession, and they have not made long-standing investments that would enable them to gain professional *habitus*, which, according to Bourdieu (2000), is a gradual and long-term process that requires a great deal of labor (see Footnote 48). It is also understood that the practitioners have not either got into the interpreting job with a “fundamental belief in the interest of the game and the value of the stakes which is inherent in that membership” (Bourdieu, 2000: 11), namely with strong *illusio* for the field, which also develops over a long period, even starting from childhood (Bourdieu, 2000: 165; see Footnote 49). The practitioners in general have become engaged in the interpreting job based on their available linguistic capital and basically to meet *ad hoc* communication needs of refugees.

On the other hand, regarding investment and engagement in the field, it is necessary to separately mention LFI-4 and especially LFI-8. LFI-8, having worked for a translation office as a sworn translator, having done academic translations for many years, striving to improve herself in the field of literary translation and also working as an expert for the courthouse, seems to have a special interest and specific investments in the field of translation and interpreting. LFI-4, who does not do any job other than interpreting and who performs a large number of interpreting tasks for the courthouse and police units (see Footnote 68), also seems to be more engaged in this field than the other practitioners⁷³.

Although the majority of the practitioners seem to have got into the interpreting job based on their “embodied linguistic capital” (Koskinen, 2020: 110) in the most general sense, rather than out of strong *illusio* for the field, they have also mentioned several specific motives that have driven them to the job during the interviews.

⁷³ The fact that LFI-4 and LFI-8 are more engaged in the interpreting job makes no difference at least in their statements about their specific interpreting acts. As will be discussed in the following sections, compared to the other practitioners, they make more or less similar remarks about the interpreting acts. However, actual interpreting situations need to be observed in order to fully assess how their professional consciousness and engagement are reflected on their interpreting acts.

Accordingly, the leading motives that have led the practitioners to take an interest in the interpreting job in the legal field are the desire to meet refugee needs, the income factor and the prejudice against the mother tongue.

In this respect, LFI-7, LFI-9 and LFI-10 mention the side income earned from the interpreting job as one of the factors influencing their choice of the job. Furthermore, similar to some of the NGO interpreters, they also suggest the desire to meet refugee needs as another motive that has driven them to the job in question. LFI-7 explains his motives as such:

[...] Because of the environment I work in, I realized people's needs, I understood that some self-seeking people would really exploit people, and I realized that I needed this job. I started this job and succeeded to earn the livelihood of my 5 children. For side income, for small wages besides the minimum wage...

[Çalıştığım ortamdan dolayı insanların gerçekten çok ihtiyacı olduğunu, insanları sömüreceklerini, bazı menfaatçi insanların gerçekten insanların sömüreceğini ve benim bu işe ihtiyacım olduğunu ek gelir olarak 5 tane çocuğun geçimini sağlayabilmek için asgari ücret artı ufak tefek ücretler için bu işe baş koydum ve başardım.] (LFI-7, p. 2)

In a similar vein, LFI-9 remarks

There are two reasons. First, to help people who don't speak the language and fall into courts and police stations. Second, the financial dimension...

[İki sebebi var. Bir, dil bilmeyip mahkemelere, karakollara düşen insanlara yardımcı olma. İki, maddi boyutu var...] (LFI-9, p. 3)

LFI-10 also expresses similar factors that have influenced his choice of the interpreting job:

In the first place, I was doing interpreting only out of necessity. I didn't think it could be something that would yield income. Then when I was called to the courts a few times in the absence of [interpreters], and when I saw that it was also a financial source, I both improved myself and completely focused on this job.

[Şimdi ilk başta sadece zaten tercümanlığı ben ilk etapta sadece zorunluluk hali nedeniyle yapıyordum. Yani bunun bir getirisi olan bir şey olabileceğini de düşünmemiştim. Sonra birkaç defa adam yokluğunda mahkemelere falan çağırınca gelir kapısı da olduğunu görünce hem ilerlettim hem de tamamen artık bu işe yoğunlaşmış oldum.] (LFI-10 p. 2)

LFI-3 notes that she has got into the interpreting job in order to earn money by using her available language skills and thus implies that she views the job as a source of income. She remarks

I know a language. I have a qualification. As I said before, of course, I want to do it professionally. To earn money.

[Yani, bir dil biliyorum. Bir meziyetim var. Öncelik dediğim gibi hani, tabi, profesyonel bir şekilde yapmak istiyorum ama para kazanmak için.] (LFI-3, p. 2)

LFI-1 and LFI-2 also suggest the desire to meet refugee needs as the motive that has driven them to the interpreting job. In this regard, LFI-2 (p. 1) states that she realized the dire need for interpreters while she was working at a school, and then she applied for the interpreter list. Frequently emphasizing that interpreting is a voluntary job, LFI-1 (p. 1) defines the interpreter as the hope of those who do not speak the language. He further mentions the motive behind his choice of the job as such:

[...] As a citizen... My mother tongue is Arabic, I got into this job because I thought I could make a contribution. Not out of a financial concern. [...]

[...Bir vatandaş olarak... Anadilim Arapça, daha fazla katkı sunabileceğimi düşündüğüm için girdim bu işe. Yani maddi kaygı ile değil...] (LFI-1, p. 1)

From a different viewpoint, LFI-5 and LFI-6, who mostly perform interpreting in Kurdish language, express that their motive in getting into the interpreting job is the biased attitudes towards their mother tongue. In this respect, LFI-5 notes

The main reason why I do interpreting in courts is to change the perspective towards people [speaking a different language]. Whether Kurdish or Arab, there is such a bias. To prevent this bias. Look, I am a Kurd too, but I am one of you. I speak Turkish better than you. To overcome certain prejudices. [...]

[Şimdi mahkemelerde aslında bilirkişilik yapmamın temel nedeni de bu. Biraz daha böyle o insanlara dilden kaynaklı olarak insanlara bakış açını değiştirmek. Tabi Kürt olsun, Arap olsun, öyle bir ön yargı var. Onun önüne geçebilmek için, bak, ben de Kürt'üm ama sizden biriyim. Türkçeyi sizden daha iyi çok konuşuyorum. Yani, bu birtakım önyargı şeylerini yıkmak...] (LFI-5, p. 12)

Along the same line, LFI-6 remarks

I want to do it wholeheartedly. I want to explain the reason. People were always distant against Kurdish. This always discomforted me. The things I heard and I

witnessed... I said, if the opportunity arose, I would like to display my language [skills] in the best way. [...]

[Ve de gönülden yapmak istediğim için. Çünkü, çünküsünü de açıklamak isterim. Hep Kürtçeye karşı insanlar mesafeliydi. Benim hep içime oturmuştu. Gerçekten. Duyduklarım, gerek benim tanık olduğum. Ya dedim, fırsat geldiyse dilimi en güzel şekilde icra etmek isterim...] (LFI-6, p. 2)

All in all, under the current circumstances, in which admission to the interpreter lists does not require any school degree or professional competence, the outstanding factors that have enabled the interviewed legal field interpreters to find the interpreting job worth practicing are the desire to meet refugee needs, the income factor and the prejudice against the mother tongue. In other words, the mentioned factors have created the “feel for the game” (Bourdieu, 1990b: 66) for the practitioners, the majority of whom are not equipped with the dispositions acquired from an early age towards the interpreting profession and have either not made long-standing investments for the profession. As will be discussed in Section 5.4.4., some practitioners are able to maintain their interest and commitment in the interpreting job they perform, while some of them signal that their interest in the job will not be long-lasting.

5.2. THE INTERPRETERS’ AWARENESS TOWARDS COURT ETHICS AND LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY

One of the issues frequently emphasized by the legal field interpreters interviewed within the scope of the study is their awareness towards court ethics and legal responsibility imposed upon them by the job. As mentioned earlier, the interpreters are individuals who have not received extensive interpreter trainings, and the eight interpreters other than LFI-5 and LFI-6 have received only the three-day training on interpreting in judicial processes involving children. In getting into the interpreting job basically to meet language and communication needs of the increased refugee population, the most prominent resource available to the interpreters was the knowledge of the relevant languages.

Although the interpreters have not received extensive interpreter trainings, during the interviews, they have made statements indicating that they are aware of court ethics and legal responsibility, including such issues as impartiality, fairness and loyalty to the oath⁷⁴. From this point of view, it can be argued that the interpreters are generally aware of the ethical principles brought by the environment in which they work; however, as will be discussed in the following sections, it is understood that in applying the mentioned principles to real-life situations, the interpreters also display certain behaviors non-parallel to their statements about ethical issues.

5.2.1. Court Ethics

The interpreters' accounts regarding court ethics are generally centered around the issues of fairness, impartiality, loyalty to the oath and conveying every detail in statements to be interpreted. In Article 10 of the regulation on interpreter lists (Appendix 10), the ethical principles that interpreters must comply with are listed as follows: independence, impartiality, being honest and telling the truth, fulfilling their duties in person, confidentiality, acting in accordance with the basic judgment principles. In the manual provided to the interpreters in the training titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes", in which eight of the interviewed interpreters participated, the principles specified under the title of "Professional Ethics in Interpreting" are being respectful, non-discrimination, confidentiality, not abusing power and authority and not guiding the decision to be made during the interview in judicial processes (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 65-7).

Some of the mentioned principles are also in accord with the code of the US National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators (NAJIT)⁷⁵. The basic

⁷⁴ Pursuant to the 5th paragraph of Article 64 of the Turkish Code of Criminal Procedure, the interpreters accepted to the lists take an oath at the relevant provincial justice commissions at the appointed date and time (Appendix 11, 12). The statement of the relevant oath is as such: "I swear on my honor and conscience that I will fulfill my duty impartially, by adhering to justice and in accordance with science" (Ceza Muhakemesi Kanunu, 2004).

⁷⁵ For the moment, a generally accepted ethical code or standard is not available for legal field interpreters in Turkey (As mentioned in Section 1.2.3., the national standards, prepared by several university

principles stated in the code are accuracy, impartiality, confidentiality, limitations of practice involving not giving advice, protocol and demeanor including performing duties unobtrusively and the use of first-person pronouns (NAJIT, 2002). Likewise, the recommended national standards of the Australian Judicial Council on Cultural Diversity specifies accuracy, impartiality and confidentiality as the most outstanding principles in the realm of the court interpreters' code of conduct (JCCD, 2017: 22-3). Accordingly, the issue of accuracy involves "the optimal and complete transfer of the meaning ... preserving the content and intent ... without omission or distortion and including matters which the interpreter might consider inappropriate or offensive" (JCCD, 2017: 22). As for impartiality, it is stated

[a]n Interpreter must at all times carry out the office of interpreter impartially so as to be without bias in favour of or against any person including but not limited to the person whose evidence the interpreter is interpreting, the party who has engaged or is remunerating the Interpreter or any other party to or person involved in the proceedings or proposed proceedings. (JCCD, 2017: 22)

The legal field interpreters within the scope of this study have also mentioned ethical principles similar to those proposed above. As for being fair, LFI-3 (p. 4) expresses that as an interpreter, she tries to be as fair as possible, which means word-for-word conveyance of what the parties say. LFI-3 (p. 4) also mentions the confidentiality principle and states that she does not speak about the cases in which she does interpreting outside the work environment. LFI-4 also mentions the issue of fairness to every party in interpreting processes and remarks

This can also be a child abuse. I interpret both for the child and for the person who is likely to have abused the child, namely the accused. We aren't the ones to give that decision. Nevertheless, I try to be fair to everyone for myself. [...]

[Bu bir çocuk cinsel istismarı da olabiliyor. Çocuğu da ben tercüme ediyorum. İstismar etme ihtimali olan kişiyi de. Sanığı, diyelim. Çünkü o, biz karar

departments, academicians and experts in the field upon the request of the Vocational Qualifications Authority, is still in draft.). The interpreters' statements regarding their interpreting acts are discussed against the backdrop of several ethical codes accepted for legal field interpreters in other countries. Most of the norms and principles addressed in these ethical codes can be said to apply to the acts of legal field interpreters in general. However, it is also necessary to keep in mind that the cultural frameworks of countries may have an influence on the behavioral style expected from interpreters and therefore the actions of interpreters, which is though more evident in healthcare interpreting.

veremeyiz kimin olduğunu. Yine de herkese adaletli olmaya çalışıyorum ben kendim için...] (LFI-4, p. 12)

Similar to LFI-3, LFI-10 also states that he pays attention to word-for-word interpreting in order for refugees not to incur any injustice. He notes

But because I represent [the refugee] there, I have to pay attention to interpreting word-for-word, so that he/she doesn't incur any loss of right and injustice and so that he/she doesn't wrongdo to anyone.

Ama orada ben onu temsil ettiğim için onun hiçbir hakkının kaybolmaması için ve ne bir haksızlığa uğraması ne de başkasına bir haksızlık yapmaması için kelimesi kelimesine yani onda dikkat ediyoruz, etmemiz gerekiyor. (LFI-10, p. 6)

As for the issue of fairness, one of the trainers (a pediatric surgeon and a professor) in the training within the scope of the Child Friendly Interpreting Project have also made statements parallel to those expressed by LFI-10 when defining the interpreter's role. In this regard, the trainer has stated that the interpreter in fact has a great responsibility and his/her role is to prevent the refugee from incurring any injustice and from being misdirected.

As regards the issue of impartiality, LFI-4 (p. 22) asserts that she does not take sides against any party during interpreting, regardless of the nature of the crime under judicial process. LFI-5, who frequently emphasizes the issues of transparency and impartiality, expresses that he does not have dialogues with the parties regarding court processes before or after interpreting, since this is contrary to the principle of impartiality. He says

[...] in general terms, whether Turkish citizens, Arabs or Kurds, I have never expressed any opinions about the court process before and after. No way. Because it's not ethical. It is not correct behavior, not proper work. I can't be successful in work [in that way]. And I wouldn't maintain my impartiality. [...]

[...genel anlamda Türk vatandaşı, Arap olsun, Kürt olsun, öncesinde sonrasında kesinlikle yani mahkemenin gidişatıyla öncesinde ve sonrasında herhangi bir görüşüm olmadı. Olmaz da. Olamaz da. Çünkü etik değil. Doğru bir davranış, doğru bir çalışma olmaz. Başarılı çalışma elde edemem. Ve tarafsızlığımı korumuş olmam...] (LFI-5, p. 29)

LFI-6 (p. 14) mentions that refugees find it sympathetic when they come from the same region with the interpreter, yet she asserts that this situation should not affect impartiality and that the judge needs to feel the interpreter's impartiality. Regarding the issue, LFI-8 expresses that she tries to maintain impartiality at all times although it is difficult especially in cases involving women and children. She remarks

I try to be impartial under all circumstances. However, there are occasions when people can't maintain the balance. There are certainly such cases. In cases with women, with children and so on. But I try to maintain it.

Yani, tarafsız olmaya çalışıyorum ben her koşulda. Onun dışında bazen o şeyi, dengeyi kaçırabileceği durumlar oluyor insanın. Yani, mutlaka oluyor. Bir kadın açısından oluyor, çocuk açısından oluyor. Yani, başka açılardan oluyor ama onu korumaya çalışıyorum. (LFI-8, p. 16)

LFI-10 (p. 11) also emphasizes that conveying what the parties say as they are and impartiality are the professional principles he has adopted. As for loyalty to the oath, while talking about certain behaviors they avoid during interpreting, LFI-5, LFI-6 and LFI-9 highlight the oath taken by the interpreters every year before the justice commissions. Stating that undertaking any initiative in favor of the parties in interpreting processes is not a correct behavior and is contrary to the oath, LFI-5 remarks

[...] I do formal work. Because I do formal work, I can't go beyond the legal. I mean, I can't do illegal work. It is not correct because I take an oath at the beginning of my work. I have to be loyal to my oath.

[...ben resmi iş yapıyorum. Yani, resmi iş yaptığım için, gayri resmi, gayri illegal, illegalin dışına çıkamam. Yani, legalin dışına çıkamam. Yani, illegal bir iş yapamam. Doğru değil. Yani çünkü yaptığım işin başında yemin ediyorum. O yeminime, sözüme sadık kalmalıyım.] (LFI-5, p. 24)

In a similar vein, LFI-6 (p. 8) expresses that guiding refugees on any issue is contrary to impartiality and to the oath taken by the interpreter. LFI-9 mentions loyalty to the oath when talking about additions and omissions in messages to be interpreted. He states

[...] We take an oath every December. So additions or omissions mean not being loyal to the oath. If you take an oath, you have to be loyal to that oath. [...]

[...Bizde, biz her gelen Aralık ayında bir yemin yaptırıyoruz. Bir yemin. Yani şimdi, kendinden ekleme veya kendinden çıkarma insanın yaptığı yemine sadık

kalmama olayına, yani, olmaz yani. Bir yemin ediyorsan o yemine sadık kalman lazım...] (LFI-9, p. 11)

Another issue brought forward by several interpreters regarding court ethics is the conveyance of every detail in statements to be interpreted. Some of the interviewed public officials also confirm the requirement for interpreters to convey every detail as it is, since each detail might be important for the case (LFPO2, p. 3; LFPO4, p. 1). Moreover, the issue is also highlighted in the manual titled “Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes”, and it is stated that in judicial interviews, every detail of the statement can be important for the investigation and trial process, therefore; everything that is said must be included in the interpreting (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 57).

In this regard, LFI-4 (p. 36) states that all details in refugee statements need to be interpreted as they are in the courtroom, the prosecutor's office and the risky units at police stations even if refugees' remarks are nonsense. Likewise, LFI-8 mentions that she interprets abusive or obscene expressions without making any changes. She says

When [the refugee] uses [the expression] without softening it, I say I can interpret it in that way. ... It is already recorded in the proceeding in the way I say it. That is very important.

[Kendisi bu şekilde yumuşatmadan kullandığı için ben de bu şekilde tercüme edebilirim diyorum. ... Bunu söylediğim için zaten zapta da benim söylediğim gibi geçiriliyor. O bile çok önemli.] (LFI-8, p. 19)

Regarding the issue, LFI-10 notes that every detail in the statements is important for the course of the case and says

Even if you don't convey a word, it can change the course of that file. Even if you don't convey it, let alone conveying it differently.

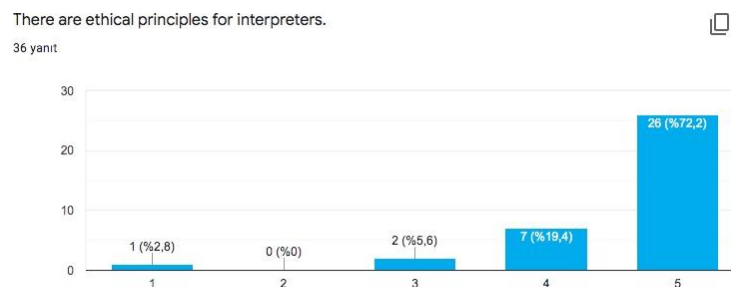
[Söylediği bir kelimeyi aktarmamanız bile o dosyanın gidişatını değiştirebiliyor. Aktarmasanız bile, farklı değil, aktarmasanız bile.] (LFI-10, p. 7)

The ethical principles proposed by the interpreters in the present study also coincide with those emphasized by the interpreters in several other studies. For instance, in the study of Mesa (2000), the principle of neutrality is highlighted, and in the study of Chesher *et al.* (2003), the principles of confidentiality, impartiality and accuracy are

underlined. Tryuk (2007) has found out that loyalty to both parties, adequacy and transparency are the most frequently emphasized principles, and Valero Garcés (2017) mentions the issue of fidelity to content as one of the most remarkable principles emphasized by the interpreters.

The interpreters who have responded to the questionnaire have also indicated their awareness towards the ethical principles in legal field interpreting. 33 of the 36 respondents have acknowledged that interpreters are bound by ethical principles.

Figure 43: Practitioner Views on Whether Interpreters Are Bound by Ethical Principles



Besides, as regards the issue of impartiality, more than half of the 37 respondents (23/37) disagree that interpreters may feel closer to the party with whom they share common characteristics. Moreover, 29 of the 38 respondents (76.3%) mark that they never feel closer to the party with whom they share common characteristics.

Figure 44: Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Feeling Closer to Any Party

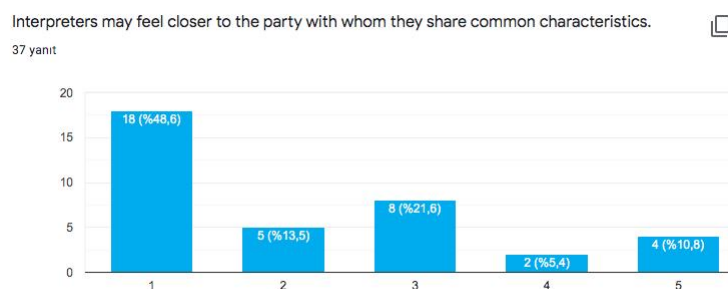
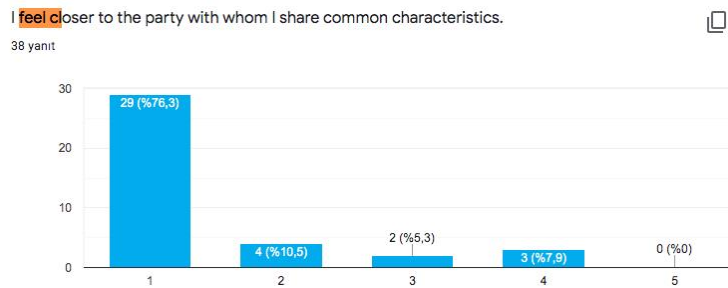
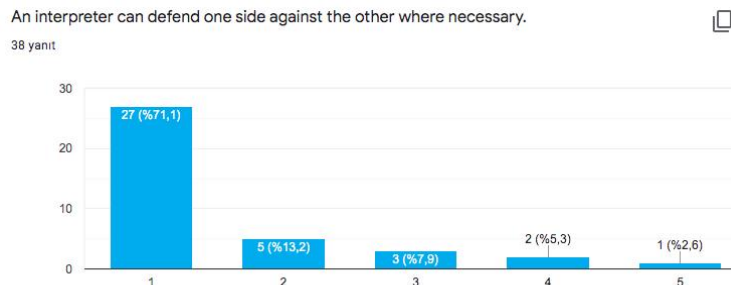


Figure 45: Practitioner Views on Whether They Feel Closer to Any Party



With regard to the principle of impartiality, the vast majority of the 38 respondents (32/38) also disagree that interpreters can defend one side against the other where necessary.

Figure 46: Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Defending One Side Against the Other Where Necessary



The fact that the interpreters express their awareness towards ethical principles does not mean that they adhere to these principles in practice at all times, as discussed in several other studies (Berk-Seligson, 1990; Barsky, 1996; Hale, 2008). As a matter of fact, as will be discussed in detail in the following sections, the interpreters interviewed within the scope of this study imply that they sometimes go beyond the rules binding for themselves and make certain interventions in interpreting situations.

5.2.2. Legal Responsibility

In addition to court ethics, the interviewed interpreters have made statements regarding the legal responsibility imposed upon them by the job. In this regard, Article 276 of the Turkish Penal Code is binding for court interpreters. According to the 2nd paragraph of the relevant article, a prison sentence from three to seven years is imposed on the interpreters who make false statements or perform incorrect interpreting (Türk Ceza Kanunu, 2004).

In general, the interpreters highlight the interpreters' legal responsibility when describing such issues as the interpreter's role and the features that an interpreter needs to possess, as well as the issues of undertaking initiative and correcting misstatements. Within the scope of legal responsibility, the interpreters' accounts are mostly centered around the issues of self-protection against the risk of penalty stipulated by the above-mentioned article of the Turkish Penal Code⁷⁶, conscience, and the risk of causing the party to be penalized.

As to the issues of undertaking initiative in interpreting situations or correcting misstatements expressed by refugees, LFI-3, LFI-4, and LFI-9 express that they avoid such behaviors by acting with a sense of self-protection. LFI-3 (p. 6) notes that she avoids undertaking any initiative in favor of the refugee since she worries about herself and is afraid that she will get into trouble. Regarding the issue, LFI-4 points to the fear of receiving a warning from the authorized officials, saying

You know why I don't make a mistake in life? I try not to. We're all making mistakes. I try not to. In order not to hear a bad word. So I have respect for myself. I can't tolerate it. ... So I don't do it. It is also a matter of conscience. We have to interpret what is said as it is. [...]

[Neden hayatta hata yapmam biliyor musunuz? Yapmamaya çalışırım. Hepimiz yapıyoruz hata. Yapmamaya çalışırım. Kötü bir kelime işitmek için. Yani kendime saygım olduğu için. Ben onu kaldıramam. ... Kaldıramam öyle bir şeyi. Şöyle ki onu yapmam. Bir de vicdani olarak olmaz o. Ne söyleniyorsa aynısını çevirmemiz gerekiyor. ...] (LFI-4, p. 18)

⁷⁶ Although the interpreters do not directly refer to the relevant article of the Turkish Penal Code, it is understood that when talking about the risk of penalty, they take this binding article into consideration.

LFI-9 mentions the sense of self-protection as for the issue of correcting misstatements and states

One of the members of the court board may know Arabic. I could be penalized. I said "No". I don't convey a missing word [in the refugee's statements].

[Heyetten birisi Arapça bilir. Veya ben orada bu sefer onun yanında ben ceza alabilirim. Olmaz, dedim. Ben olmayan kelimeyi ben anlatmam.] (LFI-9, p. 9)

LFI-5 and LFI-7 highlight the concept of conscience⁷⁷ with respect to the issues of undertaking initiative and word-for-word interpreting. LFI-5 underlines that undertaking initiative in favor of refugees and taking sides in interpreting situations are a matter of conscience. In this respect, he expresses

[...] The crime element is clear. The interpreting to be done is clear. It is impossible for me to get out of it. It takes a lot of nerve, it requires courage, it requires conscience.

[...Yani suç unsuru bellidir. Suç unsuru bellidir. Suç bellidir. Yapmam gereken tercümanlık bellidir. Onun dışına çıkmam imkânsızdır. Böyle bir şeyi cesaret, yani yürek ister. Çünkü vicdan ister.] (LFI-5, p. 23)

LFI-5 further remarks

[...] There may be times when [refugees] can't express themselves, or when they can't conclude the sentence. Or when they don't know how to speak or how to sit. I try to help them there. Other than that, I don't act biased. This is a behavior that would cause me not to sleep comfortably in the evening. So I have never demonstrated such behavior until now. I can't display it, I dare not. It takes a lot of nerve.

[...[Mültecinin] Kendini ifade edemediği zaman olur veyahut cümleyi toparlayamadığı zaman olur. Ya da nasıl konuşacağını, nasıl oturacağını bilemediği zaman orada yardımcı olmaya çalışırım. Onun dışında tarafsız, taraflı davranmam. Bu beni çok akşam yatarken rahat uymama neden olacak, rahat uyumamama neden olacak bir davranıştır. Yani böyle bir davranışı şu ana kadar hiç sergilemedim. Sergilemem de yani, cesaret edemem. Yürek ister.] (LFI-5, p. 45)

⁷⁷ After all, the interpreters swear on their honor and conscience according to the 5th paragraph of Article 64 of the Turkish Code of Criminal Procedure (Ceza Muhakemesi Kanunu, 2004).

Similar to LFI-5, LFI-7⁷⁸ also uses the concept of conscience as to the issue of summarizing and word-for-word interpreting. He states

We need to have the words that must be conveyed to the judge written word-for-word so as not to cause a mistake in the future. I don't summarize what is said not to have a guilty conscience. [...]

[Hakime söylenmesi gereken kelimeleri harfiyen yazdırmamız lazım ki ileride hataya düşmemesi için. Tekrar eksik cümle ben bu kelimeyi kullandım, yazdırılmadı, gibi vicdan azabı çekmemek için söylenenleri özet olaraktan kırpma yapmam....] (LFI-7, p. 14)

When speaking of the interpreter's legal responsibility, LFI-1, LFI-5, LFI-8, LFI-9 and LFI-10 mention that the interpreter's wrongful behavior may affect the cases and may cause the parties to the cases to be penalized. While defining the role of the public service interpreter, LFI-1 explains the situation as follows:

[...] But what we do with refugees now is different. ... Our meeting point is child monitoring center, judicial interview room, court, police station. There is the responsibility. Different discourse affects the rights of the person. While guilty, he/she may turn to be innocent. It affects personal rights.

[...Ama şu an mültecilere yaptığımız şey farklı. ... Karşılaşma noktamız ÇİM, AGO, mahkeme, karakol. Sorumluluk var. Farklı söylem kişinin haklarına etki eder. Suçlu iken suçsuz olabilir. Özlük haklarına etki eder.] (LFI-1, p. 3)

LFI-5, who frequently emphasizes that the interpreting profession brings a great deal of legal responsibility and who states that the practitioners definitely need to be aware of this situation (p. 64), has made similar remarks to what LFI-1 says. LFI-5 notes

[...] Now because they [refugees] rely on us. Every sentence that comes out of our mouth can sometimes cause a citizen to be penalized or not to be penalized. [...]

[...Şimdi çünkü bize bel bağlıyorlar. Söyledik. Şimdi ağzımızdan çıkan her bir cümle bazen bir vatandaşın ceza almasına sebep de olabilir ya da ceza almamasına da sebep olabilir....] (LFI-5, p. 27)

⁷⁸ As regards the issues of undertaking initiative and taking sides in favor of refugees, LFI-5 refers to the concept of "conscience" and at the same time emphasizes that he dares not perform such an act. And regarding the issue of word-for-word interpreting, LFI-7 also mentions the risk of causing a future mistake. Accordingly, it can be argued that these practitioners have other concerns than only having a guilty conscience. They are most likely to keep the relevant article of the Turkish Penal Code imposing a prison sentence in mind.

Regarding the issue, LFI-8 mentions unqualified practitioners and the problems they may cause in interpreting, which she thinks is a risky job. She further talks about an interpreting experience she has had:

First, people who have never been trained should be eliminated. Secondly, interpreting is such a risky thing... For example, in the Foça file I did interpreting for, the man was considered as if he had accepted something he hadn't done. [...]

[Kesinlikle eğitim almamış insanlar, bir kere, elenmeli. İkincisi, tercüme o kadar tehlikeli bir şey ki yani, hani, gittiğim Foça dosyasında mesela adam hani, yapmadığı bir şeyi kabul etmiş gibi gösteriyor....] (LFI-8, p. 23)

LFI-9 (p. 7) also states that it is unethical for the interpreter to undertake any initiative other than interpreting and that it may cause the party to the case to be penalized. Along the same line, LFI-10 mentions his awareness of the likely negative consequences of manipulations in messages to be conveyed and says

I also worked in courts. I worked at the heavy penal court for 13 years. Since I know what interpreting words by manipulating them or conveying them to the court board differently causes, since I know what this can lead to, I have adopted the principle of word-for-word interpreting. [...]

[Ben mahkemelerde de çalıştım. 13 yıl Ağır Ceza Mahkemesi'nde çalıştım. Bazı kelimelerin farklı çevrilmesinden veya heyete farklı aktarılmasının nelere sebebiyet vereceğini, neler doğurabileceğini bildiğim için kelimesi kelimesine tercüme yapabilmeyi kendime bir özellik olarak şey yaptım....] (LFI-10, p. 3)

The interpreters' accounts regarding legal responsibility and the issue of affecting the cases also coincide with the accounts of several interviewed public officials. For instance, a former doctor and a staff member of the Department of Training of the Ministry of Justice interviewed in the training within the scope of the Child Friendly Interpreting Project has stated that interpreters giving service in judicial processes assume much more important roles than interpreters giving service in other contexts, such as healthcare, and that refugees could be deported or could be penalized only based on the interpreter's statements. In a similar vein, LFPO1, a lawyer working with interpreters, mentions the possibility of interpreters affecting the cases and remarks

[...] actually, there are times when you cannot communicate properly with the person [refugee] because of the interpreter. ... I mean the case of a person whom

you could convince to bring a lawsuit or to make a complaint might take a different course. [...]

[...aslında doğru bir iletişim kuracağınız kişiyle bile o iletişimi kuramadığınız zamanlar oluyor tercüman nedeniyle. ... Hani dava açmaya ikna edebileceğiniz, şikâyetçi olmaya veya vs. falan ikna edebileceğiniz bir kişiyle de bambaşka bir yere gidebiliyor....] (LFPO1, p. 10)

Furthermore, the manual titled “Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes” also highlights the legal responsibility of interpreters and the risks of interpreters’ wrongful behavior. It is stated in the manual that errors in interpreting may jeopardize people's right to fair trial and can lead to wrong decisions that can permanently affect people's lives (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 57). Thus; it is very important that the interpreter is bound to professional ethical codes.

Overall, the interpreters point to the legal responsibility of the interpreter through the issues of self-protection, conscience and the risk of causing the party to be penalized. For the moment, there is no mechanism that supervises the acts of court interpreters in Turkey. The only binding regulations are the oath within the scope of Article 64 of the Turkish Code of Criminal Procedure and the Article 276 of the Turkish Penal Code, which imposes a prison sentence on interpreters in the event of their false statements or incorrect interpreting. Thus, the judicial authorities seem to take for granted that the appointed interpreters will abide by the oath and will act according to mentioned article of the Turkish Penal Code.

As will be discussed in detail in the following sections, despite the legal responsibility imposed upon them, the interviewed interpreters might sometimes go beyond mere interpreting and make certain interventions in interpreting processes, most probably stemming from both the dynamic nature of interpreting processes and the lack of professional judgment that would only be gained through formal training and that would enable them to make informed decisions in situations that require them to undertake initiative in dynamic interpreting processes.

5.3. THE INTERPRETERS AS INTERVENTIONIST ACTORS AGAINST RESTRICTED AUTHORITY

In this section, which addresses the agency of the legal field interpreters, some contradictory statements of the interviewed interpreters regarding their interpreting activities will be discussed. The interpreters, on the one hand, speak of their restricted authority brought along by the work conditions, yet on the other hand, they imply that they make certain interventions during interpreting. Thus, first, the situations that are the indicators of their restricted authority suggested by the interpreters will be discussed. Then the interventions of the interpreters during interpreting activities will be addressed.

5.3.1. The Restricted Authority of the Legal Field Interpreters

It has often been argued that the translational professions are mostly viewed as a secondary profession due to such reasons as the lack of formal education opportunities, the absence of generally accepted professional ethics, non-standard fees and eligibility criteria (Simeoni, 1998; Sela-Sheffy, 2005; Wolf, 2007). Moreover, due to the higher amount of symbolic capital of the other professional groups with whom translators and interpreters establish relations within the job boundary and the relatively lower autonomy of translators and interpreters, translation and interpreting have not been able to enjoy the status of an established field in Bourdieu's (1984, 1993b) sense. The aforementioned situation is even more evident in terms of public service interpreting, and the roles traditionally attributed to public service interpreters such as "conduit", "code-switcher", "machine" (Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp, 1986; Lee, 2009; Morris, 2011; Tipton, 2014; Santamaría Ciordia, 2016) in fact point to their low autonomy in interpreting processes. Accordingly, public service interpreters are generally expected to adopt a passive role (Pöchhacker, 2004: 147) and to act in a "non-intrusive" way (Morris, 2011: 209).

The mentioned restricted role attributed to public service interpreters is also highlighted for the legal field interpreters in the present study by several interviewed

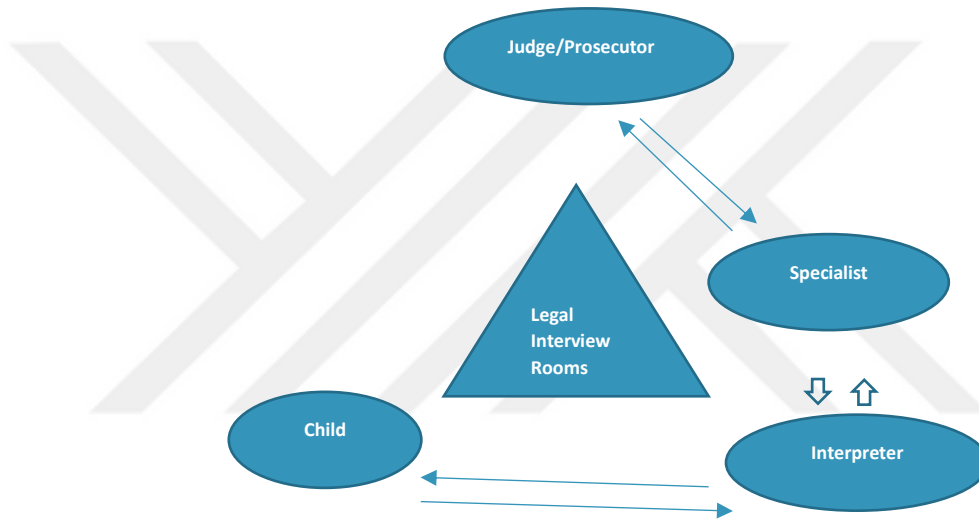
public officials and in the manual provided to the eight interviewed interpreters, who attended the training titled “Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes”. In this respect, the manual states that although it is beneficial to view the interpreter as part of a tripartite relationship in legal interviews with children, the initiative undertaken by the interpreter may pose a risk for the reliability of the interview, and therefore, the interpreter needs to be supervised (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 113). In addition, it is suggested in the manual that the interpreter's displaying an approach and attitude similar to the legal interviewer is beneficial in terms of information flow (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 113), yet it is stated that the role of the interpreter in the interview should in no way take precedence over the role of the legal interviewer (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 114). Accordingly, it can be argued that the interpreter's role is in fact downsized and interpreters are expected not to adopt an active position in the interviews.

In a similar vein, the interviewed LFPO4, who is a judge, and the officials, who provided the trainings to the interpreters in the scope of the Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes, also mention that interpreters need to be invisible and need to assume a restricted role in the work environment. In this regard, LFPO4, who in fact reduces the interpreter to a mechanical and non-living status by using the concepts of "transmitter", "cable" and "reflector" in relation to the interpreter role (pp. 2-3), states that the nature of the case does not concern the interpreter, therefore, it is not appropriate for the interpreter to get information before the hearing (pp. 2-3). Moreover, LFPO4 (p. 3) adds that he warns the interpreters in the event of any intervention by them other than interpreting.

Along the same line, during the aforementioned training, the ASAM officials responsible for the training and supervision of the institution interpreters have also highlighted that the most professional and successful interpreter is the invisible interpreter and that the ethical behavior is to act invisibly. Furthermore, the pediatric surgeon in the training has emphasized that the interpreter should stay in the back and do interpreting invisibly and should not be active, mentioning that the main specialist, the boss and the analyst in the legal interview rooms and child monitoring centers is the judicial interviewer, who is mostly the psychologist, rather than the interpreter. The

figure in the manual provided to the interpreters in the training about the interpreter's position in the legal interview rooms and child monitoring centers (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 49) also indicates the mentioned relation between the psychologist and the interpreter. Accordingly, the interpreter is required to only interpret between the specialist and the child without addressing the judge or prosecutor.

Figure 47: The Position of the Interpreter in the Legal Interviews



Source: Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 49

In parallel with the mentioned perspective on interpreters, similar to the NGO interpreters, the legal field interpreters addressed in the present study also frequently emphasize their restricted authority within the frame of the job they perform, and similarly, they seem to have internalized this restricted autonomy brought along by the low social status of interpreters, as discussed by Simeoni (1998). Yet unlike the NGO interpreters, the legal field interpreters, on the other hand, have made statements implying that they might act intrusively to a certain extent in interpreting processes, contrary to their discourse on the restricted authority.

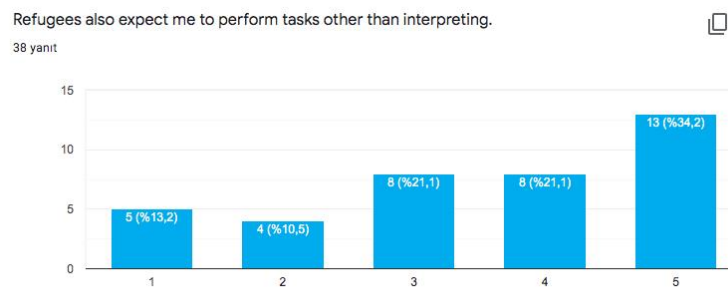
Based on the accounts of the interviewed legal field interpreters, the situations that may indicate their restricted authority within the scope of their interpreting activities are shaped around the issues of the interpreters' efforts to reduce refugee expectations,

avoiding dialogues with refugees out of interpreting tasks, displaying restricted agency in the courtroom and the frequently emphasized superiority of the court and its officials.

5.3.1.1. Reducing Refugee Expectations

It has often been highlighted that the parties to the interpreting processes might have expectations from interpreters apart from interpreting due to the social nature of public service interpreting and these expectations may lead to role confusions and ethical problems on the part of interpreters (Inghilleri, 2006; Hale, 2007; Skaaden, 2019). Bahadır (2011: 271) further argues that the parties in communication processes subconsciously expect the interpreter to represent themselves. As a matter of fact, similar to the NGO interpreters, the interviewed legal field interpreters also mention refugees' high expectations from themselves and the challenges that might be caused by such expectations. Besides, more than half of the 38 respondents to the questionnaire have also confirmed such expectations. 13 respondents mention that refugees always have expectations other than interpreting, and 8 mark that refugees usually have such expectations.

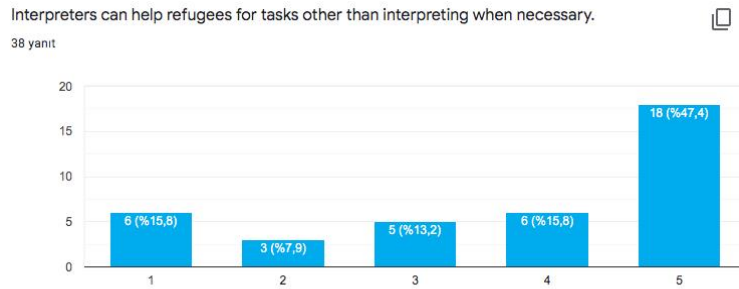
Figure 48: Practitioner Views on Whether Refugees Also Expect Them To Perform Tasks Other Than Interpreting



On the other hand, most of the interviewed interpreters (6/10) express their efforts not to meet such expectations of refugees. Yet on the contrary, the majority of the

respondents to the questionnaire (24/38) agree that interpreters can help refugees for tasks other than interpreting when necessary.

Figure 49: Practitioner Views on Whether Interpreters Can Help Refugees for Tasks Other Than Interpreting When Necessary



Regarding refugees' expectations from the interpreters and the efforts to reduce these expectations, LFI-5 (p. 60) mentions that refugees can expect help from him, yet if he helped refugees, he would exceed the job boundary. He further adds that the best solution is to keep the distance with refugees. In the same vein, LFI-1 (p. 8) expresses that while waiting in front of the courtroom, refugees can sometimes try to engage in a dialogue with the interpreter about every subject, including those unrelated to the case. He further remarks that when refugees ask him for help, he tells them that his job is over after finishing interpreting (LFI-1, p. 1). LFI-10 also states that he declines refugees' demands in a similar situation and directs refugees to the relevant people and authorities. He says

I close that dialogue with migrants. ... I say, "My duty is over here." I warn them to get professional help for a different dialogue. I advise them to go and apply to a lawyer who understands their language. Or I can say that they can get information from the police station, but I can neither direct them nor do any other thing. If I did, I would exceed my authority.

[Göçmenlerle o diyalogumu kapatıyorum ben. Yani, orada... ... Yani şöyle "benim vazifem burada bitmiştir", diyorum. Daha farklı bir diyalog için profesyonel yardım almaları konusunda uyarırım. Ya dillerini anlayan bir avukata gidip müracaat etmelerini tavsiye ederim. Veyahut karakoldan bilgi alabilecekleri söylerim ama ben onları ne yönlendirme ne de bir şey yapamam yani. Yaparsam yetkimi açmış olurum.] (LFI-10, p. 9)

In line with the above-mentioned statements of the interpreters, the manual titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes" suggests under the heading "Dealing with Non-Duty Demands, Questions and Requests to the Interpreter" that the interpreter needs to guide interviewees in accordance with the professional ethics and with a proper style by not exceeding the job boundaries (Aydin *et al.*, n.d., p. 60).

Several interpreters also mention the unethical demands of refugees. For instance, LFI-4 states that refugees sometimes treat her as if she were a legal professional (p. 38) and might irrationally expect her to defend themselves as a lawyer in court or to convince the judge on their behalf (p. 39). LFI-4 remarks that in such situations, she reminds refugees of the boundaries of her job. She further adds that legal interpreting is a delicate matter, and she avoids behaviors that would leave her in a difficult situation (LFI-4, p. 40). LFI-8 also speaks of similar demands of refugees and says

What are their expectations? "Help me". I can't help you. I can do interpreting for you. For example, there are even people who tell me to convince the judge to get them out [of prison]. I have no such thing. I mean it is not possible.

[Beklentileri ne olur? Bana yardım et, şeklinde oluyor. Ben sana yardım edemem. Tercümeni yapabilirim. Hatta bana, ne olur hakimi ikna et, çıkayım diyen insanlar oluyor mesela. Benim öyle bir şeyim yok. Mümkün değil yani, bu.] (LFI-8, p. 22)

Regarding unethical requests, LFI-9 (p. 9) talks about a past experience and mentions that the lawyer of the refugee, for whom he was doing interpreting, asked him to add the expression "I regret" on behalf of the refugee during interpreting in order for the penalty to be remitted. He further states that he declined the lawyer's request by telling him/her that he could not add any word that was not expressed by the refugee. LFI-10 remarks that refugees may have expectations about guidance as to their statements in the court and that in this case, he reports such requests of refugees to the judge. He notes

Migrants sometimes have further expectations. For example, they sometimes ask, "Shall I say in that way?" They ask me, "Would it be better if I said in this way or in that way?" But I also convey it to the judge. I say, "The defendant says so. He/She asks whether it would be better if he/she said in this way or in that way."

In that respect, sometimes I may not fully meet their [migrants'] expectations. But I fully meet the court's expectations.

[Göçmenler ise bazen beklentilerinin haricinde, örnek veriyorum, onlar bazen diyorlar. “Yani, şöyle söylesem mi?” Bana haricen soruyorlar. “Şöyle söylesem mi daha iyi böyle söylesem mi daha iyi?” Ama ben onu da hâkime aktarıyorum. Onu da aktarıyorum. Diyorum ki, “sanık böyle söylüyor”. “Şunu söylesem mi daha iyi olur bunu söylesem mi daha iyi olur”, “diye soruyor”. O açıdan bazen onların beklentilerinin, beklentilerini tamamen karşılamıyor olabilirim. Ama mahkemenin beklentilerini tamamen karşılıyorum.] (LFI-10, p. 16)

5.3.1.2. Avoiding Dialogues with Refugees out of Interpreting Tasks

Based on the accounts of the interviewed legal field interpreters, it can be said that they tend to refrain from holding dialogues with refugees out of interpreting tasks within the realm of their restricted authority. In this regard, LFI-2, LFI-3 and LFI-9 expressly state that they do not hold any interviews with refugees before or after interpreting. Yet LFI-9 (p. 17) mentions that if the party's lawyer requests information after the hearing, he can only give information to the lawyer. In a similar vein, LFI-5 (p. 30) and LFI-6 (p. 14) express that they learn the information about the cases only during the hearing. Regarding not having any dialogue with refugees out of interpreting tasks, LFI-5 remarks

[...] After the hearing is over, I don't greet even lawyers. I go out. Or I go and chat in the secretary's room for 5-10 minutes. I engage in small talk there. What is the purpose? So that the family [of the refugee] moves away or the lawyer moves away. I get out after that.

[...Duruşma bittikten sonra, yani avukatlara bile selam vermem. Çıkar giderim. Veyahut giderim, kalemde 5-10 dakika sohbet ederim. Geyik muhabbeti yaparım. Maksat ne? Aile uzaklaşsın ya da avukat uzaklaşsın. Ondan sonra ben çıkarım.] (LFI-5, p. 42)

In fact, LFI-6 also touches on the problems caused by not getting information about the case beforehand and says

[...] You are unaware of the case. ... But as you said, we should [have information about the case] too. Because of this, the interpreters have communication problems. For example, you can't directly answer the judge's questions because you don't know about the incident.

[...Sen de davadan bihaber oluyorsun. ... Ama bizim de bilmemiz lazım dediğiniz gibi. Çünkü tercümanlar bu yüzden iletişim sıkıntısı yaşıyorlar. Mesela hakimin direkt, sorularına direkt cevap veremiyorsun çünkü olayı bilmiyorsun.] (LFI-6, p. 14)

On the other hand, LFI-4 notes that the interpreter should not hold pre-interviews with refugees since it might affect the interpreting, and similarly, LFI-8 expresses that dialogues with refugees out of interpreting may harm refugees and that in especially legal interpreting, obtaining preliminary information from the party may influence the interpreter's role and may overshadow the interpreter's impartiality.

Several public officials have made similar statements regarding the interpreters' holding preliminary interviews with refugees. For instance, LFPO4 (p. 2) mentions that the nature of the case does not concern the interpreter, therefore, it is not appropriate for the interpreter to get information before the hearing. Likewise, a lawyer and one of the trainers in the training titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes" has expressed that the interpreter should not ask any question about the incident to the interviewee and should only introduce him/herself and do interpreting. She has further remarked that the dialogues about the case between the interpreter and the interviewee might lead to guidance and manipulations in interpreting. The interviewed LFPO2 (p. 2) and LFPO3 (p. 2), lawyers working with interpreters, also confirm that they do not have a preliminary interview with the interpreters and that the interpreters do not have information about the cases.

On the other hand, several interpreters mention a few exceptions regarding the preliminary interviews with refugees. For example, LFI-1 (p. 8) and LFI-10 express that they may have short dialogues with refugees to understand their dialects, but they do not talk about the content of the case. In this respect, LFI-10 notes

It [the dialogue] is just about whether the dialects are understandable. I have a conversation like "where are you from", where do you live". I don't have an interview other than that. ... Because there are also Kurds in Syria. They call me to do interpreting in Arabic. I go. The hearing starts. The defendant, the arrestee is brought. I start to speak. He/She says, "I don't know Arabic, I know Kurdish"...

[Sadece lehçelerin anlaşılır olup olmadığıyla ilgili. “Nerelisin, nerede oturuyorsun”, gibi bir görüşme yaparım. Onun dışında bir görüşme yapmam. ... Çoğu zaman çünkü örnek veriyorum, Suriye’de Kürt de var. Bana Arapça

tercüman, diye çağırıyorlar. Gidiyorum. Duruşma başlıyor. Sanık getiriliyor. Tutukludur, getiriliyor. Konuşmaya başlıyorum. Diyor ki, “ben Arapça bilmiyorum, Kürtçe biliyorum”...] (LFI-10, p. 15)

As for the other exceptions regarding the dialogues with refugees out of interpreting, LFI-4 states that she holds preliminary interviews with refugees at the police station only to learn refugees' personal information, but not at the court hearings, and similarly, LFI-7 (p. 4) mentions that he has preliminary interviews only in the child monitoring center and at the police station.

The manual titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes" also mentions that interpreters can hold preliminary interviews with interviewees to a certain extent, especially in legal interviews involving children, namely in the child monitoring center and in legal interview rooms. In the manual, it is stated that within the scope of the preliminary interview, the interpreter can make an introductory speech on a neutral subject in order to learn more about the child's language use capacity, developmental level and culture (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 133). However, it is recommended that such an interaction be subject to the approval of the specialist and that the speeches be transferred to the specialist.

Furthermore, in the manual, the scope of the preliminary interview that the interpreter assigned to the hearings involving children may hold is also narrowed down, and it is mentioned that the interpreter needs to have a short interview with the party with the consent of the party's lawyer in order to have information about such issues as language characteristics and culture of the party (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., pp. 133-4). It is further stipulated that other than the aforementioned situation, the interpreter should not have a conversation with the parties and witnesses as well as lawyers, friends or relatives of any party, avoiding any contact that may damage impartiality.

Correspondingly, the code of the NAJIT states that interpreters “must maintain the appearance of impartiality and neutrality, avoiding unnecessary contact with the parties” (NAJIT, 2002). In the same vein, Federal Court Interpreter Orientation Manual published by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts (2014) stipulates

During the course of the proceedings, interpreters shall not converse with parties, witnesses, jurors, attorneys, or with friends or relatives of any party, except in the discharge of their official functions. (p. 39)

In the scope of the present study, the questionnaire responses regarding dialogues with refugees out of interpreting are not consistent. For instance, while 11 of the 38 respondents mark that they never exchange information with the parties before interpreting, 11 report that they always exchange information before interpreting, and 7 report that they usually exchange information before interpreting. Besides, 14 of the 37 respondents mark that they never exchange information with the parties after interpreting, while 9 state that they always exchange information after interpreting, and 3 report that they usually exchange information after interpreting.

Figure 50: Practitioner Views on Whether They Exchange Information with the Parties Before Interpreting

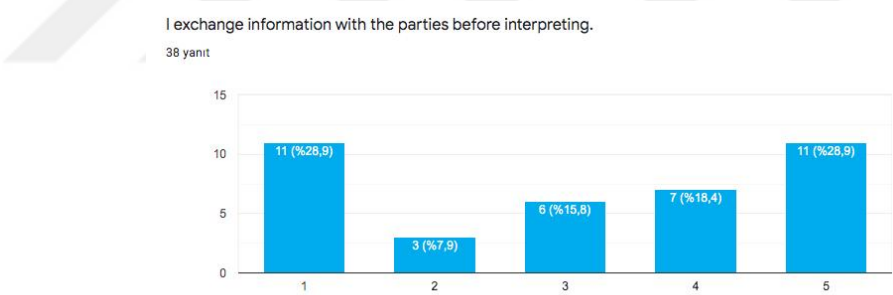
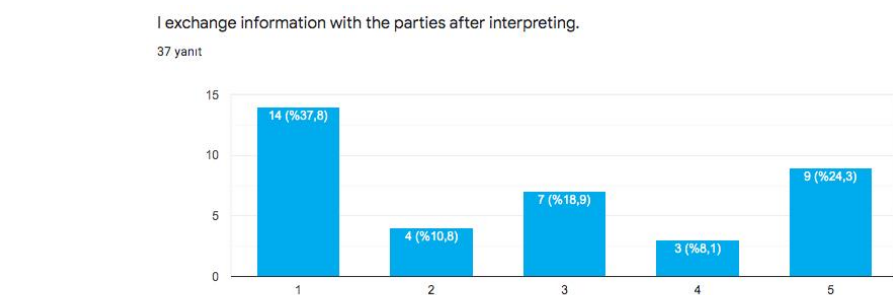


Figure 51: Practitioner Views on Whether They Exchange Information with the Parties After Interpreting



The inconsistencies in the questionnaire responses may stem from the exceptions mentioned by the interviewed interpreters discussed above, yet since there is no further questionnaire data on the scope of the information exchange with the parties, no definitive opinions can be put forward regarding the issue.

5.3.1.3. Restricted Agency in the Courtroom

Another prominent issue regarding the restricted authority of the legal field interpreters is the restricted agency exercised in the courtroom. Based on the accounts of the interviewed interpreters, the mentioned restricted agency is generally manifested in the interpreters' attitudes and activities before the court board. In this regard, LFI-1, LFI-8, LFI-9 and LFI-10 imply the interpreter's invisibility in the courtroom. For instance, when defining his role as an interpreter, LFI-1 (p. 3) says that it is as if he did not exist in the courtroom and that he is the tongue of the refugee. Similarly, LFI-8 mentions that as an interpreter, she acts like a mirror and that it is as if she were not the one talking in the courtroom. When asked about his role as an interpreter, LFI-9 (p. 4) expresses his doubts about whether the interpreter has any role in the courtroom. Furthermore, LFI-10 implies the invisibility of the interpreter when explaining whether or not he expresses own opinions regarding court processes. He remarks

Absolutely not, no. No, I don't. Because I am the tongue of the victim or that person there. I am just his/her tongue. I am neither a sociologist, nor a judge, nor a prosecutor, nor a police officer there. I am nothing there.

[Kesinlikle söylemem, hayır. Hayır, söylemem. Çünkü ben orada mağdurun veya o kişinin diliyim. Sadece diliyim. Ben orada ne bir sosyologum, ne bir hâkimim, bir savcıyım, ne bir polisim. Hiçbir şey değilim orada.] (LFI-10, p. 9)

Several interpreters point to their restricted agency in the courtroom, emphasizing that they are not authorized to undertake any initiative other than interpreting in the courtroom. In this respect, LFI-1 (p. 5) states that since he cannot utter any words apart from the interpreted statements in the courtroom, he may answer refugees' questions about court processes outside. Likewise, LFI-2 (p. 5) and LFI-7 (p.

7) highlight that they are not authorized to express any opinions before the court board. Regarding the issue, LFI-6 (p. 6) mentions that she certainly cannot undertake any initiative since judges do not allow the interpreter to do so. She further remarks that due to the same reason, she even cannot convey the details that defendants would like to further express to the judge. LFI-10 has made similar statements regarding the issues of undertaking initiative and the judge's permission. He expresses

The initiative I can undertake is only about the approach to the other person. About my stance, my glance, the way I address... We have neither the authority nor the right to undertake initiative other than that. [...]

[Alabildiğim inisiyatif sadece ve sadece karşımdakine yaklaşımla ilgili. Belki duruşum, belki bakışlarım, belki hitap şeklimle ilgili. Onun dışında bir inisiyatif almaya ne yetkimiz ne hakkımız yok yani....] (LFI-10, p. 7)

Similar to LFI-6, LFI-10 (p. 18) also remarks that he is not authorized to convey further details expressed by defendants other than those asked by the judge.

Overall, the interpreters' statements regarding their restricted agency in the courtroom, involving the issues of invisibility and not being authorized to undertake any initiative other than interpreting, are parallel to what is expected of them by the interviewed LFPO4 and the officials, who provided the trainings to the interpreters in the scope of the Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes, as discussed earlier in Section 5.3.1. As a matter of fact, these officials have stressed the need for interpreters to assume a passive role and to be invisible (see Section 5.3.1.).

The restricted agency expected of legal interpreters and the perception that interpreters merely act as a “conduit” or a “machine” have also been widely discussed in several other studies (Morris, 1995, 2011; Mikkelsen, 1998; Hale, 2008; Lee, 2009; Santamaría Ciordia, 2016). According to the mentioned general perception, “[t]he fundamental role of the interpreter is to convert what the speaker says to the language of the listener” (JCCD, 2017: 78). Moreover, interpreters are to act as “unobtrusively” as possible (NAJIT, 2002; Administrative Office of the United States Courts, 2014: 40). However, as will be discussed in the following sections, the interviewed interpreters do not always exercise restricted agency, and they might sometimes adopt an intrusive attitude in certain situations.

5.3.1.4. Supremacy of the Court and Its Officials

In relation to their restricted agency in the courtroom, the interviewed interpreters also frequently imply supremacy of the court and its officials, especially judges and prosecutors, who have high social status and thereby high amount of symbolic capital in Bourdieu's sense (1986, 1998, 1989). As Bourdieu (1989: 21) mentions, large volume of symbolic capital yields its holders the power to determine "the scale of values". Judges, possessing a large amount of symbolic capital, are the officials who determine the criteria and rules in the court and manage the processes. The high symbolic capital of judges has also been implied by the trainers in the training titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes", who have mentioned that the center in the courtroom is the judge and the positions of the other staff in the courtroom are determined according to the position of the judge. The trainers have also stressed that the interpreter's boss in the court is the judge.

Most of the interviewed interpreters also touch on their respect for judges and prosecutors due to their high status and position. For instance, LFI-1 (p. 9) mentions that although he is also a civil servant, he never enters the courtroom without being called by the judge. LFI-4, one of the interpreters who frequently emphasizes her respect for judges and prosecutors, expresses that the courtroom is definitely not an environment where one could behave arrogantly and that she tries to be very disciplined in front of legal experts (p. 11). LFI-4 (p. 28) also notes that when working in front of judges and prosecutors, she is more stressed than she is in police units. LFI-5 (p. 62) expresses his respect for judges by mentioning that he never sits down in the courtroom unless he is told to do so by judges. LFI-6 (p. 11) implies her respect for judges by noting that she always addresses judges using the expression "Your Honour" ["Efendim"].

The interviewed interpreters' statements about the attitude of the judges in the hearings clearly demonstrate the superiority and high position of the court officials, especially judges. In this regard, LFI-1 (p. 5) mentions that only judges' questions dominate the courtroom and that the other individuals, including the defendant and the interpreter, are not allowed to provide additional explanations. He says

Judges do not allow it [providing explanations]. "Don't have a conversation, answer the questions", they say. But we are not the ones who have a conversation. The defendant tells irrelevant things. The judge says, "just answer the questions". [...]

[Hakimler izin vermiyor. "Sohbet etmeyin, sorulara cevap verin" diyorlar. Ama sohbet eden biz değiliz. Sanık anlatıyor alakasız şeyleri. Hakim, "sadece sorulara cevap verin" diyor. ...] (LFI-1, p. 5)

Likewise, LFI-6 (p. 6) also remarks that she is not able to convey additional explanations expressed by defendants since judges do not allow her to do so. Moreover, LFI-6 frequently mentions that judges instruct her to ask brief questions to refugees and give brief answers to themselves. In a similar vein, LFI-5 (p. 33), LFI-9 (p. 16) and LFI-10 (p. 18) also express that judges instruct themselves to interrupt refugees who speak at length during hearings in the courtroom and to warn them not to digress from the topic.

Regarding the issue of the superiority of court officials, several interpreters also highlight the expertise and profound understanding of especially judges. For instance, LFI-7 (p. 25), emphasizing the expertise of public officials, even states that officials do not need any training on how to work with interpreters. Furthermore, LFI-4 (p. 22), LFI-5 (p. 26), LFI-6 (p. 14) and LFI-8 (p. 13) note that in conflicting statements of refugees, court officials, namely judges and prosecutors, already understand the details of the cases without the intervention of the interpreter. Along the same line, the interviewed LFPO4, who is a judge, also remarks that the judge already understands the situation from the facial expression of the other party without the need for an interpreter (p. 2). This situation mentioned by both the interpreters and the judge in fact hints at the devaluation of the interpreters' linguistic capital, the most outstanding form of capital that interpreters possess, and at the crystallization of the superiority of the other agents with a larger volume of symbolic capital over the interpreters.

With regard to the respect for the high position of judges, another issue raised especially by LFI-4 and LFI-5 is informing judges of the dialogues with refugees in the courtroom. In this respect, LFI-4 mentions that in case of unclear expressions or problems arising from dialect differences, she asks refugees for explanations, yet she at the same time informs judges about such dialogues with refugees. As regards the

dialogues with refugees about unclear expressions due to dialect differences, she remarks

It [The dialect difference] can be a problem sometimes, but as I said, I try to understand it. But I also mention it to the judge, I mean, in order not to get stuck in a bad situation. [I say] "Your honour, the dialect is different." So "say it slowly", I say [to the refugee]. I try to understand it. After all, there are many different dialects.

[Bazen sorun olabiliyor ama dediğim gibi onu da anlamaya çalışıyorum. Tek tek onu da belirtiyorum ama hakim beye, yani, hani kötü bir duruma düşmemek için. "Efendim, lehçesi farklı". Onun için "yavaş yavaş söyle", diyorum. Onu anlamaya çalışıyorum. Yani, sonuçta çok değişik lehçeler var.] (LFI-4, p. 35)

By the same token, LFI-5 states that he notifies the judge of the dialogues he holds with refugees upon noticing their misstatements. He expresses

[...] if there is a wrong statement, I ask it again. I ask again. ... I say to the judge or the prosecutor, "He/She [The refugee] was saying that at the beginning of the sentence two minutes ago. Now he/she is saying this".

[...yanlış bir söylem varsa bunu bir daha sorarım. Bir daha sorarım. ... "Cümlelerin başında böyle kullanıyordu iki dakika önce. Şu an bu şekilde kullanıyor, hakim bey ya da savcı bey", diye dile getiririm....] (LFI-5, p. 24)

LFI-5 (p. 33) also mentions that he warns refugees when they express details unnecessary to the relevant case and then informs the judge of this situation.

In general, the interviewed interpreters' statements that center around the issues of reducing refugee expectations, avoiding dialogues with refugees out of interpreting tasks, restricted agency in the courtroom and supremacy of the court and its officials are in line with the restricted authority and relatively passive role traditionally attributed to interpreters, an issue widely discussed in several other studies (Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp, 1986; Morris, 1995, 2011; Mikkelsen, 1998; Pöchhacker, 2004; Hale, 2008; Lee, 2009; Tipton, 2014; Santamaría Ciordia, 2016).

The questionnaire respondents within the scope of the present study also point to the mentioned restricted authority of interpreters through certain responses. For instance, more than half of the 37 respondents (19/37) disagree that interpreters can give advice to the parties within the scope of the interpreting job. It is also understood that 23 of the 38

respondents do not tend to intervene in the tense atmosphere between the parties, another sign of the relatively passive role of interpreters.

Figure 52: Practitioner Views on the Issue of Giving Advice to the Parties

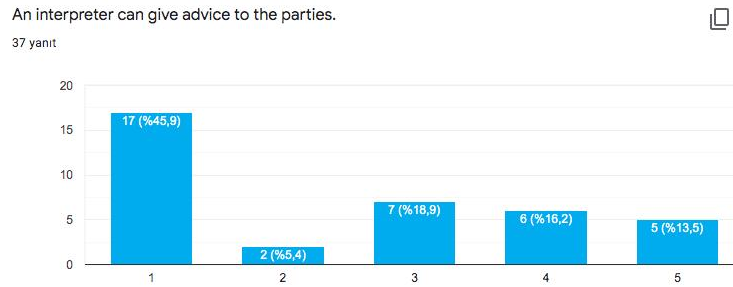
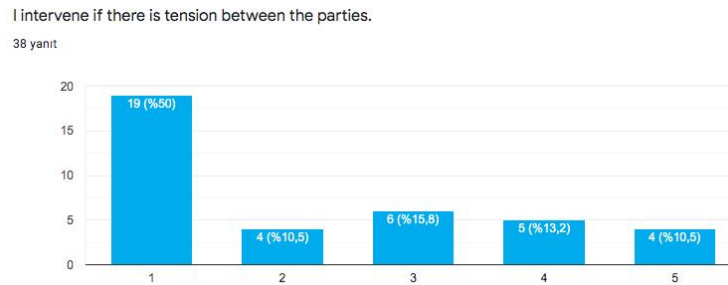


Figure 53: Practitioner Views on Whether They Intervene in the Tense Atmosphere Between the Parties



Although the legal field interpreters within the scope of the present study mention their restricted authority and role in the work environment, they also imply that they may act contrary to what they express in this regard and may exhibit an interventionist attitude in certain situations, an issue that will be discussed in the following sections.

5.3.2. The Interventions by the Legal Field Interpreters Within the Scope of the Interpreting Job

Contrary to the passive role and the machine function traditionally attributed to especially court interpreters, many studies show that interpreters actually play an active role and go beyond the machine function in interpreting processes. For instance, Berk-Seligson (1990) mentions that court interpreters are in fact “intrusive elements” exercising an influence on jurors in witness evaluation processes. In Barsky’s (1996) study, interpreters are described as intercultural agents performing various tasks other than interpreting, such as elaborating on refugees’ statements and intervening to minimize damages occurring due to cultural misunderstandings among others. Kadric (2000) discusses that interpreters are mostly in a position to make independent decisions. Niska (2002) suggests that interpreters also adopt the roles of “clarifiers”, “culture brokers” and “advocate” of service users. Similarly, Hale (2008) proposes the roles of “advocate for the minority language speaker”, “advocate for the institution or the service provider”, “gatekeeper” and “facilitator of communication”, assumed by interpreters.

Morris (2011) also discusses against the perception that interpreters function neutrally as a “faceless voice” and suggests that interpreters assume a broader role that is not merely limited to linguistic matters. In the study of Kaczmarek (2016), interpreters are considered to be colleagues providing institutional service, and they are also defined as “an advocate” of the service recipient apart from “a linguistic conduit”. Salaets and Balogh (2017) also mention that interpreters are considered to be actors with not only interpreting skills but also interpersonal and intercultural competencies. In Turkey, a recent study of Yücel (2018) highlights the visibility of court interpreters and their interventions during and after interpreting processes, such as addressing questions to get feedback or making requests for explanation.

Also, in the present study, based on certain accounts of the legal field interpreters, it can be suggested that the interpreters might sometimes adopt an interventionist attitude in certain situations in interpreting processes, which may stem

from the dynamic nature of interpreting processes and/or from the practitioners' lack of professional development and consciousness, discussed in Section 5.1.

5.3.2.1. Corrections

One of the forms of the interventions that the interpreters imply is the correction of erroneous statements or misunderstandings. In this regard, LFI-1, mentioning the sensitive nature of judicial processes, states that he corrects erroneous statements. He remarks

[...] I correct mistakes; because it is a judicial process, wrong interpreting affects the life of the person. I think they should be corrected. [...]

[...Hataları düzeltirim; adli süreç olduğu için yanlış tercüme kişinin hayatını etkiliyor. Düzeltmesi de lazım bence....] (LFI-1, p. 4)

Likewise, LFI-3 (p. 7) and LFI-5 (p. 26) argue that misstatements or misunderstandings should be corrected and necessary explanations should be made to relevant officials. LFI-6 also states that when she notices erroneous statements of refugees, she puts in a great deal of effort to understand and correct them. She notes

Of course, I make an effort until I correct it, even if it takes a long time or even if the judge warns. Once I even received the judge's warning. [...]

[Tabi ki onu düzeltene kadar, uzun da sürse hakimin uyarısı da olsa düzeltene kadar ben çaba sarf ediyorum. Hani gerçekten hakimin uyarısını da aldım....] (LFI-6, p. 6)

On the other hand, LFI-7 and LFI-10 indicate that they intervene in the event of the mistakes made by officials and correct those mistakes. In this respect, LFI-7 talks about a past experience and says

[...] Whatever is correct, I dictate it to the clerk. One time the clerk did not write. I said, "Lady! Can you correct this?" "It doesn't matter," she said. I said, "Maybe it matters to us. It may be useful in the future". I dictated it to her.

[...Doğru ne ise onu yazdırırım yani katibe. Bir defa katip yazmamıştı. "Bayan", dedim. "Bunu düzeltir misin", dedim. "Önemi yoktur", dedi. "Belki", dedim, "bizim için önemi var. İleride faydası olur", gibisinden, yazdırdım yani bunu.] (LFI-7, p. 14)

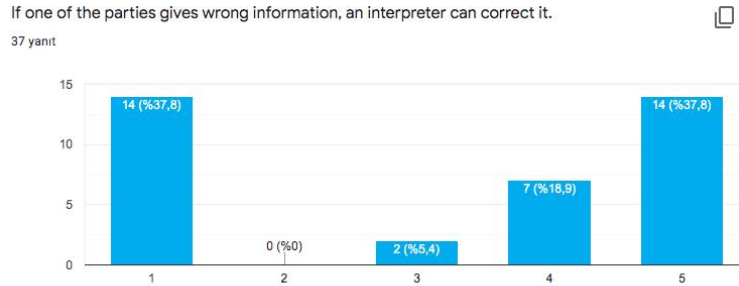
In a similar vein, LFI-10 mentions that he intervenes if judges change statements while dictating to clerks⁷⁹. He expresses

[...] I even sometimes warn judges when they say anything other than what I have said and what the refugee has said. "No", I say. "Neither she/he said that, nor did I convey it like that", I say. [...]

[...Hatta bazen hâkimler zapta geçerken benim söylediğimin ve mültecinin de söylediğinin dışında herhangi bir şey söylediklerinde de ben uyarıyorum. “Hayır”, diyorum. “Ne o öyle söyledi, ne de ben öyle aktardım”, diyorum....] (LFI-10, p. 3)

In parallel with what the interviewed interpreters mention about correcting erroneous statements or misunderstandings, the majority of the questionnaire respondents (21/37) also agree that interpreters can correct the wrong information expressed by the parties.

Figure 54: Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter’s Correcting the Wrong Information Given by the Parties



As a matter of fact, the manual provided in the training titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes" to the interpreters discussed in the present study points to the interpreter's linguistic knowledge and states that based on this knowledge, interpreters are expected to intervene in the event of misunderstandings and similar situations.

⁷⁹ LFI-10 has not provided any information on the content of such conversations in the courtroom. However, the intervention he has mentioned might be of vital importance to the course of the case, pointing to the significance of the role of the interpreter.

[...] in the case of linguistic vagueness or ambiguities, or if the explanation of a term or idiom that has no equivalent in the target language is necessary or a misunderstanding that only the interpreter can clarify arises, the interpreter is expected to intervene and clarify language-related issues because he/she is the only person with specific knowledge and competence, who can realize misunderstandings arising from cultural or linguistic differences between the parties and incorrect assumptions made accordingly. [...]

[...dilsel açıdan muğlaklık ya da iki anlamlılık söz konusu olduğunda veya eğer hedef dilde bir karşılığı olmayan bir terim ya da deyimın açıklanması veya sadece tercümanın açıklığa kavuşturabileceği bir yanlış anlama gibi bir durum ortaya çıkarsa, tercümandan müdahale etmesi ve dil ile ilgili konuları aydınlatması beklenir. Çünkü soru ve cevaplardan, taraflar arasında kültürel veya dil farklılığından kaynaklanan yanlış anlama ve buna bağlı olarak geliştirilen yanlış varsayımların olduğunu fark edebilecek spesifik bilgiye ve donanıma sahip tek kişi tercümandır....] (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 57-8)

Although for such situations, the importance and function of the interpreters' linguistic capital is highlighted; in the ethical codes (JCCD, 2017: 14; Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 58), it is also underlined that interpreters need to make the aforementioned interventions within the knowledge and approval of the authorized person in the interpreting setting. The interventions made by interpreters on their own initiative are defined as an approach that interpreters should avoid.

5.3.2.2. Changes in Messages to Be Interpreted

Certain changes in messages during interpreting mentioned by some of the interpreters could also be suggested as another example of the interventions made by the interpreters. Several interpreters note that they make certain changes in statements in the courtroom, especially when conveying legal terms and expressions and abusive or inappropriate expressions. For instance, LFI-1 and LFI-10 express that they sometimes interpret legal terms and expressions conveyed by judges in a way that refugees can understand. LFI-1 (p. 6) mentions when he feels that refugees do not understand legal terms and expressions, he strives to find expressions that he thinks refugees will understand. LFI-10 also mentions a similar method for interpreting expressions conveyed by the court board that have no equivalent in Arabic. He says

[...] I have to convey what the court board tells me in a way that she/he [refugee] can understand. Because, as you would appreciate, not every word has an equivalent from Turkish to Arabic.

[...mahkeme heyetinin bana söylediğini onun [mültecinin] anlayacağı şekilde aktarmak durumundayım. Çünkü takdir edersiniz ki, her bir kelimenin Türkçeden Arapçaya karşılığı bulunmayabiliyor.] (LFI-10, p. 5)

By the same token, LFI-2 (p. 8) states that in cases where dialect differences pose a problem, she interprets the messages by making deductions out of the holistic meaning of the sentence. LFI-5 and LFI-9 report that they sometimes make certain changes when interpreting inappropriate or abusive expressions. Stating that he evaluates such expressions according to the nature of the crime and that he generally expresses them implicitly, LFI-5 remarks

It actually changes from court to court. Although I haven't experienced this situation much, sometimes we [I] say to the judge: "She/He swore to me". We [I] just say, "she/he swore". Or, I mention "she/he touched me, made a hand gesture", but I expand on it a little more when the judge asks. If she/he [the judge] [insists], I say it is a heavy swear. ... In other words, I evaluate it according to the nature of the crime.

Yani, şimdi aslında biraz da mahkemeden mahkemeye etkiliyor da. Yani bazen, çok karşılaşmadım ama yani, hakime şunu söyleriz: "Bana küfür etti". Yani sadece "küfretti", diye söyleriz. Ya da yani "bana el teması yaptı, el hareketi yaptı", diye bunu dile getiririm ama onun dışında hakim sorduğu zaman biraz daha açıyorum. Yani, çok şey yaparsa sinkaflı diyorum. ... Yani suçun mahiyetine göre değerlendiriyorum aslında. (LFI-5, p. 54)

In a similar vein, LFI-9 (p. 15) mentions that he sometimes has difficulty in interpreting such inappropriate or abusive expressions and that in this case, he conveys them indirectly.

The aforementioned interventions are generally considered as distortions in the ethical codes for court interpreters and are mentioned as a behavior that interpreters need to avoid. For instance, regarding the issue, the manual titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes" stipulates

The intervention made by the interpreter to clarify the question asked or the response given is an unacceptable approach and a form of undesirable behavior.

[Tercüman tarafından, sorulan soruya veya verilen cevaba netlik kazandırma yönünde yapılan müdahale kabul edilemez bir yaklaşım ve istenmeyen bir davranış biçimidir.] (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 56)

The manual also states

The interpreter should be comfortable in expressing all kinds of expressions, should interpret expressions about sexual acts without changing them, should not distort direct transfer and should be attentive to maintaining neutrality in body language and affect.

[Tercüman, her türlü ifadeyi dile getirmede rahat olmalı, cinsel eylemler ile ilgili ifadeleri değiştirmeden tercüme etmeli, doğrudan aktarımı bozmamalı ve beden dili ve duygulanımında nötrlüğü korumaya özen göstermelidir.] (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 141)

The code of the NAJIT, the manual by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts and the recommended national standards of the Australian Judicial Council on Cultural Diversity (JCCD) handle the subject under the issue of accuracy. According to the code of the NAJIT (2002), “there should be no distortion of the original message through addition or omission, explanation or paraphrasing”. The manual by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts states

Interpreters shall render a complete and accurate interpretation or sight translation that preserves the level of language used without altering, omitting, or adding anything to what is stated or written, and without explanation. (Administrative Office of the United States Courts, 2014: 39)

According to the recommended national standards of the JCCD, accuracy involves maintaining the content and intent of the message “without omission or distortion” and “including matters which the interpreter might consider inappropriate or offensive” (JCCD, 2017: 22). As for the issue of incomprehensible expressions, mentioned by LFI-1 and LFI-10, the ethical codes generally highlight that the interpreter is expected to first and foremost raise the issue to the authorized person in the interpreting setting (JCCD, 2017: 87; Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 58).

Under the circumstances, rendition of legal expressions in a way that refugees can understand, mentioned by LFI-1 and LFI-10, or implicit conveyance of inappropriate or abusive statements, mentioned by LFI-5 and LFI-9, could be considered

as a form of distortion according to the aforementioned ethical codes. However, considering that the main duty of the interpreter is to facilitate communication between the parties, often in a limited time, particularly the issue of rendering incomprehensible technical expressions in a way that refugees can understand might arise as a necessity within the scope of the interpreter's work.

Since the actual interpreting situations could not be observed within the scope of the present study, definitive remarks cannot be made regarding to what extent the interpreters actually make the mentioned changes in the messages or to what extent such changes contribute to the understanding of the messages by the parties. However, based on the interpreters' statements, it can be said that, contrary to what is generally expected of interpreters and what is stipulated in ethical codes, the interpreters do not always act like a machine providing word-for-word interpreting in real interpreting situations and that they might sometimes make certain interventions in the interpreting processes.

5.3.2.3. Summarization

Another example of the interpreters' intrusive attitude is the issue of summarization of messages to be interpreted. It is frequently highlighted in ethical codes that interpreters should avoid summarizing messages especially in court interpreting. In this regard, as mentioned earlier, interpreters are required not to make omissions in the messages to be interpreted (NAJIT, 2002; Administrative Office of the United States Courts, 2014: 39; JCCD, 2017: 22). Furthermore, regarding the issue of summary, the manual of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts (2014) states

[...] Summary interpretation involves paraphrasing or condensing the speaker's statement, thereby omitting some portion of what was said. Such omissions are contrary to the interpreter's duty to render the speaker's complete message. Summary interpretation is not acceptable in legal proceedings because it improperly substitute's the interpreter's judgment as to which parts of a statement or testimony are most important and shifts the interpreter from their role as an impartial conduit to an active participant in the matter. (p. 25)

Similarly, in the manual titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes", summary is described as an approach that interpreters need to avoid (Aydın *et al.*, n.d.,

p. 56). However, some interpreters interviewed within the scope of the study mention that they sometimes summarize messages in the interpreting settings. For instance, LFI-1 (p. 8) states that he sometimes makes a summary during interpreting in legal interview rooms, the child monitoring center and the police units rather than in the courtroom. In a similar vein, LFI-4 mentions that she does not make a summary in the courtroom, prosecution office or at risky security units, yet she sometimes omits the details she finds unnecessary in relatively minor cases at the police station. She remarks

[...] well, there are more ordinary issues, for example. How can I tell you? For example, the person buys a stolen motorcycle or a stolen phone. Ordinary things... I mean, there is not even a penal sanctioning for these. The person gives a statement, hands it [the stolen item] over and goes. ... In such cases, if [the refugee] is talking at length, I summarize it. [...]

[...hani daha basit konular oluyor mesela. Size nasıl anlatayım? Mesela bir çalıntı motosiklet almıştır, çalıntı telefon satın almıştır kişi. Basit şeyler... Yani, bunun cezai müeyyidesi bile yoktur. İfade veriyor, bunu teslim ediyor, gidiyor mesela. Onda mesela, anlatıyor. ... Uzun uzun anlatıyor da. Ben onu özetlerim mesela....] (LFI-4, p. 36)

LFI-4 (p. 37) further adds that police officers also often ask her to make a summary in interpreting of such matters. LFI-5 also mentions that he summarizes, on his own initiative, the statements of refugees giving details at length in the courtroom, which is an obvious manifestation of the interpreter's active intervention in the interpreting process. He expresses

Actually, if we [have] time, I usually try to convey all [that is said]. Even if not exactly ... I try to explain what the person means in the most basic way. ... The important thing is fulfilling the need, solving the problem, removing the blockage. If I convey everything that comes out of the migrant's mouth word-for-word, the point in fact gets lost. [...]

[Aslında, şimdi, eğer vaktimiz [varsa], genelde hepsini söyleme gayret ediyorum. Yani birebir olmasa bile ... o insanın ne demek istediğini en temel şekilde hakime izah etmeye çalışıyorum. ... yeter ki ihtiyaç giderilsin veyahut sorun giderilsin, o tıkanıklık giderilsin. Yani, çünkü her şeyi böyle, o an karşıdaki insanın, göçmenin ağzından çıkanı birebir söyleyecek olursam, aslında biraz konu dışına çıkıyor....] (LFI-5, p. 55)

On the other hand, LFI-6 (p. 17) and LFI-9 (p. 16) state that they make a summary by necessity due to judges' instructions about omissions of details and about concise responses.

5.3.2.4. Giving Advice and Guidance

Another form of interventionist attitude, implied by particularly LFI-3, LFI-5, LFI-7 and LFI-8, is giving refugees advice and encouraging them during interpreting processes. In this respect, LFI-3 (p. 6) and LFI-7 (p. 10) express that they sometimes encourage refugees who behave hesitantly by telling them that they should trust the country's justice and public officials. LFI-7 remarks

[...] We [I] give a lot of advice that she should trust justice here. "Don't be afraid of Turkey", [I say]. And we experience this a lot, especially in minor girls under 18.

[...Buraya, adalete güvенеceğini çok nasihat verimiz. "Türkiye'den korkmayın". Ve birçok özellikle 18 yaş altı reşit olmayan kızlarda bunu çok yaşıyoruz.] (LFI-7, p. 7)

LFI-7 further adds

When Syrian, especially veiled women come to the police station, when they are under 18 years old, ... they are told to open their veils. The woman is ashamed first. I tell her, "You are my sister. Don't be shy. You are entrusted to Turkish justice here. Every truth you say, recognition of your face..." We [I] reassure her that her testimony is recorded in the presence of the camera and that she will be assisted. Otherwise, they hesitate.

[Suriyeli, özellikle peçeli kadınlar karakola geldiklerinde, 18 yaşından küçük olduklarında, ... peçelerin açılması söyleniyor. Kadın önce utanıyor. Ben de kendisine "Bacımsın. Kardeşim, utanma. Burası Türk adaletine emanet ediliyorsun. Senin doğru söylediğin her kelime, yüzünün tanınması..." Kamera huzurunda kayıtlar altında ifadenin alındığını ve sana yardımcı olunacağı konusunda rahatlatmak babında kendisine yardımcı oluruz. Yoksa çekiniyorlar.] (LFI-7, p. 10)

LFI-5 mentions that he sometimes encourages refugees who have difficulty expressing themselves in the courtroom. He says

When she/he can't clear up what she/he wants to say... Sometimes, a migrant, a citizen appears before a judge for the first time. Whether in Arabic or Kurdish... Either because of excitement or fear, when she/he can't express herself/himself, she/he speaks very quietly. I say "raise your voice", "don't be afraid". I tell her/him in Arabic or Kurdish. With a hand signal or verbally, I say "raise your voice, don't be afraid. There is nothing to be afraid of".

[Yani toparlayamadığı zaman, söylemek istediğini söyleyemediği zaman... Bazen ilk defa hakim karşısına çıkan bir göçmen oluyor, vatandaş oluyor. Arapça olsun, Kürtçe olsun... Heyecandan olsun, korkudan olsun, kendini ifade edemediği zaman ya çok sessizce konuşuyor. "Sesini yükselt", derim, "korkma", derim. Arapça ya da Kürtçe söylerim ona. El işareti ile veya sözlü olarak, "sesini yükselt, korkma. Korkacak bir şey yok", derim.] (LFI-5, p. 34)

Implying that they feel conscientious responsibility towards refugees in some cases, LFI-5, LFI-7 and LFI-8 also mention that they sometimes give advice to refugees, albeit on a small scale. LFI-5 (p. 19), expressing that the interpreter is in fact also a guide for refugees, states that he sometimes warns refugees about their mistakes so that they will not make the same mistakes in the future. LFI-5 (p. 56) also recounts an interpreting experience in a case involving a petty crime, where he strove for persuading the refugee to implement the court order and warned her/him that she/he would be deported otherwise.

Along the same line, LFI-7 (p. 11) talks about a past experience, in which he recommended a minor, who asked for his help, to go to the state's protection center. LFI-7 (p. 15) recounts another experience, in which he interpreted for a refugee who denied the allegation against himself. He mentions that he recommended the refugee to trust Turkish justice and to tell the truth, telling him that this would be useful for him in the decision process and that his penalty would be remitted. By the same token, LFI-8 (p. 5) states that when interpreting for individuals, who are under pressure, from vulnerable groups such as children, she might advise these individuals on what they need to say in the interpreting setting. LFI-8 also mentions that in petty crime cases, she might empathize with the refugee and might give advice to him/her regarding the court decision. She says

Well, for example... For petty crimes, let's say a man was caught with smuggled cigarettes. And he will be sentenced to 1 year, but the judge asks, "does he accept the deferment of the announcement of the verdict?" The man asks, "what is this,

what will happen?" I explain to him, "if you commit the same crime again in 3 years then you will be penalized. And what is worse, you will be double penalized. The former penalty will be added to the latter". "Well, do you think I should accept it?" he asks. "I think you should accept", I say. Because if he doesn't, he will serve time in prison. He will serve a few months [in prison], and he will be sent to the repatriation center and be deported to his country. And his family will be left here. State of misery... In such a situation, I say this when he asks me. But other than that, there is no "I think" part.

[Ya mesela... Küçük suçlarda, yani, diyelim ki adamın üzerinde kaçak sigara yakalanmış. Ve 1 yıl ceza alacak ama hakim soruyor yani, "hükmün açıklanmasının geriye bırakılmasını kabul ediyor mu?" Adam soruyor, "ne yani şimdi bu, ne olacak?" falan diye. Ben ona anlatıyorum yani, "eğer 3 yıl içerisinde aynı suçu yeniden işlersen o zaman ceza alacaksın. Hem de 2 kat ceza alacaksın. Yeni ve eski suç toplanarak". "Peki, sence kabul edeyim mi?" diyor. "Bence et", diyorum. Çünkü etmezse yatacak. [Hapiste] Birkaç ay kalıp geri gönderme merkezine gönderilecek ve ülkesine sınır dışı edilecek. Ve ailesi burada kalacak. Perişanlık durumu. Böyle bir durumda bana sorduğu zaman bunu söylüyorum. Ama bunun dışında "bence" kısmı yok.] (LFI-8, p. 13)

Overall, it can be said that in situations of encouraging refugees or giving them advice, albeit on a small scale, discussed above, the interpreters, feeling conscientious responsibility towards refugees, in fact develop bonds with them through identification and empathizing. It can also be argued that such initiatives, in which the interpreters, as individuals understanding the refugees' language, provide a kind of guidance to refugees based on their professional position, may contribute to the symbolic value of the interpreters in the eyes of refugees to a certain extent. On the other hand, the issue of the interpreter's giving legal advice, such as those mentioned especially by LFI-8, discussed above, is defined in ethical codes as an intervention that the interpreter should definitely avoid (NAJIT, 2002; Administrative Office of the United States Courts, 2014: 40; JCCD, 2017: 23; Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 55).

In this regard, it is stipulated in the code of the NAJIT (2002) that interpreters "shall not give advice to the parties or otherwise engage in activities that can be construed as the practice of law". Similarly, the manual provided in the training titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes" to the interpreters discussed in the present study also mentions that interpreters should refrain from providing legal advice

to interviewees, expressing their personal opinions or influencing the testimony of interviewees (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 55).

5.3.2.5. Explanations

Another situation in which the interpreters can be said to exceed their so-called task boundary is the explanations made to the parties, especially refugees, during interpreting. In this regard, LFI-1 and LFI-4 mention that they make explanations to refugees when they ask themselves questions about court processes. It is understandable that refugees, who may find the interpreter close to themselves possibly because the interpreter speaks their language, ask him/her questions. LFI-1 remarks

So far, I have got questions like "what will the court process be, when will it end?" Sometimes witnesses ask because we can't say anything inside [the courtroom]. I answer questions like "is our job done here?" The mother, father, relative of the defendant ask questions like "how long prison sentence can he/she get, does it affect citizenship?" I answer them.

[Şu ana kadar “mahkemenin süreci ne olur, ne zaman biter” gibi sorular geldi. Bazen tanıklar içeride bir şey diyemediğimiz için soruyorlar. “Bizim işimiz bitti mi” gibi sorulara cevap veriyorum. Sanığın annesi, babası, akrabası “ne kadar ceza yiyebilir, vatandaşlığı etkiler mi” gibi sorular soruyorlar. Onlara cevap veriyorum.] (LFI-1, p. 5)

Similarly, LFI-4 expresses

[...] They are asking additional questions. Like "what will happen to me now?" and so on. I say, for example, "Now, the judge has brought you to a higher court. This will be held at the Heavy Penal [Court]". Or if we are at the police station, I say, "Your file, more precisely, your case will go to the prosecutor's office later. The hearing may be held two or three months later, or there may be no hearing if deemed appropriate". Or if she/he is in custody, I say, "you are here tonight. Tomorrow you will appear in court on duty". Like that.

[...Sadece hani, ek sorular soruyorlar. Mesela “şimdi ne olacağım”, vesaire. Diyorum ki, mesela, “şimdi, işte, hakim bey sizi bir üst mahkemeye taşıdı. Bu Ağır Ceza’da görülecek artık”. Veya emniyettesysek diyorum ki, “senin dosyan, daha doğrusu senin konun daha sonra savcılığa gidecek. İki üç ay sonra da işte mahkeme olabilir bu konuyla ilgili olmayabilir de uygun görülürse”. Ya da mevcutluysa diyorum ki, “sen bu gece buradasın. Yarın sen nöbetçi hakime çıkacaksın”. O şekilde.] (LFI-4, p. 26)

On the other hand, LFI-8 speaks of some refugees' distrust towards the interpreter, and she mentions that she might make explanations to such refugees about the process before the hearing in order to give them confidence. She notes

[...] They [Refugees] see you as a member of the trial team. Because the court is calling you. Because there is no way they have met you before. If I have little opportunity to talk, I try to reassure them. I try to talk and explain before we start. [...]

[...Sen hani, onu yargılayan insanlardan birisin gözüyle bakıyorlar. Çünkü mahkeme seni çağırıyor. Çünkü seninle daha önce karşılaşmış olma imkânı yok. Eğer biraz konuşma fırsatım oluyorsa zaten hani, o güveni verme çabasına giriyorum hani. Başlamadan önce konuşmaya çalışıyorum, anlatmaya çalışıyorum....] (LFI-8, p. 21)

Besides, especially LFI-8 (p. 13), LFI-9 (p. 14) and LFI-10 (p. 11) state that they might make explanations to refugees during interpreting with regard to legal expressions, such as deferment of the announcement of the verdict. For instance, LFI-9 remarks

There is a hearing, for example. The person is penalized at trial. But the penalty is postponed for 5 years. At first, the person perceives it as if he/she would go to prison or would pay a fine. But later I explain it to him/her. "It will be postponed when you don't commit any crime within 5 years", I say. He/She understands.

[Duruşma oluyor örneğin. Duruşmada şahıs ceza alıyor. Ama aldığı ceza ise 5 yıl erteleniyor. O ilk anda sanki ceza evine girecekmiş gibi veya para cezası yatıracakmış gibi algılıyor. Ama işte daha sonra ona kendisine açıklıyorum. Bu işte, "herhangi bir suç işlemediğin zaman 5 yıl içerisinde ertelenecektir", diyorum. Kafasına oturuyor.] (LFI-9, p. 14)

The ethical codes generally stipulate that interpreters make their explanations within the knowledge and permission of the authorized persons. For instance, the manual titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes" mentions

[...] If there is anything that needs to be explained to the interviewee, it should be done in the presence of the expert or authorized person, and everything said to the interviewee should also be interpreted into Turkish.

[...Eğer görüşme yapılacak kişiye açıklanması gereken herhangi bir şey varsa, bu, uzman veya yetkili kişinin eşliğinde yapılmalı ve görüşme yapılan kişiye söylenen her şey Türkçeye de tercüme edilmelidir.] (Aydın et al., n.d., p. 58).

Furthermore, the recommended national standards of the Australian Judicial Council on Cultural Diversity also suggests that the interpreter should inform the court when the need to explain an expression arises. It is stated

When a concept, expression or word is not easily interpreted and needs to be explained to the witness, the interpreter should inform the court that an explanation is required and why this is necessary, so that the court can ensure that the proper explanation is given in a manner which can be interpreted. (JCCD, 2017: 73)

Accordingly, the mentioned behavior of the interpreters, discussed above, could be considered as a form of exceeding the so-called task boundary of the interpreter, since the interpreters do not mention the issue of informing the authorized persons when making explanations to refugees.

Another form of explanation put forward by the interviewed interpreters is cultural explanations made especially to legal professionals. As a matter of fact, interpreters in general can be in a position to explain culture-specific issues in interpreting settings based on their cultural capital, especially the embodied state of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991) rooted in primary *habitus*, acquired on the basis of ethnic origin, region of origin, family background and social environment. In such situations, the interpreter's cultural knowledge becomes valuable. The manual titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes" also addresses the importance of the interpreter's providing cultural explanations. It is stated

Sometimes it may be important in terms of legal evaluation that the interpreter is aware of intercultural factors, that she/he understands not only the interviewee's sentences but also the culture-specific meanings attached to these sentences and that she/he shares them with the legal professional when necessary. [...]

[Bazen tercümanın kültürlerarası faktörlerin de farkında olması, görüşme yapılan kişinin sadece cümlelerini değil, bu cümlelere eklenmiş kültüre özgü anlamları anlayabilmesi ve gereken durumlarda adli personel ile paylaşması adli değerlendirme açısından önemli olabilir....] (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 58)

In this regard, LFI-4 (p. 21), highlighting her familiarity with the Syrian and Arab culture, mentions a past experience, in which she made an explanation to the prosecutor about the Arabic denotation of a very sensitive expression used in Turkish to

refer to a criminal act, thus clarifying the situation in favor of the refugee. In addition, LFI-4 (p. 34), LFI-6 (p. 15) and LFI-8 (p. 18) state that they might make cultural explanations to legal professionals, particularly on the issue of marriage. LFI-8 notes

I give short footnotes. So, for example, the judge says, "why is the surname of Syrian women different, are they divorced?" I don't have the woman tell about this situation there because it is also necessary to explain this to the woman separately. ... I know the situation. They don't have surnames, they take it from their fathers, their own paternal family. So, the surnames of the mother and her child are of course different. Because the woman takes her surname from her own family. Children take surnames from their own fathers. Every person takes his/her surname from his/her father. I give that detail. Short footnotes, if I know, if I have a good command of the subject, I explain. If I don't, I have the person explain the cultural differences. If I don't know, I also learn.

[Kısa dipnotlar veriyorum. Yani, mesela, "Suriyeli kadınların neden, boşanmış mı neden soyadı farklı" diyor hakim. Orada şey diyorum. Kadına anlatırmıyorum bu durumu çünkü kadına da ayrı anlatmak gerekiyor yani. ... Biliyorum durumu. Onlar soyadlarını soyadı yok onlarda. Onlar babalarından, kendi baba ailesinden alıyor. Yani, kendi çocuğuyla annenin soyadları tabi ki farklı oluyor. Çünkü kadın soyadını kendi ailesinden alıyor. Çocuklar kendi babasından alıyor. Her insan kendi babasından alıyor soyadını. O ayrıntıyı veriyorum. Kısa dipnotlar, eğer biliyorsam, hakimsem duruma, anlatıyorum. Değilsem kişiye anlatıyorum kültürel farklılıkları. Ben de bilmiyorsam öğrenmiş oluyorum.] (LFI-8, p. 18)

In the aforementioned situations, it can be argued that the interpreters adopt, to a certain extent, the roles of "clarifiers" and "culture brokers", also suggested by Niska (2002).

In addition to the points mentioned above, particularly LFI-1 (p. 5), LFI-5 (p. 26), LFI-6 (p. 10) and LFI-8 (p. 14) underline that they can make explanations to judges in favor of refugees in case of a misunderstanding or when they think their explanations will be helpful to the court decision. In this respect, LFI-1 mentions

[...] If it is something I can be helpful with, I help. I make explanations to the judge for the Syrian. Sometimes judges say, "the interpreter can leave". But if the defendant isn't under arrest, I wait.

[...Faydalı olabileceğim bir şeyse yardımcı olurum. Suriyeli için hakime açıklamada bulunurum. Bazen "tercüman bey çıkabilirsiniz", diyor hakimler. Ama eğer sanık tutuklu değilse bekliyorum.] (LFI-1, p. 5)

In a similar vein, LFI-6 remarks

If I myself conscientiously believe that it is assistive for the decision, no one can hold me back, I make explanations. [...]

[Eğer yardımcı, yani, karar hakkında yardımcı olacağına ben kendim, vicdanen inanıyorsam, hiç kimse beni tutamaz, açıklarım....] (LFI-6, p. 10)

Accordingly, it can be said that in the mentioned situations, LFI-1 and LFI-6 assume the role of "advocate" of refugees or service recipients, also suggested by Niska (2002), Hale (2008) and Kaczmarek (2016).

LFI-8, mentioning the explanations she makes especially to newly appointed judges, says

There are too many newly appointed judges in the new system. For example, identity information needs to be obtained. Since I know the procedure, I explain it when there is a question like "where do we ask for the identity information?" ... Normally, it is requested from the police for Turkish citizens. All information is requested from the police. But for them [refugees], when it is requested from the police, the other hearing will be postponed and the lawsuit process will get longer. The person will remain unnecessarily in prison. I know and so, I don't keep quiet. ... I make explanations, of course. So, this shortens the process for them too.

[Mesela, yeni sistemde çok fazla yeni atanmış hakim var ve mesela kimlik bilgisi alınacak. "Biz şimdi nereye, kimlik bilgilerini nereden isteyeceğiz", gibi şey olduğunda prosedürü anlatıyorum bildiğim için. ... Normalde Türk vatandaşı olan insanlar için emniyete yazılıyor. Emniyetten tüm bilgiler isteniyor. Ama onlarda [mültecilerde] emniyete yazılınca hem diğer duruşma ertelenecek hem diğer kişi yani, dava daha uzayacak. Kişi gereksiz yere içeride kalmış olacak. Bilip susmuyorum yani ... Açıklamalar yapıyorum tabi. Yani, bu, süreci çok kısaltıyor, onlar açısından da.] (LFI-8, p. 14)

In the situation described by LFI-8, the interpreter's knowledge regarding the work processes becomes valuable and significant.

5.3.2.6. Dialogues Held with Refugees During Interpreting

Another situation that is indicative of the interpreters' intrusive attitude is the dialogues held with refugees for certain reasons during interpreting. Most of the interviewed interpreters mention that, apart from interpreting, they sometimes have to speak to refugees either to seek clarification of incomprehensible expressions uttered by

them or to interrupt them when they talk without a break. In this regard, LFI-3 (p. 12), LFI-7 (p. 14) and LFI-8 (p. 20) state when they do not understand refugees' speech due to dialect differences, they intervene and ask refugees to explain those incomprehensible points. Along the same line, LFI-4 (p. 28), LFI-5 (p. 36) and LFI-7 (p. 9) express that in the case of incomprehensible expressions uttered by refugees, they interrupt them and seek clarification of those expressions. LFI-4 says

You hear so many different terms. ... At that time, instead of getting stuck there for a few minutes, a few seconds in front of the judge... ... I ask him/her, to the Syrian. ... I immediately say to the Syrian, "I didn't understand this word. I have heard it for the first time." ... "Can you explain it to me so that I can interpret it correctly?"

[O kadar değişik terim duyuyorsunuz ki. ... O zamanda hani orada bocalamaktansa hani, birkaç dakika, birkaç saniyelik kötü durum çünkü hakim beyin karşısında. ... Kendisine soruyorum. Suriyelinin kendisine. ... Hemen diyorum ki Suriyeliye, "bu kelimeyi ben anlamadım. İlk kez duyuyorum." ... "Bana açıklar mısın bunu doğru tercüme edebilmem için?"] (LFI-4, p. 28)

Likewise, LFI-7 remarks

I ask him/her [refugee] again. "Can you explain that word? What do you want to say?" ... In order not to be mistaken. "I don't understand this word." So, I don't have that word recorded without understanding its true essence.

[Tekrar kendisine [mülteciye] sorarım. "Şu kelimeyi açıklar mısın? Ne söylemek istedin?" ... Hataya düşmemek için. "Bu kelimeyi anlamadım." Yani kelimenin özünü, gerçek özünü anlamadan tercüme yazdırmam.] (LFI-7, p. 9)

Furthermore, LFI-4 (p. 35), LFI-5 (p. 58), LFI-8 (p. 19) and LFI-10 (p. 15) express that they also have to intervene during interpreting in order to slow down or stop refugees who talk at a fast pace or uninterruptedly beyond the interpreter's capacity. In this respect, LFI-8 mentions

For example, I really have great difficulty in Moroccan, Tunisian and Algerian Arabic. I understand, yes I don't have any trouble but if he/she speaks fast, I say "if you want the judge to hear what you say, don't speak fast. Speak clearly and stop when I say stop." [...]

[Yani, mesela Fas, Tunus, Cezayir Arapçalarında böyle, kıvraniyorum resmen. Anlıyorum, evet herhangi bir sıkıntı yaşamıyorum ama hızlı konuşuyorsa diyorum ki "eğer dediğin şeyleri hakim duymasını istiyorsan hızlı konuşma. Tane tane konuş ve dur dediğimde dur." ...] (LFI-8, p. 19)

By the same token, LFI-10 notes

I don't summarize. If he/she continues [talking] in the mean time, maybe there ... there is the issue of exceeding [the boundary]. "Stop here", I say. I stop him/her. I convey what is said. After that, I continue.

[Özetlemem. Eğer arada [konuşmaya] devam ediyorsa da belki orada ... bir [sınırı] aşma durumu söz konusu oluyor. "Dur burada", diyorum. Durduruyorum. Olanları aktarıyorum. Ondan sonra devam ediyorum.] (LFI-10, p. 15)

The above-mentioned requests by the interpreters during interpreting are also addressed in the ethical codes. For instance, the manual titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes" mentions that when the interpreter makes such requests to one party, she/he must also explain this situation to the other party.

When the interpreter makes a request in one of the languages, those who do not understand that language will not know what is happening. You must explain the subject you are requesting in the other language. This can be done before or after the request is made.

[Tercüman dillerden birinde talepte bulunduğunda, o dili anlamayanlar neler olduğunu bilemezler. Talepte bulunduğunuz konuyu diğer dilde açıklamanız gerekir. Bu, talepte bulunmadan önce veya sonra olabilir.] (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 59)

The recommended national standards of the Australian Judicial Council on Cultural Diversity states that the interpreter should inform the court officials about the requests in such situations.

Judicial officers can assist the interpreter by ... monitoring the interpreter to ensure she or he is keeping up with the pace of speech – for example, the Court may explain that the interpreter should signal the court if there is such a difficulty, or speak out with a request that the speaker slow down. [...] (JCCD, 2017: 74)

The aforementioned interpreters do not mention that they notify the court officials of their requests made to refugees during interpreting, discussed above. Thus, by engaging in dialogues with refugees on their own initiative, the interpreters can be said to act in an intrusive position, contrary to what is expected of court interpreters according to the above-mentioned code and standards.

5.3.2.7. Reflection of Emotions

Reflection of emotions during interpreting is also a situation, in which the interpreters become relatively visible and act contrary to what is traditionally expected of them. Interpreters, especially those performing tasks for refugees, can be affected emotionally while interpreting traumatic and distressing issues (Lai, Heydon & Mulayim, 2015). In such cases, interpreters are expected to remain neutral and not to give any reactions with their tone of voice, body language or facial expressions. In this respect, the manual titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes" states

[...] The legal interview can reveal very confidential, shocking or disturbing details. ... The non-verbal reactions that the interpreter may give at this point may be risky for the interview process. Therefore, the tone of voice and body language of the interpreter should remain neutral in order not to harm the interviewee and not to disturb the course of the interview. [...]

[...Adli görüşme, çok gizli, şok edici ya da rahatsız edici detayları ortaya çıkartabilir. ... Tercümanın bu noktada verebileceği sözel olmayan tepkiler, görüşme süreci açısından tehlikeli olabilir. Bu nedenle, görüşme yapılan kişiye zarar vermemek ve görüşmenin gidişatını bozmamak için tercümanın ses tonu ve beden dilinin nötr kalması gereklidir....] (Aydın *et al.*, n.d., p. 150).

With regard to the use of gestures and facial expressions by the interpreter, the manual of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts mentions

[...] Interpreters should always strive to maintain a professional demeanor and should be aware not to call unnecessary attention by making gestures or facial expressions while interpreting. (Administrative Office of the United States Courts, 2014: 24)

On the other hand, some of the legal field interpreters interviewed within the scope of this study imply that they may not always act like a machine in such situations during interpreting, as expected of them, and that they might sometimes reflect their emotions in the interpreting setting. For instance, LFI-1 (p. 8) expresses that his gestures and tone of voice can change depending on whether the refugee he is interpreting for is a suspect, witness or victim. LFI-2 (p. 7) also states that when interpreting the traumatic issues mentioned by refugees, she can be affected emotionally, which is reflected through her facial expressions. LFI-8 also notes that there were times when she

experienced a great deal of emotional distress and even her eyes filled with tears. She says

I mean, I really try hard to keep [myself] away at that moment. There are situations where I am affected. For example, in the case of child rape, my eyes started to fill with tears. ... At the most vital point, I mean, the more she was hurt, the worse I felt. My eyes started to fill with tears. I looked, her eyes also filled with tears. And I slapped myself inside. [...]

[Yani, o anda uzak tutmak için hakikaten çok uğraşıyorum yani. Duygulandığım durumlar oluyor. Çocuk tecavüzü olayında bir an gözüm dolmaya başlamıştı mesela. ... En can alıcı noktada, yani, benim, onun canı ne kadar yandıysa benim de canım çok kötü oldu. Gözüm dolmaya başladı. Baktım onun gözleri direkt doldu. Ve iç tokat attım kendime....] (LFI-8, p. 17)

In a similar vein, emphasizing that interpreters are not robots and they can also be emotionally affected, LFI-10 mentions that when he is upset by the traumatic issues narrated by the refugee, he reflects this to the refugee through his posture and facial expressions. He remarks

It [Being emotionally affected] does not affect my interpreting. It does not affect my interpreting, but I have the person I interpret for feel that that incident affected me. ... So, if it upsets me, I show this through my posture and facial expressions. ... Because after all, we are not robots. Although we interpret impartially, we are human beings after all, and I have witnessed cases where I hardly controlled my tears.

[Yani çevirimi etkilemiyor. Çevirimi etkilemiyor ama bu olayın beni etkilemiş olduğunu çevirisini yaptığım kişiye hissettiriyorum. ... Yani, eğer beni üzdüyse duruşumla, yüz hatlarımla üzüldüğümü gösteriyorum yani. ... Çünkü yani neticede robot değiliz yani. Her ne kadar tarafsız çeviri yapıyorsak da neticede insanız ve ben yani gözyaşlarıma zor hakim olduğum şeyler de gördüm yani.] (LFI-10, p. 12)

The intrusive attitude and behavior of legal field interpreters in general is also highlighted by the interviewed public officials, especially the lawyers, working with interpreters. In this regard, mentioning that interpreters generally take sides in favor of the public institution that employs them, LFPO1 (p. 3) expresses that interpreters can sometimes express their personal opinions and that they sometimes cannot gain the parties' trust. Moreover, LFPO1 also mentions that interpreters sometimes do not convey some pieces of information they deem unnecessary and that they might provide

incomplete information, especially about gender issues, due to personal concerns, prejudices and cultural values they adopt. She remarks

[...] First of all, I unfortunately do not know Arabic, but I am talking for 10 minutes, she/he does interpreting for 2 minutes, I think this is not technically possible. And as I said, not interpreting what they think unnecessary because they know the problem and the solutions in their own ways... Or the woman is a victim of violence, an individual who has been subjected to violence by her husband, and there is a demand for protection. There is a demand for protection in terms of sexual health. For example, I don't think anything we say about it is interpreted or conveyed. Some issues especially... .. She/He withholds issues that do not coincide with her/his own ethical values and the values of the society. When I describe a multiple process ... by conveying it in the direction that is appropriate in her/his own way... I mean guiding the person in fact... .. I think she/he does not give information about general consequences. I think so, because later, when I say something else, when I ask something else, I realize that [the refugee] didn't understand it or never heard of it.

[...Bir kere Arapça maalesef bilmiyorum ama ben 10 dakika bir şey anlatıyorum o 2 dakikada tercüme yapıyor, bunun teknik olarak mümkün olmadığını düşünüyorum. Ve dediğim gibi kendilerince problemi bilip çözümlerini de bildikleri için lüzumsuz gördükleri şeyleri çevirmeme... Veya şey oluyor, kadın şiddet mağduru, eşinden şiddet görmüş bir birey oluyor ve korunma talebi var. Cinsel sağlık anlamında korunma talebi var. Mesela bunla ilişkin söylediğimiz hiçbir şeyin çevrildiğini veya aktarıldığını düşünmüyorum. Bazı şeylerin özellikle... .. Kendi etik değerleri ve toplumun değerleri ile örtüşmeyen şeyleri öteliyor. Ben çoklu bir süreç anlattığımda ... onu kendisince hangisi olabilirse o yöne doğru iletip... Kişiyi yönlendirme aslında yani. ... genel sonuçları konusunda bilgi vermediğini düşünüyorum. Çünkü bu, şuradan çıkıyor. Ben sonra başka bir şey söylediğimde, sorduğumda [mültecinin] bunu anlamadığını veya bunu hiç duymadığını fark ediyorum sonraki konuşmalarda.] (LFPO1, p. 5)

Furthermore, LFPO1 (p. 8) also notes that interpreters might convey refugees' statements through indirect speech and by storifying them and that they might add information, untold by the refugee, which they think is supportive and which is not relevant to the subject. Similarly, LFPO2 (p. 2) also mentions that interpreters can sometimes ask refugees questions that are not asked by lawyers. LFPO2 also states that she sometimes has doubts as to interpreters' complete conveyance of what is said. She says

We are not sure if the interpreter is actually conveying it completely. We utter long sentences, but we don't know if she/he summarizes it. Or migrants change the order of topics. It is necessary to receive several confirmations. Because of time

constraints, interpreters evade the topic, saying, "yes, she/he [the refugee] said so".

[Tercüman gerçekten tam olarak aktarıyor mu emin olamıyoruz. Uzun cümleler söylüyoruz ama özetliyor mu bilemiyoruz. Ya da göçmenler sıralamayı karışık anlatıyor. Birkaç kez teyit almak gerekiyor. Tercümanlar zaman kısıtı nedeniyle "evet öyle dedi" diyerek geçiştiriyorlar.] (LFPO2, p. 1)

Overall, in order to affirm and evaluate the interventions, mentioned by the interviewed interpreters and the interviewed lawyers, and to assess the positive or negative contributions of such interventions to the services received by the parties under real-life conditions, further studies, in which interpreter-mediated encounters are observed, are needed. Since the interpreter-mediated encounters could not be observed due to the linguistic constraints within the scope of the present study, the issue is mainly discussed based on the interpreters' accounts given in the interviews. In their accounts, the interpreters on one hand highlight their restricted autonomy, yet on the other hand, they imply certain interventions made by themselves during interpreting.

From this point of view, it can be argued that, as also discussed in several other studies (Berk-Seligson, 1990; Barsky, 1996; Kadric, 2000; Niska, 2002; Hale, 2008; Morris, 2011; Kaczmarek, 2016; Salaets and Balogh, 2017; Yücel, 2018), despite the fairly restricted roles of "machine" or "conduit", traditionally attributed to interpreters; in real-life interpreting situations, interpreters can sometimes exceed their role and task boundary and might make various interventions during interpreting. The interpreters' going beyond their task boundary and their intrusive attitudes might stem from the dynamic nature of the interpreting situations, which is mostly not addressed by the ethical codes and standards prescribing certain behavioral patterns for interpreters; from the practitioners' lack of professional development and experience; and/or from the lack of mechanisms supervising the interpreters' acts. More importantly, since public service interpreting is a form of service that is not well recognized by both Turkish and Syrian people, who have had such a large-scale migration experience only recently (see Section 1.2.3.); both the parties of communication processes and the practitioners themselves may find it difficult to comply with the behavioral patterns required by interpreting situations.

5.4. THE PRACTITIONERS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE INTERPRETING PROFESSION

In this section, the general attitude of the interviewed legal field interpreters regarding the interpreting profession will be evaluated. More specifically, the practitioners' general perceptions of the interpreting profession, their perspectives on the general awareness towards interpreting and the recognition of interpreters as well as on professional deficiencies will be discussed. Lastly, this section will address whether the practitioners have built self-esteem in their work trajectory, whether they are able to maintain the *illusio*, and whether they view interpreting as a sustainable job.

5.4.1. General Perceptions of the Interpreting Profession

The interviewed legal field interpreters express various opinions about how they view the interpreting job they perform. Accordingly, certain interpreters imply that interpreting is a sort of volunteer work. In this respect, LFI-1, who thinks that interpreting is not a job practiced to earn money, says

This job is actually a voluntary job. Sometimes I get phone calls at 12 in the night. I cannot go during the day, I go to police stations at night and I haven't received a penny yet. But I go when I'm called. As a citizen... My native language is Arabic, I got into this job because I thought I could contribute more in this way. So not out of financial concerns... [...]

[Bu iş gönüllülüğe bağlı aslında. Bazen gece 12'de telefon geliyor. Gündüz gidemiyorum, gece gidiyorum karakollara ve daha bir kuruş almadım. Ama arandığımda gidiyorum. Bir vatandaş olarak... Anadilim Arapça, daha fazla katkı sunabileceğimi düşündüğüm için girdim bu işe. Yani maddi kaygı ile değil....] (LFI-1, p. 1)

Likewise, LFI-5 (p. 66) emphasizes that interpreting is a volunteer job that brings no economic profit and that also requires sacrifice. He also frequently highlights that he does not practice interpreting for money. LFI-6, remarking that she performs interpreting wholeheartedly and wants to do this job not only in courthouses but also in all areas of

social life (p. 23), and LFI-10, expressing that he would continue interpreting even if he did not receive any fees (p. 20), in fact imply that interpreting is a kind of volunteer job.

The majority of the interpreters⁸⁰ also imply that they view the interpreting job as a means of meeting communication needs. For instance, LFI-1 (p. 1), viewing the interpreter as the hope of the refugee who does not speak the language, mentions that even if he does not receive any fees, he goes to interpreting jobs whenever he is called from the relevant institutions. Along the same line, LFI-5 states that he takes time off his main job as a clerk to perform the interpreting tasks due to the huge need for interpreters (p. 21).

Besides, LFI-1 and LFI-10 define the interpreter as the “voice of the refugee”.

LFI-10 mentions

I am his/her [refugee's] voice. I am his/her voice. Nobody would understand him/her if he/she talked from morning till night. They record what I say there.

[Onun [mültecinin] diliyim ben. Onun diliyim ben. O sabahtan akşama kadar bir şeyler anlatsa kimse anlamaz ondan. Benim söylediklerimi oraya geçiyorlar.] (LFI-10, p. 6)

In a similar vein, LFI-6 (p. 3) implies that she views the interpreting job as an opportunity to be the voice of people of the same ethnic origin as hers.

Lastly, many of the interviewed interpreters⁸¹ emphasize that interpreting is an essential job and that the interpreter takes on a significant role and might have an

⁸⁰ LFI-2 (p. 1), LFI-3 (p. 2), LFI-7 (p. 2) and LFI-9 (p. 3) indicate that they got into the job of interpreting to meet the needs of people who do not speak the language. Similarly, LFI-10 (p. 2) mentions that he started working as an interpreter when he realized the great need for interpreters.

⁸¹ LFI-5 frequently emphasizes that the interpreter is an indispensable element of the court and mentions that the blockage cannot be removed in the court without an interpreter (p. 21). LFI-5 (p. 22) also defines the interpreter as an auxiliary staff member of the court and claims that interpreters are in fact partners in the verdicts reached by judges (p. 63). Moreover, LFI-5 (p. 27) points out the importance of the interpreter's role by stating that every statement that comes out of the interpreter's mouth affects the court decisions for or against refugees. Likewise, LFI-10 (p. 7) highlights the importance of the interpreter's role by noting that the interpreter's statements can change the course of the cases. He even states that interpreters might affect case files more than judges (p. 6). Similarly, LFI-6 (p. 4) views herself as an individual, who is primarily and directly influential in the court. LFI-7 points out that as the sworn interpreter of the state, he assists justice. LFI-9, underlining that interpreters are very important in facilitating communication in court processes (p. 5), mentions that interpreters assist refugees and at the same time ease the courts' work (p. 19).

influence on court processes. In this regard, LFI-3 mentions that the interpreter acts as a key and says

[...] Sure, this [interpreting job] is a good thing. For example, if I don't go, there is a friend [refugee] talking next to you right now. How would you understand each other if I didn't come? ... Actually, it is a key role there, isn't it?

[...Tabi, güzel bir şey bu [tercümanlık]. Yani, ben gitmezsem, şu anda sizin yanınızda konuşan bir arkadaş [mülteci] var. Ben gelmezsem siz nasıl anlayacaksınız? ... Aslında bir anahtar görevi var orada, değil mi?] (LFI-3, p. 5)

In a similar vein, LFI-10 mentions that without an interpreter, there is no function of the court and other professional groups. He remarks

Just like a social worker, a pedagogue or a social service expert employs a psychologist, they also have to employ an interpreter. Because without that interpreter, that pedagogue has no function. That judge has no function. The court also has no function. When I don't attend the hearing, that hearing can't be held. The hearing is postponed when no interpreter is available. [...]

[Nasıl ki sosyal çalışmacı, nasıl ki pedagog, nasıl ki sosyal hizmet uzmanı, psikolog çalıştırıyorsa tercümanı da çalıştıracak. Çünkü o tercüman olmadan o pedagogun hiçbir fonksiyonu yok. O hâkimin hiçbir fonksiyonu yok. Mahkemenin de hiçbir fonksiyonu yok. Ben duruşmaya girmediğim zaman o duruşma olmuyor. Tercüman bulunamadığından duruşma ertelendi deniyor....] (LFI-10, pp. 20-1)

Overall, the legal field interpreters view interpreting as a sort of volunteer work that does not yield a large economic profit and as a means of meeting communication needs. Furthermore, the majority of the practitioners seem to have understood the importance of the job they perform and of the role of the interpreter in court processes. On the other hand, it is necessary to observe actual interpreting situations to assess to what extent the practitioners act in accordance with this understanding during interpreting.

5.4.2. Perspectives on the General Awareness Towards Interpreting and the Recognition of Interpreters

Contrary to the image of court interpreting in some other countries, such as the USA and Canada⁸², where it is treated as a separate field with its own standards, its status and recognition in Turkey is rather low. This situation stems from the absence of institutionalization, strong professional standards and reasonable eligibility criteria for acceptance to the profession as well as from the lack of professional training and development opportunities and thereby the lack of individuals trained for the job.

As a matter of fact, certain interviewed practitioners have made parallel remarks in this regard. Especially LFI-1, LFI-3 and LFI-10⁸³ express that public service interpreting in general is an unrecognized and undervalued job. In this respect, LFI-1, highlighting that public service interpreting is an undefined job, states

[...] What is asked of you there [at the court] is to be the voice of the person. Neither the judge nor the Syrian questions who you are. She/He views you only as the person to whom she/he will tell her/his problem. There is no definition of this profession except for at translation offices. [...]

[...Orada [mahkemede] sizden istenen kişinin dili olmanız. Kim olduğunuzu hakim de Suriyeli de sorgulamıyor. Sadece derdini anlatacağı kişi olarak görüyor. Tercümanlık büroları hariç tanımı yok bu mesleğin....] (LFI-1, p. 3)

In parallel with the mentioned statement of LFI-1, the interviewed LFPO5, who is a judge, expresses that he does not question the interpreter's competence and that the interpreter's being on the list is sufficient for him, which in fact hints at low awareness of how important professionally competent interpreters are to court processes.

In a similar vein, LFI-5 (p. 63) notes that all the court staff need trainings on the procedures for working with interpreters in order to better understand the purpose of the

⁸² Especially in the USA, court interpreting is guaranteed through the 1978 Federal Court Interpreter's Act (see Section 1.1.4), and professional qualification is a significant factor that influences the amount of fees paid to interpreters (see <https://www.uscourts.gov/services-forms/federal-court-interpreters>).

⁸³ Similar to LFI-1, LFI-3 (p. 5) also mentions that there is a lack of professional naming for interpreters and that interpreting is not an appreciated job. Likewise, LFI-10 argues that interpreting is a low-status job in people's eyes (p. 6) and that despite the significance of the role of interpreters, they do not see the value they deserve (p. 21).

interpreter's presence in the court, and the role and tasks of the interpreter⁸⁴. Along the same line, LFI-7 (p. 25) points out the need to raise awareness of the real need for interpreters among public officials, to take initiative for the specialization of interpreters and to protect interpreters by respecting their labor.

On the other hand, some of the interviewed interpreters mention that the awareness and respect towards interpreters vary among public officials working in the legal field. For instance, LFI-1, LFI-8, LFI-9⁸⁵ and LFI-10 note that some judges may adopt an unfavorable attitude towards interpreters. LFI-10, pointing out that some judges do not attach much importance to interpreters, says

I think the court board perceives interpreting as a much more ordinary profession. ... For example... Of course, this does not affect us much as we already work in the courthouse, but especially those who come from outside receive 50 TL for an interpreting task. Yet they are kept waiting for 3-4 hours. This is an indication that the court board doesn't give importance to them. The same with the prosecutors.

[Yani mahkeme heyeti tercümanlığı çok daha basit bir meslek olarak algılıyor, gibi düşünüyorum. ... Yani, örnek veriyorum. Tabi, biz adliye içerisinde çalıştığımız için bu bizi çok etkilemiyor ama özellikle dışarıdan gelip çalışanlar yani bir tercüme için 50 TL para alacaklar. 3-4 saat bekletiliyorlar. Bu da mahkeme heyetinin onlara önem vermeme, önem vermediğinin bir göstergesidir. Savcılarda da aynı şekilde.] (LFI-10, p. 17)

In this respect, LFI-4 frequently mentions that she is not respected by the staff members of the court other than legal experts, such as judges and prosecutors.

On the other hand, some of the interviewed interpreters⁸⁶ express that they are respected by certain professional groups in the work environment. LFI-7 remarks that he feels the respect of judges towards him and explains it as such:

⁸⁴ LFI-5 also mentions that even some practitioners are not aware of the importance of their work and that trainings should also be given to them to raise the awareness towards this issue.

⁸⁵ LFI-1 (p. 9) expresses that some judges do not behave respectfully towards interpreters and that they may give orders to interpreters regarding entrance to and exit from the courtroom. LFI-8 (p. 9) remarks that judges' view of the interpreter may vary depending on the interpreter's posture, appearance or style. LFI-9 (p. 21) states that some judges leave the discretion for the appraisal of fees to interpreters, yet some think that it is after all the interpreter's job to come and perform the task at the court.

⁸⁶ For instance, LFI-1 (p. 9) speaks of the relatively higher respect of the court staff, such as clerks and ushers, towards interpreters, and similarly, LFI-8 (p. 7) notes that the courthouse staff view interpreters as individuals performing a prestigious profession. LFI-3 (p. 16) and LFI-4 (p. 14) say that they are respected

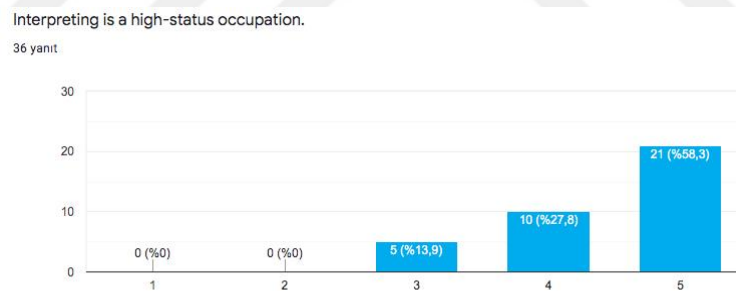
[...] when I say there is an error ... if he [the judge] says to [the clerk] "Correct it!", that man [the judge] respects my opinion. [...]

[...şurada yanlış var dediğim zaman ... [katibe] “Kızım düzelt!” diyorsa o adam [hakim] benim fikrime saygı duyuyordur....] (LFI-7, p. 26)

In a similar vein, LFI-5 (p. 22) expresses that being awaited at the hearings by the court staff and being informed of the hearing dates in advance are the indicators of the value given to the interpreter by the court staff⁸⁷.

Along the same line, the vast majority of the questionnaire respondents (31/36) within the scope of this study agree that interpreting is a high-status profession. Furthermore, 31 of the 38 respondents mention the respect of public officials towards themselves, and 34 of the 38 respondents indicate the respect of refugees towards themselves.

Figure 55: Practitioner Views on the Status of the Interpreting Profession



by police officers, and LFI-2 (p. 11), LFI-4 (p. 15), LFI-7 (p. 26) and LFI-9 (p. 18) mention that legal experts, such as judges and prosecutors, behave respectfully and courteously towards themselves.

⁸⁷ The issue of officials' recognition and respect towards the interpreters, suggested by the mentioned practitioners, needs verification, since in the scope of this study, there was no opportunity to interview each of the mentioned officials and staff members. However, based on the officials' certain ways of behavior towards themselves, some of the practitioners infer that they are respected and recognized.

Figure 56: Practitioner Views on Whether Public Officials Respect Them

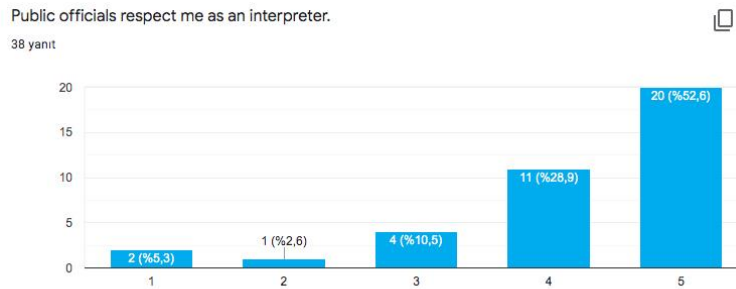
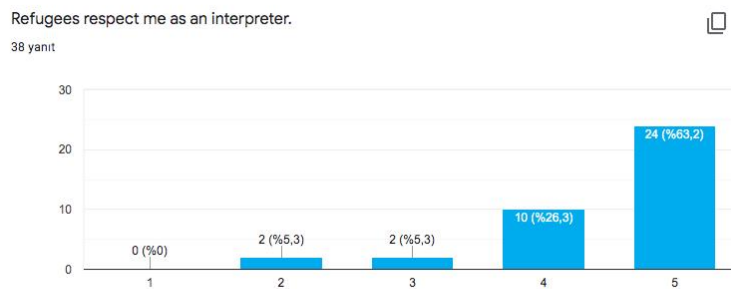


Figure 57: Practitioner Views on Whether Refugees Respect Them



5.4.3. Perspectives on Professional Deficiencies

Another issue emphasized by the interviewed interpreters is the deficiencies in the interpreting profession. First of all, the majority of the interpreters speak of inadequate and non-standard interpreter fees⁸⁸. Since legal field interpreters do not work

⁸⁸ On the other hand, in some other countries, where the profession is better established, the fees received by court interpreters seem more standardized and more proportionate to the significance and criticality of the work performed by interpreters. For instance, in the USA, where court interpreting is treated as a separate field with its own standards and accreditation practices and is guaranteed through the 1978 Federal Court Interpreter's Act (see Section 1.1.4), the amount of the fees received by court interpreters depends on two criteria, whether interpreters are certified and professionally qualified or whether they are only language skilled, in other words non-certified (see <https://www.uscourts.gov/services-forms/federal-court-interpreters>). Moreover, the fees are paid on a full day or half day basis. The full-day and half-day fees received by certified and professionally qualified interpreters are almost twice as the fees received by language skilled interpreters. (A language skilled interpreter is defined as an interpreter whose ability to interpret court proceedings between English and the relevant language is found to be satisfactory by the

as the permanent staff of courthouses, they do not receive a regular salary, and they are only paid for each job they are called for by the relevant courthouses. According to Article 12 of the regulation on interpreter lists (Appendix 10), the fees paid to the interpreters are determined by the courts and are covered by the state treasury. Since the determination of the fees is left to the discretion of the courts, interpreters cannot receive standard fees.

Accordingly, especially LFI-1, LFI-2, LFI-4, LFI-5, LFI-9 and LFI-10 point out that the fees for legal field interpreters, which further decrease after tax cuts, are not satisfactory. In this respect, LFI-5 mentions

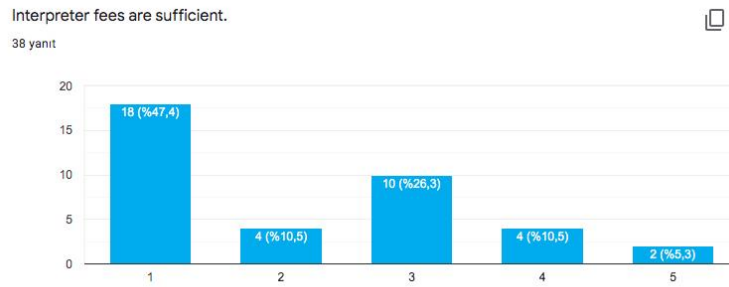
The fee given by the court, assessed by the court is a trivial amount. ... there is a [tax] cut by 20%-21%. ... The money is deposited into the account after 2 months, 3 months. Sometimes it takes 5 months. [...]

[Yani mahkemenin vermiş olduğu bir, takdir etmiş olduğu bir ücret yani çok cüzi bir miktar. ... %20-%21 kesinti olur. ... Bu hesaba gelme de 2 ay, 3 ay sonra olur. Bazen 5 ayı buluyor....] (LFI-5, p. 20)

Similarly, more than half of the questionnaire respondents (22/38) are of the opinion that interpreter fees are not sufficient.

court. This shows that there is also no strictly standard practice in the appointment of interpreters to court proceedings in the USA. This situation is related to the general professional status of public service interpreting, including court interpreting, which is discussed in Section 1.1.3. Public service interpreting in general is not yet an established profession with its own professional standards and own laws, unlike other professions in established fields, such as law and medicine.) Similarly, in Canada, where court interpreting is treated as a separate field, standard fees are paid to court interpreters (see <https://www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/english/courts/interpreters/faqs.php#15>). More importantly, a minimum of three-hour fee is guaranteed for each interpreting assignment regardless of the length of the assignment.

Figure 58: Practitioner Views on Whether Interpreter Fees Are Sufficient



Another situation that especially LFI-1 (p. 10), LFI-3 (p. 18), LFI-4 (p. 49) and LFI-9 (p. 21) complain about is the lack of standardization in the assignment of the jobs to interpreters. The mentioned interpreters point out that certain interpreters on the lists are more frequently called for interpreting jobs⁸⁹. Frequently emphasizing that she is not given sufficient opportunities to practice the profession, LFI-3 mentions

We are interpreters. But we are not included in interpreting except for a few jobs.

[Biz tercümanız. Ama tercümanlığa birkaç iş dışında biz dâhil edilmiyoruz.] (LFI-3, p. 18)

Another issue highlighted by LFI-2 (p. 12), LFI-4 (p. 16), LFI-5 (p. 65), LFI-8 (p. 23), LFI-9 (p. 5) and LFI-10 (p. 19) is the unqualified practitioners on the lists. As mentioned earlier in Section 3.2.2.2., being a primary school graduate is sufficient to be included in the interpreter lists (see Appendix 10). Furthermore, the candidates are not required to prove their language proficiency through a certificate or another document. They only submit a written declaration stating that they know the relevant interpreting languages. The evaluations for the admission to the lists are made by justice commissions based on only the submitted documents. Due to such low criteria, it is inevitable that individuals who are not sufficiently competent to perform the interpreting profession are included in the lists.

⁸⁹ In this regard, LFI-1 (p. 10) notes that the distribution of the assignments to interpreters should be made according to a ranking or scoring system.

Regarding the issue, LFI-8 (p. 23) and LFI-9 (p. 5) express that individuals who do not have sufficient knowledge of languages to perform the job can do harm to court processes, and they also lower the quality of the interpreting profession. In this respect, LFI-10 remarks

[...] I think interpreters should be chosen among distinguished people, among people who are thought to be able to convey what they hear correctly, and among people who have been subjected to the tests. Because I observe a lot. I witness. People who convey what they hear completely differently...

[...Tercümanlar seçkin insanlardan, duyduğunu doğru aktarabileceği düşünülen insanlardan ve bu sınavlara tabi tutulmuş olan insanlardan seçilmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Çünkü çok görüyorum. Ben şahit oluyorum. Duyduğuyla aktardığı tamamen farklı olan...] (LFI-10, p. 19)

Apart from the above-mentioned points, the majority of the interviewed interpreters mention the lack of trainings for interpreters and emphasize the need for trainings. LFI-3, frequently highlighting that interpreting is not an appreciated and valued profession and that professional development opportunities are quite insufficient, says in this regard⁹⁰

[...] if we were [included] in the profession, we would realize our mistakes, faults and shortcomings, and we would try to [improve] them ourselves. But we are not [included] in the profession.

[...mesleğin içinde olsak hatamızın, yanlışımızın, eksiklerimizin farkına varıp bunların doğrusu, biz kendimiz genişletmeye çabalarız. Ama biz mesleğin içinde yokuz.] (LFI-3, p. 18-9)

LFI-3, further pointing to the need for trainings, remarks

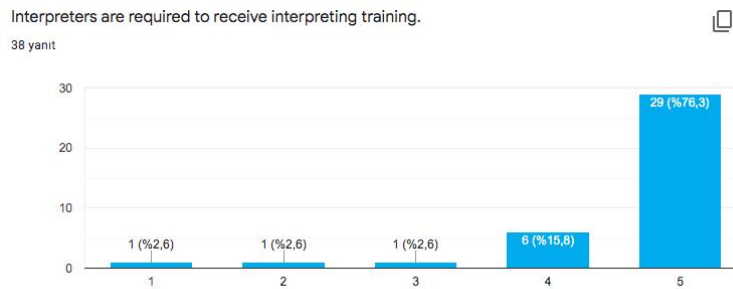
Actually, we perceive. We are interpreters, we are able to comprehend, but we need training. They should take us into consideration.

[Aslında biz algılıyoruz. Biz tercümanız, kafamız alıyor ama eğitim lazım bize. Bizi kale almaları lazım.] (LFI-3, p. 9)

⁹⁰ Moreover, LFI-1 (p. 10) points out that vocational education is a must in interpreting as in every profession. LFI-5 (pp. 63-4) underlines the need to provide trainings to practitioners in order to increase their awareness towards their job and their task and role boundaries. LFI-7 (pp. 24-5) also mentions the need to improve interpreters through more frequent trainings in their areas of specialization. LFI-9 (p. 2) states that the training he attended as part of the Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes only focused on interpreting for children, and he asserts that trainings on interpreting for adults should also be organized. Lastly, LFI-10 (p. 19) expresses that professional interpreting courses should be opened.

Along the same line, the great majority of the questionnaire respondents (35/38) in the scope of the present study also agree that interpreters need to receive trainings.

Figure 59: Practitioner Views on the Necessity of Interpreter Training



The interviewed public officials working with interpreters also agree that interpreters need to be trained. For instance, LFPO1 (pp. 9-10) suggests that interpreters should receive training on the techniques of interviewing trauma victims, especially in refugee interpreting, and on technical terms and expressions in their specialization areas. Similarly, LFPO3 (p. 3) states that interpreters should be trained to have a command of the field, in which they work. As a matter of fact, some of the interviewed interpreters imply certain challenges they face during interpreting or certain shortcomings in their interpreting performances⁹¹. It can be argued that such challenges or shortcomings can partly stem from the practitioners' lack of training and professional development.

The practitioners' understanding of the scope of interpreting trainings is also an issue that is worth mentioning. In this regard, it is understood that some of the

⁹¹ For instance, LFI-1 (p. 6) mentions that he might have difficulty in explaining legal terms and expressions to refugees. In a similar vein, LFI-6 (p. 12) and LFI-7 (p. 8) state that they can have difficulty understanding and using legal terms and expressions during interpreting. LFI-2 (p. 7), LFI-3 (p. 13), LFI-6 (p. 16) and LFI-9 (p. 15) indicate that they have hesitation in interpreting vulgar or abusive expressions. LFI-2 and LFI-3 also express that in the training titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes", they came to know that interpreting such expressions directly is part of the interpreter's task. The panic and worry in the tense atmosphere between the refugee and the public official, which is mentioned by LFI-3 (p. 8), can also be considered as another shortcoming on the part of the interpreter. Lastly, almost all of the interviewed interpreters seem unaware of the issue of first-person interpreting, an important norm of the interpreting profession.

interviewed interpreters think that short-term trainings rather than long-term and comprehensive trainings are sufficient for the interpreting profession. For instance, LFI-4 (p. 2) and LFI-9 (p. 2) affirm that the three-day training titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes", the only training they have attended, was sufficient in terms of duration and scope. LFI-4 says

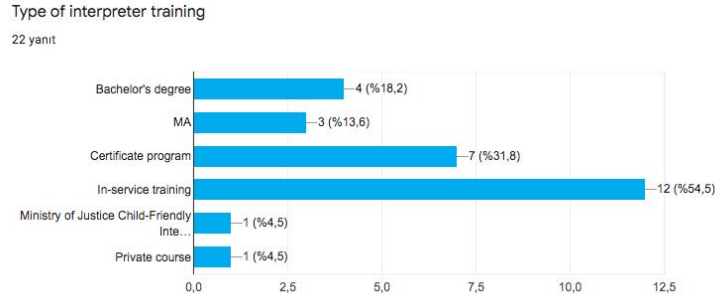
[...] about the interpreting profession ... So we have been doing some of them by heart until now. I mean, we learned what they are technically. Very short, very brief, in a way that we can understand. They also gave law lessons. Too short, but we understood better what is what. [...]

[...yani tercümanlık mesleği ile ilgili... Yani şu ana kadar bazılarını ezbere yapıyorduk mesela. Hani, teknik olarak ne olduklarını öğrendik. Çok kısa, çok ısa bizim, yani anlayabileceğimiz şekilde bir şey verdi, hukuk dersi de verdiler. Çok kısa ama neyin ne olduğunu daha iyi anladık....] (LFI-4, p. 2)

LFI-5 (p. 65) and LFI-7 (p. 25) mention that trainings for practitioners could be organized in the form of short-term seminars. On the other hand, LFI-6 (p. 22) reduces interpreting training to language training and states that the language trainings should be state-supported and should be generalized to the whole population. Accordingly, it can be said that the interpreting profession is not viewed even by its practitioners as a profession with strong *habitus* like other professions, such as law, psychology and medicine, for which comprehensive and formal education is required.

As for the questionnaire responses on the type of interpreting training, of the 22 respondents, who chose more than one option, the majority (12) marked in-service training, 7 chose certificate program, 4 marked bachelor's degree, 3 chose master's degree, and 1 indicated it as "private course". Based on this data, it is not clear whether those who chose these options actually meant the training programs in the interpreting field *per se* or the language trainings received in the mentioned programs.

Figure 16: The Type of Interpreter Training



Another point mentioned by several practitioners⁹² in the scope of professional deficiencies is the need for trainings for public officials working with interpreters. Stressing that public officials should be trained to better understand how to approach refugees through an interpreter, LFI-10 says

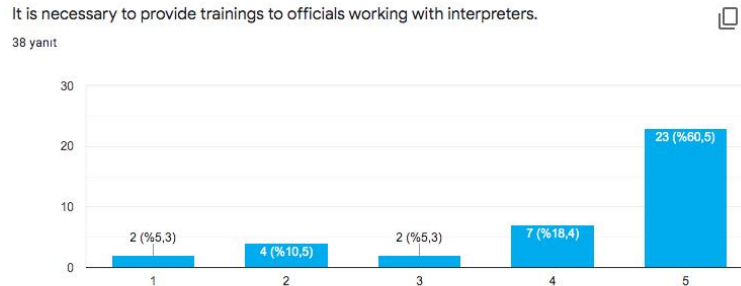
First, they will understand the importance of interpreting. Secondly, I think they should better understand, learn the approach to refugees through an interpreter. Because sometimes interrupting... I have of course no right to interrupt the complainant or the suspect. But interrupting [refugees], [saying] "cut it short, do it like this. Is it like this or not? It is over..." I think [refugees'] right of defense is also restricted in this way.

[Tercümanlığın önemini anlamış olurlar, bir. İkincisi onların da yani tercüman aracılığıyla mültecilere yaklaşımı anlamış, daha iyi öğrenmeleri gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Çünkü bazen, bazen lafını keserek... Tabi, benim, şu müştekinin veya şu şüphelinin lafını kesme, gibi bir şey deme hakkım yok. Ama lafını kesip, "tamam, kısa kes, şöyle yap. Şöyle oldu mu, olmadı mı? Bitti." Yani bu şekilde de [mültecilerin] savunma haklarının da kısıtlanmış olduğunu düşünüyorum.] (LFI-10, p. 18)

Besides, the vast majority of the questionnaire respondents (30/38) also agree that it is necessary to provide trainings to public officials working with interpreters.

⁹² LFI-1 (p. 10) expresses that especially judges may be biased towards interpreters and that public officials working with interpreters should receive training. LFI-5 (pp. 62-3) mentions that all the court staff, including clerks and ushers, need trainings on the procedures for working with interpreters to better understand the purpose of the interpreter's presence in the court and the role and tasks of the interpreter. In a similar vein, LFI-6 (p. 21) remarks that public officials working with interpreters should be trained so that cases can be concluded in a short period and that the responsibilities of interpreters and their boundaries against the parties can be clarified.

Figure 60: Practitioner Views on the Necessity of Training for Officials Working with Interpreters



Lastly, some of the interviewed interpreters make some further suggestions for the professionalization of interpreting. For instance, LFI-1 (p. 10) states that interpreting job should be considered within the framework of public affairs rationale. Accordingly, interpreters, similar to mediators, should be included in the National Judiciary Informatics System to receive case files, they should have staff identity cards for the entry to courthouses, and the personal rights of interpreters should be clarified. LFI-8 (p. 24) notes that practitioners should be subjected to an oral examination before the admission to the interpreter lists. Furthermore, LFI-8 (p. 24) and LFI-9 (p. 20) suggest that there should be a mechanism to supervise the work of interpreters, and LFI-10 (p. 20) mentions the need to establish professional and permanent interpreter positions in courthouses.

5.4.4. Maintaining *Illusio* and Perspectives on the Sustainability of the Interpreting Job

As discussed in Section 5.1., the legal field interpreters interviewed in this study hold a degree, if any, in the fields other than translation and interpreting, such as education, history, theology, and economics and administrative sciences (see Table 3). Apart from LFI-8, who performs interpreting as her main job and has relevant long-term

experiences in the field of translation and interpreting (see Section 5.1.), the practitioners have not either mentioned any comprehensive investments for the translation and interpreting profession or any relevant experience in the field. Thus, it can be said that the practitioners have not developed a strong interest, namely *illusio*, in this field, being a long-standing process even starting from childhood (see Bourdieu, 2000: 165), and they are not strongly disposed to practicing the profession. They rather seem to be engaged in the interpreting job based on their available linguistic capital⁹³ in order to meet the increased communication needs in the relevant institutions.

Apart from the desire to meet refugee needs, the practitioners have also mentioned certain other factors that have enabled them to prefer the interpreting job in question, such as the income factor and the prejudice against the mother tongue (see Section 5.1.). On the other hand, while several practitioners seem to maintain their interest and commitment in the job, several others imply that their interest in the job is waning, which generally results from the deficiencies in professional rewards and resources.

As mentioned earlier, the legal field interpreters do not perform interpreting as a permanent and salaried job, unlike the NGO and healthcare interpreters within the scope of the present study. The interpreters on the lists carry out interpreting tasks as long as they are called from the courthouses, and they receive a fee in return. Furthermore, as also discussed previously in Section 3.2.2.2., the qualifications and standards required to be included in the interpreter lists and to perform the job are quite low, and no regulations have been designed to improve the situation so far. Under the circumstances, the majority of the interviewed interpreters do not consider interpreting as a job that can be performed for life. Besides, especially LFI-1, LFI-3, LFI-5 and LFI-10 speak of weakened *illusio* in the interpreting job they perform due to the non-recognition of interpreting as a job and the poor working conditions, an issue also mentioned in the work of Colley and Guéry (2015).

⁹³ Even the mentioned linguistic capital is open to question, since the practitioners are not required to prove their language proficiency to be included in the interpreter lists.

LFI-1, on one hand complaining that interpreters do not have personal rights equal to those enjoyed by other professional groups, on the other hand highlights that he would like to continue the interpreting job as long as he is included in the interpreter list, since, as an interpreter, he is the hope of those who do not speak the language (LFI-1, pp. 10-1). Similarly, LFI-10, frequently mentioning the unfavorable working conditions and the lack of appreciation for interpreters, also expresses his willingness to continue interpreting by stressing that he views interpreting as a voluntary job (LFI-10, p. 20). Thus, it can be said that despite the *illusio* that is already weak and has been further weakened by the aforementioned conditions, LFI-1 ve LFI-10 still find the interpreting job worth practicing based on their desire to meet the language needs of refugees. And it is understood that these practitioners, who already enjoy a certain level of status as public servants⁹⁴, do not have high expectations from the interpreting job they perform.

Among the interviewed legal field interpreters, LFI-3 is the one, who mentions the disillusionment with the interpreting job most frequently. LFI-3 highly complains about the lack of naming and appreciation for the interpreting profession as well as about the lack of opportunities for professional development and the lack of opportunity to practice interpreting as a permanent job with an adequate income. Due to all the mentioned reasons, LFI-3 (p. 3) remarks that she could not find what she expected in the interpreting job. Under the circumstances, LFI-3, expressing her unwillingness to invest in professional development and her indecision to continue the interpreting job, says

[...] As I said, if I had found what I expected, I would definitely get more professional help. For example, I want to [learn] sign language very much. Maybe, ok, I know Arabic, but I would go to a course and would repeat Arabic more professionally. But now the problem is unfortunately we couldn't find what we expected. Why should I waste time? Why should I suffer financial loss?

[...Dediğim gibi eğer hani beklediğimi bulmuş olsam daha profesyonel bir yardım mutlaka alırdım. Mesela işaret dilini çok istiyorum. Belki, tamam, Arapça biliyorum ama tekrar bir kursa gidip Arapçayı daha profesyonel tekrarlardım. Ama şu anda sorun maalesef beklediğimizi bulamadık. Neden zaman kaybı yapayım? Neden maddi ben zarara uğrayayım ki, diye düşünüyorum.] (LFI-3, p. 3)

⁹⁴ LFI-1 is a deputy principal at a secondary school, and LFI-10 is the fiscal manager at a courthouse.

Accordingly, it can be said that LFI-3, who has lost the “feel for the game” in Bourdieu's (1990b) sense, does not find it worth investing in the interpreting job. Under the circumstances characterized by the lack of naming and professional deficiencies, LFI-3 cannot feel strong in the field and becomes disillusioned due to the already weak *illusio* and the lack of dispositions required by the field.

On the other hand, it is understood that LFI-4 and LFI-8, who perform interpreting as their main job and who are assigned a large number of interpreting jobs by the courthouses, also do not view interpreting as a long-term job. Finding herself successful in the interpreting job and stating that she wants to continue interpreting in the near future, LFI-4 (p. 47) expresses that she sets herself higher career goals than public service interpreting in the long term. Although LFI-8 (pp. 24-6) mentions that she is currently satisfied with the interpreting job she performs, she notes that she prefers to do literary translations in the long run. Moreover, LFI-8 also implies that interpreting may not be a sustainable job in the long term, as refugees learn the language in time. It is understood that the stakes of the legal interpreting job do not meet the career and status expectations of LFI-4 and LFI-8.

LFI-5 and LFI-7, who practice interpreting as a side job, also make it clear that they do not view interpreting as a sustainable job. LFI-5, who works as a clerk at a law office and whose main goal is to become a lawyer, mentions that interpreting is not a promising job in terms of both career and financial opportunities, and asserts that he can continue this job only in the short term (LFI-5, pp. 65-6). Furthermore, LFI-5 (pp. 66-7) also expresses his disillusionment in the interpreting job, highlighting that it is difficult to please service users in this job and that he does not receive sufficient income in return for the services he provides. He remarks

[...] When there is no economic expectation, when people are not satisfied with the work we do, you are unavoidably disappointed after a certain period of time. There are plans to quit after a point.

[...Ekonomik beklenti de olmayınca, insanlar yaptığımız işten de, insanlar yaptığımız işten de memnun kalmayınca belli bir zamandan sonra ister istemez böyle bir şey oluyor, böyle bir hayal kırıklığına uğruyorsun. Bir noktadan sonra bırakmak gibi bir planlar oluyor.] (LFI-5, p. 67)

LFI-7, who is an attendant at an office building, mentions that he is satisfied with the income he earns from interpreting as a side job, yet on the other hand, he implies that he does not consider interpreting as a sustainable job by stating that he wants to engage in trade rather than continue interpreting in the future (LFI-7, p. 26). It seems that the stakes of the current interpreting job do not either satisfy the expectations LFI-5 and LFI-7 hold for the future. In general, the lack of professional resources and rewards hinders the practitioners, who already have not made any significant investments to develop professionally in this field, from viewing interpreting as an income-generating job that can be practiced for life.

5.5. THE FORMS OF CAPITAL (UN)AVAILABLE TO THE INTERPRETERS AND THE (NON)FORMATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Similar to the NGO interpreters, the legal field interpreters in the scope of the present study, who do not have any significant investments and experience in the field of translation and interpreting, have been engaged in the interpreting job based on primarily their “embodied linguistic capital” (Koskinen, 2020: 110), acquired in the family and social environment. Besides the linguistic capital in the embodied state, the institutionalized state of cultural capital, in the form of a diploma or a certificate of cultural competence (Bourdieu, 1986: 245), can also be said to have contributed to the acquisition of the linguistic capital for a few legal field interpreters, as previously discussed in Section 5.1.

The linguistic capital owned by the practitioners, which has turned into “scarcity value” in Bourdieu’s (1986:244) sense due to the increased need for Arabic-speaking individuals in Turkey, adds distinction to them and gives them a “source of power” (Rudvin, 2005) in interpreting processes to a certain extent. The cultural explanations made by some of the interpreters (see Section 5.3.2.5.), as individuals with the knowledge of both languages and cultures, and their adoption of the role of a sort of “culture broker” (Niska, 2002) in interpreting situations could be suggested as a manifestation of the mentioned value of the interpreters’ cultural capital.

However, as mentioned earlier, since the practitioners are not required to prove their language proficiency to be included in the interpreter lists, the mentioned linguistic capital becomes open to question. Moreover, the issue of the unqualified practitioners acting as interpreters, observed by some of the practitioners interviewed in this study (see Section 5.4.3.), can be suggested as a form of the devaluation of the practitioners' linguistic capital. In fact, LFPO5 implies the meaninglessness of the interpreter's qualification when he mentions that he does not question the interpreter's competence and that the interpreter's being on the list is sufficient for him (see Section 5.4.2.). Besides, refugees' or public officials' learning the relevant languages, an issue mentioned by LFI-5 (p. 32, p. 54), LFI-6 (p. 12) and LFI-8 (p. 26), also devaluates the practitioners' linguistic capital, the most significant form of capital for interpreters, thereby decreasing their symbolic value.

As will be mentioned below, the transformation of the linguistic capital, which is presumed to exist, into the other types of capital, namely economic, social and symbolic capital, depends on certain conditions. First of all, the amount of capital the other parties in the interpreting processes possess, the relationships between the parties and interpreters (see Bourdieu, 1993a: 112-144) as well as the general recognition of the interpreters' competences and activities are several factors affecting the situation. As a matter of fact, how much value this cultural capital can create for the practitioners is open to discussion, considering the low public recognition of the interpreting profession as well as the interpreters' invisibility and their subservience to other professional groups, which have also been frequently emphasized by the officials and the trainers in the training titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes" (see Section 5.3.1.). Furthermore, only the linguistic capital acquired naturally in the family and social environment is also not sufficient for the practitioners, the majority of whom have not made any significant investments to gain professional *habitus* in interpreting and thus are unable to firmly define their presence in this field, to gain more resources and recognition.

Keeping in mind the above-mentioned issue, the potential resources that might be available to the legal field interpreters will be separately evaluated in the light of the

external conditions surrounding the practitioners. As for economic capital, one of the other forms of capital, it can be said that the legal field interpreters have in fact the opportunity to convert their existing linguistic capital into economic capital, since they are paid a fee, determined by the court (see Appendices 9, 10), for each job they are called for. However, not each and every interpreter can acquire equal economic capital, since, unlike the NGO interpreters (see Chapter Four) and the healthcare interpreters in the scope of the SIHHAT project (see Chapter Six), the legal field interpreters do not receive a regular salary, and nor is there a standardized system for assigning jobs to interpreters (see Section 5.4.3.). Those who are assigned a great number of jobs, such as LFI-4 and LFI-8 (see Section 5.1.), can naturally generate more income. Indeed, LFI-8 (p. 11) confirms that the income generated from interpreting is quite satisfactory when one has the opportunity to be assigned a large number of interpreting jobs. From this point of view, it can be suggested that the legal field interpreters cannot convert their linguistic capital into economic capital in the form of a regular income and that only a small number of interpreters can generate a satisfactory financial return by making use of their linguistic capital⁹⁵.

Similar to the NGO interpreters, the legal field interpreters also talk about the social bonds they might develop, albeit limited, with the refugees they give interpreting service to, based on the humanitarian aid and volunteering aspect of interpreting for refugees. In this regard, as discussed earlier in Section 5.4.1., particularly LFI-1 (p. 1), LFI-5 (p. 66), LFI-6 (p. 23) and LFI-10 (p. 20) mention that public service interpreting is not a job done to earn money, rather it is mostly practiced based on voluntariness. The majority of the interviewed interpreters also view the interpreting job as a means of meeting communication needs of refugees (see Sections 5.1. and 5.4.1.). Under the circumstances, due to such elements as humanitarian aid and volunteering, which are

⁹⁵ As a matter of fact, LFI-1, LFI-2, LFI-3, LFI-5, LFI-9 and LFI-10 stress that the fees in interpreting are very low and that interpreting is a job with no satisfactory financial return. Even LFI-4 (p. 17), who is assigned a large number of interpreting jobs, argues that the income she earns is not the return of her labor. LFI-5 (p. 4) and LFI-9 (p. 6) also express that the fees, which are already very low, are further reduced after tax cuts.

inherent in public service interpreting, especially interpreting for refugees, social bonds can inevitably develop between interpreters and refugees, who speak the same language.

The most distinct bonds the interpreters develop with refugees are the emotional bonds based on empathy, also discussed previously in Section 5.3.2.7. Accordingly, almost all of the interviewed interpreters acknowledge that in traumatic cases, they empathise with refugees, for whom they are interpreting, and they are emotionally affected⁹⁶. In addition to the emotional bonds, some of the interpreters also speak of certain other relationships established with refugees in interpreting processes. In the scope of such relationships, providing guidance to refugees and giving them advice as well as providing charitable assistance and giving interpreting service free of charge are some of the issues mentioned by certain practitioners⁹⁷.

Overall, the social capital in the form of the mentioned social bonds and relations established with refugees is not likely to transform into economic and symbolic capital for the interpreters, since only durable social relations established with groups possessing other forms of capital have the potential for yielding large resources to individuals (Bourdieu, 1986:246-7). The social bonds developed with refugees, namely

⁹⁶ In this respect, LFI-1 (p. 6) implies that it is impossible for an interpreter not to be affected emotionally in such situations. LFI-3 (p. 11) indicates that in traumatic cases involving children, she empathizes with the refugee by thinking of her own children, and she inevitably feels sorry. LFI-4 (p. 32) also mentions that she is highly emotionally affected especially in child abuse cases. Similarly, LFI-7 (pp. 10-1) also remarks that he is conscientiously affected, especially in cases involving female children. LFI-5 (pp. 47-8) talks about the empathy he established with a father and the sorrow he felt towards him in one of the cases, for which he was interpreting.

⁹⁷ For instance, LFI-1 (p. 1) mentions that the interpreter is the hope of the refugee who does not speak the language, and that refugees can sometimes seek assistance from him as an interpreter. LFI-1 (p. 5) further remarks that he can sometimes make explanations to the judge in favor of the refugee and can sometimes wait for the refugee outside the courtroom if the refugee is not detained. In a similar vein, LFI-5 (p. 27) notes that refugees lay hopes on the interpreter and that the interpreter in fact shares the burden of refugees. LFI-5 (p. 19) also expresses that the interpreter is also a guide for refugees, and accordingly, he sometimes warns refugees about their mistakes so that they will not make the same mistakes in the future. LFI-7 (p. 11) mentions that refugee children, to whom he provides interpreting services, may seek assistance from him and that he sometimes gives advice to such children. LFI-7 also talks about his very close ties with refugees in general and the charitable assistance he provides to refugees. Similarly, LFI-8 (p. 5) implies that she might provide guidance to individuals from vulnerable groups in interpreting processes. LFI-8 (p. 8) also remarks that refugees sometimes confide their problems they cannot express before the court to her after intimate bonds are established between her and them. Lastly, LFI-10 (p. 4) states that refugees who come to prison visits apply to him for interpreting, and he takes care of them and does not receive any fee in return for his work.

individuals with relatively lower amount of capital, can nonetheless bring about moral satisfaction to the interpreters.

On the other hand, a limited number of legal field interpreters, LFI-3, LFI-4 and LFI-5, talk about the intimate relationships they have developed with public officials, such as court staff and police officers, involved in interpreting processes. Such relationships and the recognition earned among public officials have the potential for contributing to the volume of the jobs assigned to those interpreters. For instance, LFI-4 (p. 15) attributes her success and advancement in the interpreting profession to the support of the police unit staff for her based on the confidence she has given to them. However, the transformation of such relationships into more amounts of capital for the interpreters depends on the improvement of the status of the interpreting profession in general, and on the increase in the resources and professional development of interpreters.

As can be understood, the legal field interpreters do not possess some of the resources that the NGO interpreters have, such as the economic capital in the form of a regular salary and the social capital in the form of institutional membership and identity (see Chapter Four). Furthermore, another resource available to the NGO interpreters, the regular in-service trainings, having the potential to contribute to the professional development of the practitioners, is not available to the legal field interpreters. As mentioned earlier, there are no trainings organized for the legal field interpreters (the only training 8 of the 10 interviewed legal field interpreters attended is the three-day training titled "Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes"). Hence, not working under an institutional identity without the mentioned resources causes the legal field interpreters to be more weakly positioned in the work environment.

Overall, all the factors discussed so far undermine the legal field interpreters' accumulation of symbolic capital in their work trajectory. And the restricted authority against the court and its officials, highlighted by the practitioners (see Section 5.3.1.), and the interpreters' invisibility and their subservience to other professional groups, underlined by the officials and the trainers (see Section 5.3.1.), can be suggested as the specific manifestations of the relatively low symbolic capital of the practitioners. On the

other hand, certain interventions by some of the practitioners, for instance LFI-7 (p. 14), warning the clerk about an erroneous statement he/she writes; LFI-8 (p. 9), objecting to the low fee assessed by a judge and reminding the judge of her title of expert; and LFI-10 (p. 3), warning the judges when they change messages while dictating to clerks, can be considered as attempts by the practitioners to demonstrate their competences and authority.

Moreover, it can be suggested that when some of the interpreters indicate that they are performing an essential job (see Section 5.4.1.), they in fact identify with the court to a certain extent by viewing themselves as a significant element of the court, and they tend to make use of the court's symbolic capital. Refugees' expectations from the interpreters (see Section 5.3.1.1.) can be also regarded as their attributing some kind of symbolic value to the interpreters, who speak both languages and thus who are in a position to bridge the gaps between themselves and the legal system and its officials. However, the mentioned situations do not suffice for the interpreters' enjoying a large symbolic capital and recognition, since as discussed previously, the practitioners, who already do not have remarkable investments and dispositions acquired in the long run for the interpreting profession, also do not act in a fully established field (see Inghilleri, 2005a; Sela-Sheffy, 2005; Wolf, 2007) with its own laws and sufficient professional incentives.

All in all, the lack of investments and dispositions required by the field as well as the lack of professional recognition and rewards that constitutes an impediment to the practitioners' maintaining the feel that triggers them to act in this field (see Bourdieu, 2018:92-3) are the major obstacles to the practitioners' formation of professional identity and their performing a professional act in the fullest sense. The practitioners, the majority of whom have already not developed a strong belief and interest, namely *illusio* (see Bourdieu, 2000: 11) in the field, do not seem to be sufficiently inspired to continue acting in the field. As a matter of fact, the majority of the practitioners do not view interpreting as a job that can be practiced in the long run (see Section 5.4.4.). That is to say, they do not find it worth investing in the interpreting job and pursuing it as a future career. Under the current circumstances, the interpreters continue to act on a precarious

and unsound ground, which adversely affects both the interpreters themselves and the development and status of the profession.

In order to overcome this situation, first of all, the academic world and the professional associations need to cooperate to establish strong professional standards, to increase formal training and education opportunities and to raise awareness of the society and governmental institutions towards public service interpreting. More specifically, it is highly necessary to make certain attempts to institutionalize legal field interpreting. Accordingly, in close collaboration with the relevant institutions and the relevant university departments and professional associations, the criteria for the admission to the interpreter lists need to be raised, and candidates who have documented their language proficiency and proved their skills and competences for interpreting through an aptitude test need to be included in the lists and in the institutional framework. A standardization is also necessary in the job assignment to the interpreters and also in interpreter fees. The professional development of the practitioners, which needs to be supported through comprehensive and regular in-service trainings involving both theoretical and practical issues, also needs to be continuously monitored. Other professional groups working with interpreters also need to be provided with practical trainings, in which the significance of the interpreter's role and the problems that may be caused by unprofessional interpreting services are highlighted.

5.6. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, the trajectory and the perceptions of the public service interpreters, who are included in the interpreter lists of the provincial justice commissions for the year 2019 and who work at the courthouses and police units, have been addressed through the data obtained from the semi-structured interviews with 10 practitioners and the questionnaire responded by 38 practitioners. The issues that have emerged from the mentioned data have also been discussed in the light of the data from the interviews with 2 judges and 3 lawyers, who communicate with refugees through interpreters, and from certain documents related to the selection and recruitment

processes and the work procedures for the interpreters as well as the material from the training titled “Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes”, which was organized in cooperation with the Department of Training of the Ministry of Justice and UNICEF and which was attended by 8 of the 10 interviewed practitioners.

Accordingly, it has been found that the legal field interpreters, the majority of whom are Turkish citizens of Arab origin and a limited number of whom are Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin, have mainly acquired the knowledge of their working languages, namely Arabic and Kurdish, based on their ethnic origin, region of origin, family background and social environment, the factors contributing to primary *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1972, cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 134; Bourdieu, 1998). School and course education, namely institutionalized form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), has also contributed to the linguistic capital for several interpreters.

The practitioners' educational background ranges from university degrees in the fields other than interpreting to secondary school graduation. Thus, it can be said that the linguistic capital, rather than the institutional cultural capital in the form of university degree or a relevant training certificate, is the determining factor in the admission to the interpreter lists. Under the circumstances, the practitioners perform interpreting tasks without receiving any extensive trainings, and they have gained on-the-job interpreting experience solely based on their “embodied linguistic capital” (Koskinen, 2020: 110), similar to most of the NGO and healthcare interpreters in the scope of the present study. Since legal field interpreters are not employed as the permanent staff of courthouses, unlike the NGO and healthcare interpreters, who work as full-time staff of the relevant institutions; they perform interpreting as an additional job or as a freelancer.

The practitioners, most of whom have not made any significant investments to acquire the dispositions required by the interpreting profession and have either not developed a strong belief and interest, namely *illusio* (see Bourdieu, 2000: 11, 165), in this field, have preferred the interpreting job in question based on certain motives, such as the desire to meet refugee needs, the income factor, and the prejudice against the mother tongue, especially for the practitioners, who mostly perform interpreting tasks in Kurdish.

As for the practitioners' perspectives on their interpreting activities, one of the frequently emphasized issues is their awareness towards court ethics and legal responsibility, including such issues as impartiality, fairness and loyalty to the oath. Another issue that is frequently mentioned by the practitioners is their restricted authority brought along by the work conditions. The restricted role attributed to the practitioners is also highlighted by several interviewed public officials and in the manual provided to the eight interviewed interpreters, who attended the training titled “Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes”. The issues indicative of the restricted authority and role of the practitioners are suggested as the interpreters' efforts to reduce refugee expectations from themselves, avoiding dialogues with refugees out of interpreting tasks, displaying restricted agency in the courtroom and the superiority of the court and its officials.

However, the legal field interpreters, who frequently emphasize their restricted authority, have also made statements implying that they might act intrusively to a certain extent and might make certain interventions in interpreting processes. The major interventions implied by the practitioners are corrections and changes in messages to be interpreted, summarization, giving advice and guidance to refugees, explanations made to the parties, especially to refugees, dialogues held with refugees during interpreting and reflection of emotions in traumatic situations. From this point of view, it is understood that, despite the roles of "machine" or "conduit", traditionally attributed to interpreters, in real-life interpreting situations, interpreters can sometimes exceed their role and task boundary and might make various interventions during interpreting, as also found in several other studies (Berk-Seligson, 1990; Barsky, 1996; Kadric, 2000; Niska, 2002; Hale, 2008; Morris, 2011; Kaczmarek, 2016; Salaets and Balogh, 2017; Yücel, 2018). The mentioned interventions by the practitioners might stem from the dynamic nature of the interpreting situations, which is mostly not addressed by the ethical codes and standards prescribing certain behavioral patterns for interpreters, from the practitioners' lack of professional development and experience, and/or from the lack of mechanisms supervising the interpreters' acts.

As for the practitioners' general perceptions of the interpreting profession, it can be suggested that the practitioners in general view interpreting as a sort of volunteer work, as a means of meeting communication needs and as an essential job, in which the interpreter is an indispensable element of the court. Furthermore, some of the practitioners view interpreting as an unrecognized and undervalued job and mention the unfavorable attitude of judges towards interpreters. However, some of the practitioners express that they are respected by certain professional groups in the work environment, such as judges and prosecutors, police officers, and the courthouse staff, including clerks and ushers.

The professional deficiencies highlighted by the practitioners are inadequate interpreter fees, the lack of standardization in the assignment of the jobs to interpreters on the lists, unqualified practitioners on the lists, the lack of trainings for interpreters as well as the lack of trainings for public officials working with interpreters. And overall, the majority of the interviewed interpreters do not view interpreting as a job that can be performed in the long run due to the lack of professional resources and rewards, and certain practitioners even imply weakened *illusio* in the interpreting job. Yet despite the weakened *illusio*, certain practitioners still find the interpreting job worth practicing based on their desire to meet the language needs of refugees.

Generally speaking, unlike in some other countries, for instance the USA, where court interpreting is guaranteed through the 1978 Federal Court Interpreter's Act, the resources and the forms of capital available to the legal field interpreters in Turkey are rather low due to the lack of professional recognition and rewards and to the poor working conditions in the legal field interpreting. For instance, there are no regular and extensive trainings organized for the practitioners. Furthermore, the economic capital generated by the practitioners, namely the fees assessed by the court for each interpreting task performed, is generally found to be unsatisfactory by the practitioners. Since the practitioners are not employed as the permanent staff of the court, they cannot either enjoy the social capital in the form of the institutional membership. The social bonds established with refugees and the intimate relationships developed with public officials, such as court staff and police officers, mentioned by a limited number of

practitioners, are not likely to transform into durable and strong relationships that would yield them a large amount of symbolic capital. Under the circumstances, the only capital available to the practitioners is the cultural capital including the linguistic capital, which also becomes devalued due to the low criteria for the acceptance to the interpreter lists (see Section 5.1.).

Hence, the legal field interpreters, who already do not have remarkable investments and dispositions acquired in the long run for the interpreting profession, and who also do not act in an autonomous field with a clear social definition (see Bourdieu, 1984, 1993b) and with its strengthened professional standards, professional development opportunities and professional recognition and rewards, are not in a position to enjoy the symbolic capital possessed by the courts and form a professional identity in the field.

Overall, it is necessary to fulfill the conditions for the professionalization of public service interpreting in general and for the institutionalization of legal field interpreting in particular. Unless strong professional standards are laid down, professional resources, including education and training opportunities, are increased, and the practitioners are made aware of their roles and the work they do; the practitioners will continue to perform interpreting on an unstable ground, which is a serious handicap to the practitioners' personal rights and to the status of the profession, as well as to the quality of the services the parties of communication processes receive from the practitioners.

CHAPTER SIX

HEALTHCARE INTERPRETERS: ACTIVE ACTORS IN THE WORK SETTING

This chapter will address the trajectory and perceptions of the public service interpreters recruited in the public healthcare institutions under the name of “patient guides” in the scope of the EU funded healthcare project SIHHAT. First of all, the social trajectory of the practitioners and the motives that have driven them to the interpreting job will be discussed. Then the practitioners’ perceptions regarding their interpreting agency and the conditions under which they act will be examined. Moreover, the practitioners’ attitude towards the interpreting profession in general will be handled, and lastly, the forms of capital (un)available to the practitioners in the context of the interpreting job they are engaged in, and whether or not the forms of capital have the potential to contribute to the formation of the professional identity will be questioned.

6.1. THE MOTIVES DRIVING THE PRACTITIONERS TO THE INTERPRETING JOB

One of the initiatives undertaken to improve the health status of the increased refugee population in Turkey in recent years is the EU-funded healthcare project SIHHAT (see Section 1.2.1. for more details). The project covers such activities as establishing 178 migrant health centers and 10 community mental health centers and recruiting 1500 health personnel, including Syrian doctors and nurses, among others (see Appendix 16). Furthermore, in the scope of the project, 960 “patient guides”, who are responsible for meeting the communication needs between the staff and refugees in healthcare institutions and also for accompanying patients in various procedures such as registration, examination and consultation (Toker, 2019: 30), have been recruited and assigned to the healthcare institutions particularly in the provinces with the highest Syrian population (see Figure 1 for the ten provinces, where the largest Syrian

populations reside⁹⁸). Accordingly, it is understood that a wide range of services, including the interpreting service, is expected from the practitioners assigned under the name of "patient guide".

The patient guides, who passed the Turkish and Arabic language examinations and who fulfilled the criteria for recruitment (see Appendices 17 and 18), received five-day trainings organized in six rounds (see Appendix 20), mainly covering the subjects of the Turkish healthcare system, intercultural communication and communication skills, patient rights and medical terminology (Toker, 2019). And they were recruited for a limited period of time, i.e. for 36 months between the years 2016 and 2019 (see Appendices 15 and 16), yet the interviewed practitioners informed the researcher that their contracts in the scope of the project were extended until 2021.

As previously mentioned in Section 3.2.2.3., the majority of the patient guides (8/10) interviewed in the scope of the present study are Syrian Turkmen⁹⁹ (see Table 4). The other two, HI-2 and HI-8, are of Arab origin from Idlib (Syria) and Palestine respectively. All of the practitioners, except for HI-8, are refugees who fled the civil war in Syria and took refuge in Turkey. Another striking point about the practitioners is that the majority of them is Turkmen. Since the native language of Turkmens is Turkish¹⁰⁰ and the official language and the language of education in Syria, the country where they were born and grew up, is Arabic; as individuals who have command of both languages, they seem to be suitable candidates for the interpreting job in question¹⁰¹. And as also suggested by Koskinen (2020: 110-1), for these individuals, who are immigrants; the interpreting job is an employment opportunity in the host country, where they can convert their linguistic competence and skills into economic capital.

⁹⁸ The provinces of İzmir, Mersin, Adana and Gaziantep, where the present study has been conducted, are also involved among the ten provinces, where the largest Syrian populations reside.

⁹⁹ HI-1, HI-3 and HI-4 are from Bayırbucak, a region of Syria close to the southern border of Turkey, highly populated with Syrian Turkmens. HI-5, HI-6, HI-7 and HI-9 are from Aleppo, Syria, and HI-10 is from Latakia, Syria.

¹⁰⁰ HI-1 (p. 3) and HI-9 (p. 2) indicate that the Turkish they speak as their native language is a different accent of the Turkish spoken in Turkey. Moreover, HI-1 (p. 3), HI-6 (p. 1) and HI-7 (p. 1) state that only Turkish is spoken among their family members in Syria, and HI-1 (p. 3) and HI-6 (p. 1) even mention that their mothers do not know any Arabic.

¹⁰¹ As a matter of fact, the interviewed practitioners HI-1 (p. 18), HI-3 (p. 2), HI-7 (p. 14) and HI-9 (p. 1) mention the family members or close acquaintances, who are also refugees like themselves and who work as patient guides in the scope of the mentioned project.

As a matter of fact, the practitioners have already benefited from the mentioned linguistic competence in various interpreting experiences¹⁰² before working as a patient guide in the scope of the SIHHAT project. The majority of the interviewed practitioners mention that they have found the interpreting jobs through their acquaintances in the social circle, involving friends, or the acquaintances from the previous work experiences¹⁰³. Accordingly, it can be argued that the connections the mentioned practitioners have established with people with a larger volume of capital have become effective, enabling them to generate economic capital in the interpreting job (see Bourdieu, 1986: 247).

The educational background of the practitioners varies from bachelor's degree to secondary school graduation¹⁰⁴ (see Table 4). All the practitioners, except for HI-8¹⁰⁵, received education in Syria in the Arabic language before coming Turkey. And five of them, HI-2, HI-4, HI-7, HI-8 and HI-9, have received education at university departments in Turkey other than the department of translation and interpreting (see

¹⁰² HI-1 worked as a medical interpreter at a private healthcare institution in Turkey. Moreover, before starting to work as a patient guide in the project, HI-1 also performed translation jobs and started simultaneous interpreting. He states that he still performs simultaneous interpreting as a side job. In addition to these, HI-1 performed various tasks including interpreting at a firm, in which he mainly worked as a customer representative. HI-2 worked as an interpreter at a medical center and also at a law office in Turkey. HI-5 worked as an interpreter at a construction company in Libya. HI-7 temporarily worked as an interpreter at fairs in Turkey. HI-6 and HI-9 worked as interpreters at NGOs giving service to Syrian refugees in Turkey, and lastly, HI-10 worked as an interpreter at a maternity hospital in Turkey.

¹⁰³ In this respect, HI-1 (p. 7) notes that he found the previous medical interpreting job at a private healthcare institution upon the recommendation of one of his friends. HI-1 (pp. 13-4) also mentions that he received translation and simultaneous interpreting jobs through a friend having a large business network. HI-2 (p. 3) says that he started interpreting at a law office thanks to a lawyer he met at a course. HI-4 (p. 3) mentions that he was informed of the interpreting job in the scope of the SIHHAT project by his friends. Similarly, HI-9 (p. 2) states that he was informed of the job opportunity in the project by one of his cousins, who works an interpreter for the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). HI-6 (p. 1) remarks that she heard about the job opportunity in the SIHHAT project during her visits to a public healthcare institution to help her Syrian neighbors communicate with the institution staff. And HI-10 (p. 2) mentions that she got into the interpreting job she is currently practicing at the recommendation of a doctor working at the maternity hospital, where she previously worked as an interpreter.

¹⁰⁴ HI-8 holds a bachelor's degree in pharmaceuticals, received in Palestine; and he is also studying for a master degree in pharmaceuticals at a public university in Turkey. HI-10 holds a bachelor's degree in nursing, received in Syria. HI-1 dropped out of a French language and literature department of a university in Syria, and HI-5 dropped out of an economics department of a university in Syria. HI-3 obtained a high school diploma in Syria, and HI-6 obtained a secondary school diploma in Syria. HI-2, HI-4, HI-7 and HI-9 have continued their university education in Turkey.

¹⁰⁵ HI-8 is from Palestine; thus, he received education in Palestine in the Arabic language before coming to Turkey.

Table 4). Hence, it is assumed that these practitioners have sufficient command of Turkish to study in Turkey. And it seems that the interpreting job in question has enabled them to earn their living while studying.

Overall, the most distinct form of capital possessed by the practitioners for the interpreting job they perform is the “native-language competence” based on ethnic background, which is a “form of inherited bodily capital” (Koskinen, 2020: 110). For the eight interviewed practitioners, who are Turkmen, the acquired knowledge of Arabic partly exists as embodied state of cultural capital in Bourdieu’s (1986) terms, since Arabic is the official and public language of the country, in which they were born and grew up, yet it also exists as institutionalized state of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), since these practitioners were educated in the Arabic language in Syrian schools. On the other hand, HI-2 and HI-8, who are Arabs, learned Turkish at the Turkish language courses organized at the Turkish language education centers for foreign students before they start university education in Turkey. For these two practitioners, it can be said that the knowledge of Turkish language acquired in the courses constitutes part of the institutionalized state of cultural capital, in the form of a certificate of cultural competence (Bourdieu, 1986: 245).

Considering the mentioned social and educational background of the practitioners in the healthcare context, it can be said that the practitioners, except for HI-1, have in fact not become disposed towards the translation and interpreting profession¹⁰⁶, similar to the majority of the NGO and legal field interpreters in this study. In an environment where urgent communication needs must be met, the practitioners, the majority of whom do not have solid training background, significant investments or long-term experience in translation and interpreting, seem to have taken advantage of their available linguistic capital in the form of “native-speaker capacity”

¹⁰⁶ As discussed in the previous chapters, acquiring the dispositions required by a field, in other words professional *habitus* formation, is a gradual and long-term process, being nourished by primary dispositions of individuals (Bourdieu, 2000: 11). Being in constant interaction with primary *habitus*, professional *habitus* is formed of the dispositions instilled in individuals by the structures of professional fields during their professional trajectory (Bourdieu, 1998). The existing linguistic capital, which is part of the primary *habitus* of the practitioners, is valuable but not sufficient for *habitus* formation towards the interpreting profession, which also requires a long-term engagement in the profession.

(Koskinen, 2020: 110). And after receiving the short-term in-service trainings in the scope of the project, the practitioners have gained on-the-job interpreting experience. On the other hand, HI-1, who is a dropout of a French language and literature department of a university in Syria, who has been engaging in literary translation since he was a university student, who gained experience in medical interpreting in a private hospital after coming to Turkey, and who also performs simultaneous interpreting as a side job, seems to be more integrated and invested in the field of translation and interpreting¹⁰⁷.

Although it is understood that most of the practitioners have not got into the interpreting job with a “fundamental belief in the interest of the game” (Bourdieu, 2000: 11), namely with strong *illusio* for the field, which develops over a long period, even starting from childhood (Bourdieu, 2000: 165; see Footnote 49), there are still certain motives that have led the practitioners to the interpreting job in the scope of the SIHHAT project. Accordingly, the most frequently mentioned motives are the lack of job opportunities in other areas and the need to make a living, the desire to generate income during the university education, and the confidence developed through previous work experience.

In this regard, when asked why they have chosen to work as an interpreter, HI-1, HI-4 and HI-8 simply express the lack of opportunity to work in another area and the need to earn a living. HI-1 remarks

I was engaged. I had to work. I worked and quit in different places. Because I didn't have a profession and I was a student, all I could do was interpreting. Turkish-Arabic.

[Ben de nişanlıydım. Çalışmak zorundaydım. Bıraktım çalıştım farklı farklı yerlerde. Mesleğim olmadığı için, öğrenci olduğum için tek yapabileceğim şey tercümanlıktı. Türkçe-Arapça.] (HI-1, p. 7)

HI-4 (p. 3), who holds an associate degree in the field of land surveying, indicates that since he could not find a job in this field, he has chosen the interpreting job in the project. Similarly, HI-8 (p. 2) mentions that after graduating from university, he could not find any other jobs and he had to earn a living in some way.

¹⁰⁷ Actual interpreting situations need to be observed in order to fully assess how professional engagement and investments of HI-1 are reflected on his specific interpreting acts.

Along the same line, HI-2 (p. 3) and HI-7 (p. 1), who are university students, imply that they view interpreting as a job that can be done concurrently with the university education. HI-2 (p. 3) further notes that he quit his previous medical interpreting job and switched to the interpreting job in the scope of the SIHHAT project, since there is the opportunity to work in the night shift in this job, enabling him to both work and continue his education at the same time. Lastly, HI-5 (p. 2) and HI-9 (p. 4) imply that they view interpreting as a job they are able to perform successfully based on their previous interpreting experience.

Overall, the healthcare interpreters do not mention the solid motives and the humanitarian aid element, mentioned by the NGO and legal field interpreters in the present study. In this respect, it can be construed that for the healthcare interpreters, most of whom are refugees and who are thus more disadvantaged than the citizens of the country, where they live, in terms of finding a job and other opportunities, the interpreting job in question seems more as a necessity rather than a choice under the conditions, in which the most valuable form of capital available to them is the linguistic capital. And as will be discussed in Section 6.4.4., during their interpreting experience in the scope of the project, the interest of a few practitioners in the job has increased, while those who have educational background, investments and skills in different fields seem to have become disinterested in the job.

6.2. THE INTERPRETERS AS ACTIVE ACTORS IN THE WORK SETTING

It has been discussed for quite a long time that healthcare interpreters are most likely to go beyond mere interpreting and act as active agents in interpreting processes due to the dynamic nature of the working environment and conditions (Kaufert and Koolage, 1984; Wadensjö, 1998; Davidson, 2000; Pöchhacker, 2000; Rosenberg, 2002; Bot, 2003; Clifford, 2004; Angelelli, 2004a, 2004b; Leanza, 2005; Hsieh, 2006; Rudvin and Tomassini, 2008; Öztürk, 2015; Souza, 2016; Kaczmarek, 2016; Santamaría Ciordia, 2016; Şener, 2017; Duman, 2018; Koçlu, 2019). In this regard, Kaufert and Koolage (1984) found out that interpreters in the Canadian clinics acted as “culture

brokers” and “patients’ advocates”. Wadensjö (1998) suggests that in the healthcare sector, the interpreters’ role is not limited to only interpreting, and the interpreters are viewed as “friends” and “advocates” by patients. Davidson (2000) concluded that the interpreters in a Californian hospital were actually “gatekeepers”, controlling the flow of medical interviews.

Likewise, the interpreters in Pöchhacker’s study (2000) affirmed that their role went beyond mere interpreting, and they also felt responsible for explaining technical terms to service users, explaining cultural elements to service providers and warning the parties on misunderstandings among others. Rosenberg (2002) indicates that interpreters are full-fledged participants of communication processes. Bot (2003), claiming that the codes of ethics viewing interpreters as “non-persons” are in fact not sufficiently suitable for daily interpreting practices in the healthcare sector, concludes that the active roles of the interpreters are indeed recognized by both patients and therapists. Clifford (2004) also suggests that interpreters may be allowed to go beyond the conduit role as the relationships between interpreters and service providers improve.

Angelelli (2004a) proposes various metaphors to describe the medical interpreters’ roles, such as “interpreters as detectives”, solving various problems based on their past experiences; “interpreters as multi-purpose bridges”, addressing cross-linguistic and cross-cultural issues; “interpreters as diamond connoisseurs”, discarding irrelevant pieces of information; and “interpreters as miners”, eliciting information from patients. Angelelli (2004b) further suggests that medical interpreters view themselves more visible than conference and court interpreters. Moreover, interpreters think that they play a part in building trust, communicating both message and affect, explaining cultural gaps, controlling the communication flow, aligning with one of the parties and facilitating mutual respect.

Similar to Angelelli (2004a), Leanza (2005) also proposes various roles for healthcare interpreters, such as “system agent”, transmitting the values and discourse of the dominant culture; “integration agent”, enabling migrants to negotiate meanings and to behave “in-between”; “community agent”, presenting the minority values and norms; and “linguistic agent”, intervening only at the linguistic level in an impartial position. By

the same token, Hsieh (2006) suggests that communicative practices of the other parties, their unrealistic expectations, changes in participant dynamics and institutional constraints lead to deviations from the conduit role for healthcare interpreters. Rudvin and Tomassini (2008) also highlight that many language mediators consider the nature of their task as “assistance” to other migrants, and they actively participate in resolving conflicts.

Souza (2016) discusses that healthcare interpreters in fact act as intercultural mediators and accordingly take on various roles such as “welcomers”, “bilingual professionals”, “community agents”, “cultural informants” and “educators”. In the study of Kaczmarek (2016), interpreters are considered to be colleagues providing institutional service, and they are also defined as “an advocate” of the service recipient. Along the same line, Santamaría Ciordia (2016) suggests that in medical settings, interpreters are expected to be more actively involved in processes, while they are expected to act as merely a “language clarifier” in courts.

In the studies on the role of healthcare interpreters in Turkey (Öztürk, 2015; Şener, 2017; Duman, 2018; Koçlu, 2019), it has also been understood that interpreters go beyond mere interpreting, and they may take on very active roles in the work settings and may carry out various tasks apart from interpreting, such as assisting patients in out-of-hospital procedures, providing telephone support inside and outside the hospital, easing the tension of patients and guiding and accompanying patients. Şener (2017) and Duman (2018) even suggest that the interpreters' undertaking active roles can be regarded as non-compliance with ethical principles, such as impartiality, to a certain extent.

In a similar vein, in the present study, which addresses the interpreters' agency from the interpreters' own perspectives, it is also understood that especially healthcare interpreters take part as active actors in the processes involving refugees in the healthcare institutions they work for, and their job is not limited to only interpreting. As a matter of fact, as mentioned previously, the healthcare interpreters in the scope of the present study have already been recruited under the title of “patient guide” rather than the title of “interpreter” (see Appendices 16 and 17). Accordingly, one of the officials in

charge of the SIHHAT project, interviewed on the phone, has mentioned that the practitioners have been recruited to guide Syrian patients and to offer them counselling services within the relevant healthcare institutions. The official has further noted that if the patient guides have been trained in such fields as business administration, they can be placed in the units such as personnel, organization, delivery, administration and personal affairs. Assigning the practitioners to such units may also indicate that they are already expected to perform other tasks apart from interpreting.

In this regard, the outstanding issues mentioned by the interviewed practitioners can be suggested as the additional tasks performed; the relationships established with refugees out of interpreting, involving the issues of pre-interview dialogues, explanations, and recommendations and advice; and interventions during interpreting involving the issues of explanations, dealing with misstatements, and modifications and omissions in messages.

6.2.1. Additional Tasks Performed by the Interpreters

One of the issues mentioned by the interviewed practitioners regarding their activities in the healthcare institutions, where they give service as "patient guides", is the additional tasks performed other than interpreting. Considering that the practitioners have been recruited under the title of "patient guide", it can be argued that the institutional constraints are decisive in their fulfillment of tasks other than interpreting, as also suggested by Hsieh (2006). In this respect, the most frequently mentioned additional task is guiding refugees in the healthcare institutions and accompanying them to different units, an issue also found out in the study of Koçlu (2019).

Accordingly, HI-1 affirms that the practitioners perform more than the job description, which already involves tasks other than interpreting such as guiding patients and making phone calls (cf. Öztürk, 2015). He even remarks

[...] [Patients] focus on the solution of the problem. Therefore, we also deal with carrying them in the emergency unit. If there is no accompanying person, we carry the person on the stretcher. [...]

[...[Hastalar] problemin çözümüne odaklanıyorlar. Bunun için acilleyen taşımacılık da yapıyoruz. Refakatçisi yoksa sedyedeki adamı biz götürüp getiriyoruz...] (HI-1, p. 44)

HI-1 (p. 46) also mentions that he sometimes has to give service to even Turkish patients in certain hospital procedures. HI-2 (p. 7), emphasizing that he works as a guiding staff, states that he can also perform various tasks, such as assisting the doctor when the nurse is quite busy. Mentioning that apart from interpreting for patients, he also takes the patients' records at the registration desk in the healthcare institution and delivers the X-ray results to the patients, HI-3 says

Sometimes I take and bring the patient. ... Wherever necessary. Like, to the x-ray. After that, they want electromyography (EMG). We go everywhere together, for blood transfusion and so on. The patient is coming. We even take the patient's record. First I understand the patient's problem. I take the record accordingly. [...]

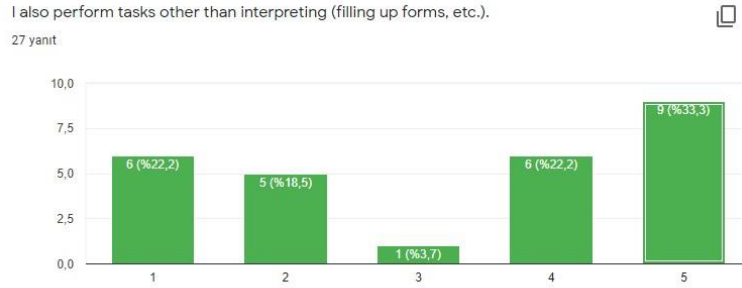
[Bazen hastayı götürüyorum, getiriyorum. ... Nereye gerekirse. Mesela, röntgene. Ondan sonra, EMG istiyorlar. Her şeye, kana falan birlikte gidiyoruz. Hasta geliyor. Hastanın kaydını bile biz alıyoruz. Önce hastanın derdini anlıyorum. Ona göre kaydını alıyorum....] (HI-3, p. 5)

Several other practitioners¹⁰⁸ also mention certain tasks they perform alongside interpreting, such as organizing patients in front of the doctors' rooms and informing patients about the following doctor appointments among others.

The issue of performing additional tasks is also indicated by the practitioners, who have responded to the questionnaire. Accordingly, more than half of the 27 respondents (15/27) tend to perform tasks other than interpreting in the work settings.

¹⁰⁸ HI-4 (p. 7) mentions that he can give guidance to the patients who are not convinced of the medical results about visiting other doctors or other healthcare institutions. As an example of the tasks other than interpreting, HI-7 (p. 9) speaks of organizing patients awaiting their turns in front of the doctors' rooms. HI-8 (p. 6) states that he warns patients who go to the wrong units within the healthcare institution and directs them to the relevant units. Likewise, HI-10 (p. 7) notes that she directs patients to the units they need to go to in the healthcare institution and informs them about the following appointments with doctors.

Figure 61: Practitioner Views on Whether They Also Perform Tasks Other Than Interpreting



Furthermore, the public officials, including doctors and nurses, interviewed within the scope of this study also imply that they expect patient guides to perform tasks other than interpreting, such as guidance and accompaniment, and that patient guides already act accordingly. In this regard, HPO1, who is the chief physician of the healthcare institution, where HI-7, HI-8 and HI-9 work, remarks

They do the work of information desk staff. They should give descriptions to the questions like "Where is the X-ray?" We placed them on the lower floors. They should also do this kind of work; we perceive them as information desk staff.

[Danışma tarzı işler yapıyorlar. "Röntgen nerede" gibi sorulan soruları tarif etmeleri lazım. Alt katlara koyduk bunları. Bu tür işleri de yapmalılar, biz onları danışma gibi algılıyoruz.] (HPO1, p. 2)

HPO1 (p. 2) further expresses that the patient guides are required to explain all the procedures to patients and to guide them from the moment they apply to the healthcare institution. From this point of view, it can be said that HPO1 expects the patient guides to take on the role of "welcomer" proposed by Souza (2016). Similarly, confirming that the patient guides also carry out tasks such as guidance and accompaniment, HPO2 states that apart from interpreting, he expects them to take care of all the procedures in the treatment process of patients. He says

I expect them to take care of the patient until the treatment ends. For my conscientious and legal responsibility as well... They should take care of the patient until the treatment is over. I expect them to be aware of this.

[Beklentim hastalığı sonuçlandırana kadar hasta ile ilgilensin. Benim de vicdani ve kanuni sorumluluğum açısından yani... Tedavi sonlanana kadar ilgilenmeliler. Bunun farkında olmalarını beklerim.] (HPO2, p. 3)

Based on the aforementioned statements of HPO1 and HPO2, it can be suggested that the patient guides are expected to act as individuals providing institutional services, similar to what has been found in the study of Kaczmarek (2016: 65), in which the interpreters are expected to perform tasks that would normally be carried out by a staff member, such as providing guidance to service users on how to perform exercises recommended by the healthcare professional.

Regarding the issue, HPO5 also mentions that apart from accompanying patients to different units in the healthcare institution, the patient guides even carry out various tasks, such as bringing stretchers to patients in the emergency unit. She remarks

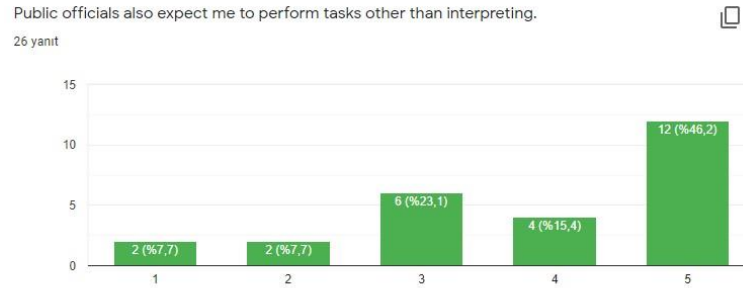
For example, the patient faints here. Let's say he/she falls. They help immediately. They bring a stretcher. They try to lay [the patient] down immediately. Or the patient is stuck in emergency. They try to direct him/her to the emergency department. [...]

[Mesela hasta burada bayılıyor. Diyelim ki düştü. Hemen yardım. Sedye getiriyorlar. Hemen bindirmeye çalışıyorlar. Ya da adam acil sıkışmış. Direkt acile yönlendirmeye çalışıyorlar....] (HPO5, p. 4)

When asked about her expectations from the patient guides, HPO5 (p. 5) notes that she expects them to guide patients and to assist them in the mentioned emergency situations.

It is also worth mentioning that more than half of the 26 practitioners, who have responded to the questionnaire, (16/26) have also confirmed the expectations of public officials from them apart from interpreting.

Figure 62: Practitioner Views on Whether Public Officials Also Expect Them To Perform Tasks Other Than Interpreting



Overall, as required by their job description, patient guides not only perform interpreting tasks, but they also carry out various duties, particularly accompanying and guiding patients. It is also understood that healthcare professionals working with patient guides do not view the practitioners as individuals responsible for only interpreting. They rather consider them as individuals responsible for performing various tasks, ranging from providing guidance at the information desk to carrying a stretcher in the emergency unit. In other words, they expect them to be actively involved in hospital processes.

The issue of practitioners' frequently encountering the other parties' expectations that in fact do not fall within the interpreter's task boundary is also discussed in several other studies (Pöchhacker, 2000; Bot, 2003; Clifford, 2004; Hsieh, 2006; Kaczmarek, 2016; Santamaría Ciordia, 2016). And what the standards of the California Healthcare Interpreters Association (CHIA)¹⁰⁹ recommends in this case is that interpreters resist such expectations from the parties (CHIA, 2002: 29).

¹⁰⁹ For the moment, a generally accepted ethical code or standard is not available for healthcare interpreters in Turkey (As mentioned in Section 1.2.3., the national standards, prepared by several university departments, academicians and experts in the field upon the request of the Vocational Qualifications Authority, is still in draft.). Thus, the interpreters' statements regarding their interpreting acts are discussed against the backdrop of several ethical codes accepted for healthcare interpreters in other countries. Most of the norms and principles addressed in these ethical codes can be said to apply to the acts of healthcare interpreters in general. However, it is also necessary to keep in mind that the cultural frameworks of countries may have an influence on the behavioral style expected from interpreters and therefore the actions of interpreters.

However, as discussed previously in Section 2.3.1., public service interpreting is not a well-established and protected profession with its strong professional standards and laws. And as highlighted by Inghilleri (2005a: 72), interpreters mostly find themselves acting in “zones of uncertainty”, which are spaces without a clear social definition and located between strong fields¹¹⁰ (Bourdieu, 2000: 157-8). The activities in those subordinate spaces are generally dependent on the activities of other dominant fields (Thomson, 2012: 73). Accordingly, the interpreters' knowledge and performances are generally controlled by other professional groups with a higher amount of symbolic capital (Inghilleri, 2005a: 69-70). Under the circumstances, it can be argued that the above-mentioned healthcare interpreters do not have the power to resist the requests and expectations, especially from healthcare professionals.

6.2.2. The Relationships Established with Refugees out of Interpreting

Another issue indicating that patient guides take an active role in the hospital processes involving refugees is the relationships established with refugees out of interpreting. In this regard, the practitioners' statements in the interviews center around the issues of pre-interview dialogues with refugees, explanations made to them, and recommendations and advice. Considering that the majority of the patient guides are refugees themselves (see Table 4) and that they partly share the same cultural characteristics with refugees, it is understandable to a certain extent that they develop relationships with refugees in the mentioned processes. In certain ethical codes, such as that of the US National Council on Interpreting in Health Care (NCIHC, 2004), healthcare interpreters' establishing rapport with the parties to a certain degree is considered to be a part of their role. In this respect, the mentioned code of ethics states

[...] Avoiding personal involvements minimizes the risk of creating conflicts of interest between competing expectations and demands. This does not mean that interpreters cannot be friendly and caring or that interpreters are prevented from establishing rapport with both patient and provider, as can occur during a formal or informal pre-session. The development of rapport with patients and providers during a pre-session is a part of the interpreter's professional role and does not

¹¹⁰ In this case, the strong field in question is the field of medicine.

necessarily represent personal involvement. Establishing rapport means that the interpreter interacts with the patient in a respectful, culturally appropriate, and courteous manner, not only within the interpreted encounter but also on other occasions. [...] (NCIHC, 2004: 17)

As will be discussed in the following sections, the practitioners in the present study inevitably establish relationships particularly with refugees in some situations out of interpreting and perform other tasks due to certain working conditions, such as the great volume of patients and the excessive workload of doctors in public healthcare institutions in Turkey. In other words, as also suggested by Hsieh (2006), the practitioners need to deviate from the conduit role due to certain institutional constraints.

6.2.2.1. Pre-interview Dialogues

Within the scope of the relationships developed with refugees out of interpreting, one of the issues implied by the interviewed practitioners is the pre-interview dialogues. Unlike the NGO and legal field interpreters in this study (see Sections 4.2.4.2. and 5.3.1.2.), the healthcare interpreters express that they need to engage in dialogues with refugees prior to the interpreting tasks. As the main reason for this situation, the practitioners indicate the large volume of patients and the excessive workload of doctors in the healthcare institutions. In this respect, almost all of the interviewed practitioners mention that they generally collect information from patients about their health conditions and complaints before they enter the doctors' rooms and later convey this information to the doctors. Regarding the issue, HI-1 remarks

Since time is limited, we understand the condition of the patient before the examination inside. When we enter, we directly say everything. Of course, if there is something we forget, we confirm it again with the patient or his/her parent. We ask. If there is something we have missed, we get information again.

[Zaman kısıtlı olduğu için içeride muayenede, önceden biz anlıyoruz hastanın durumunu. Girdiğimiz zaman, girdiğimiz zaman direkt her şeyi söylüyoruz. Tabi, unuttuğumuz bir şey varsa da tekrar teyit ediyoruz. Yani hastanın, hastadan veya velisinden. Söylüyoruz yani, soruyoruz. Kaçırdığımız bir şey varsa bilgi alıyoruz tekrar yani.] (HI-1, pp. 32-3)

HI-1, also stating that the mentioned method speeds up the procedures for patients, says

Because when it [the examination] takes a long time, the patients outside react. Because the patient is Syrian... [They say] "she/he took our turn. Go back to your country!" There are situations like this. Against this, we are adopting such a method. ... Yes. It is both fast and everyone achieves their goals. The doctor understands. The patient is having his/her examinations done. He/She reaches the goal, learns about his/her illness, learns the treatment plan. It gets faster.

[Çünkü uzun sürdüğü zaman dışarıda hastalar tepkili oluyor. Suriyeli olduğu için, işte, ne bileyim, işte, "sıramızı aldı, ülkelerine gitsinler!" Böyle durumlar oluyor. Biz de buna karşı, yani, böyle bir yöntem yapıyoruz. ... Evet. Direkt hem hızlı oluyor, hem herkes hedefine ulaşmış oluyor yani. Doktor anlıyor. Hasta, işte, tetkiklerini yapıyor. Hedefine ulaşıyor. Hastalığını öğreniyor, tedavi planını öğreniyor. Öyle yani. Daha hızlı oluyor.] (HI-1, p. 34)

Moreover, HI-1 (p. 35) mentions that while learning about the patients' health conditions in advance, he also has the opportunity to search the terms and expressions he does not know on the internet. Likewise, HI-4 notes that such a preliminary preparation before entering the doctor's room provides convenience to the interpreter, particularly in terms of unknown terms and expressions. He says

We make preparations. Sometimes there may also be words we don't know. So, I think it is very difficult to master everything as an interpreter. It is necessary to make a preliminary preparation. Before entering [the doctor's room] or before starting to interpret. This is something that should be done in every field.

[Hazırlık yapıyoruz yani. Belki bir de, bazen şöyle oluyor. Bilmediğimiz kelimeler de olabilir. Yani tercüman olarak her şeye hakim olmak bence çok zor bir şey yani. Mecbur bir ön hazırlık yapılması lazım. [Doktorun odasına] Girmeden önce veya tercümanlığa başlamadan önce. Bu da her alanda yani yapılması gereken bir şeydir.] (HI-4, p. 7)

HI-4 further remarks

After having a command of the subject, it makes the job easier by the doctor. Because the patient can sometimes suddenly say something inside. So interpreting it right away... I mean without preliminary preparation, something wrong may be said.

[Konuya hakim olduktan sonra artık içeride mesela iş daha kolaylaştırıyor doktorun yanında. Çünkü içeride bazen ani bir şekilde bir şey söyleyebilir hasta. Yani onu da hemen çevirmek... Yani, ön hazırlama yapmadan önce belki yanlış bir şeyler de söylenebilir.] (HI-4, p. 14)

Along the same line, HI-9, indicating that such a preliminary preparation prevents loss of time in the doctor's room, says

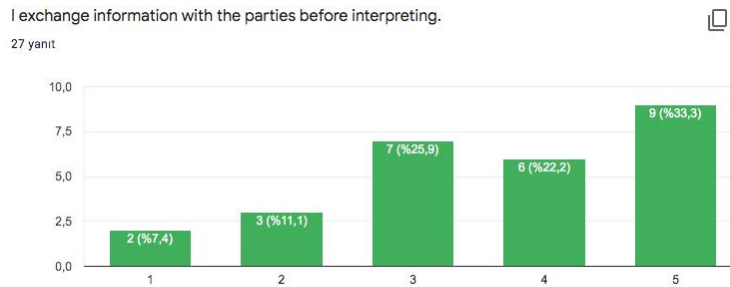
We have to make a preliminary assessment because, as I said, time is limited. Not every doctor wants to wait. I learn about the main complaints, how long it has been lasting, how much it hurts and so on. So that there is no loss of time in the doctor's room. The patient's condition may be critical. I try to understand it while they are waiting.

[Ön değerlendirme yapmak zorundayız. Çünkü, dediğim gibi, zaman kısıtlı. Her doktor beklemek istemez. Hani, ön, şöyle, ön, ana şikayetini falan öğrenirim. Ne zamandır olduğunu, ne kadar acıdığını falan. Onları, hani, doktora tekrar, doktorun önünde zaman kaybı olmaması için. Hastanın durumu kritik olabilir. Onları beklediği sürede anlamaya çalışırım.] (HI-9, p. 15)

Regarding the issue, HI-3 (p. 10) mentions that he gets information from patients about their health conditions during the registration procedures, which he is also responsible for, and HI-6 (p. 22) and HI-8 (p. 10) state that on the condition that they have time, they engage in such dialogues with patients before entering the doctor's room. HI-2 (p. 9), HI-6 (p. 22), and HI-7 (p. 12) express that they have already learned the basic routine questions of the doctors and they ask such questions to patients before entering the doctor's room in order for patients to get examined faster.

In line with the aforementioned practitioner statements, more than half (15/27) of the questionnaire respondents in the present study also mark that they usually or always exchange information with the parties before interpreting.

Figure 63: Practitioner Views on Whether They Exchange Information with the Parties Before Interpreting



Overall, it seems that by collecting information on the patients' health status and complaints before entering the doctor's room, the practitioners both save time for doctors and speed up the service provision to patients. Yet on the other hand, by so doing, the practitioners go beyond the interpreter's role and perform a task that would normally be fulfilled by other healthcare professionals (CHIA, 2002: 29). And this may pose hazards to the healthcare services, since the interpreters may mislead the doctors with the pictures they make up in their minds during the preparations for the doctor interviews.

6.2.2.2. Explanations

Another issue mentioned by the interviewed patient guides in the scope of their relationships with refugees out of interpreting is the explanations made to them, particularly related to medical procedures. In this respect, HI-1 (p. 28) mentions that in the tense atmosphere occurring due to patients' lack of understanding of the medical procedures (see Section 6.3.4. for more details), he explains the medical procedures to them after doctor interviews by also reminding them that they have displayed wrongful behavior. HI-1 also expresses that after interpreting, he makes explanations to anxious patients, with whom he has intimate relationships, based on the knowledge he has gained in his previous and current work experience. He states

[...] Because we have been engaged in this job... I mean, I worked as a medical interpreter in Istanbul. I have been working here for 1 year. We have gained knowledge more or less. Sometimes [patients] ask. Or... If there is something we know, after interpreting, between us... Because after a while, there is sincerity. So the patients are always the same, they don't change. ... Actually, it is also useful. So, there are question marks in their minds like "Why didn't they do this, why did they do that way?". When we explain it, they feel comfortable. Sometimes they themselves ask [us]. Sometimes we see them very anxious. As long as we have time, we explain to them. [...]

[...Ayrıca bu işin içinde olduğumuz için... Yani tıbbi tercümanlık İstanbul'da yaptım. Burada da oldu 1 yıl, yapıyorum. Az çok bilgimiz de oldu bizim. Bazen [hastalar] soruyorlar yani. Ya da ne bileyim? Bildiğimiz bir şey varsa çevirimiz bittikten sonra aramızda... Çünkü şey oluyor. Bir aradan sonra samimiyet oluyor artık. Yani, hastalar hep aynı, değişmiyor. ... Aslında faydalı da oluyor. Yani, soru işaretleri oluyor adamın beyninde işte, "Neden şöyle yapmadılar da böyle

yapıyorlar?” mesela yani. Onu anlattığımız zaman biz, içi rahat oluyor yani. Bazen kendi soruyor. Bazen biz kendimizden böyle tedirgin görüyoruz hani, anlatıyoruz bazen, zamanımız oldukça....] (HI-1, p. 31)

Accordingly, it can be said that HI-1 attempts to build the patients' trust in the healthcare institution and the healthcare professionals. HI-1 (p. 44) further adds that especially nurses expect him to make explanations to patients and to persuade them apart from interpreting. In this case, it can be suggested that what is expected from the interpreter is to act as an intermediary alongside interpreting. As also discussed by Hsieh (2006), as a result of such conflicting expectations, interpreters may have to deviate from the conduit role.

Regarding the issue, HI-4 mentions that after doctor interviews, he sometimes has to make explanations to patients about the definition of their illnesses. He says

[...] Sometimes, for example, illness... You tell the name of it. The patient doesn't know what the illness is. It is not explained either in the outpatient clinic. Because time is short. For example, we have to search for it and explain it. [...]

[...Bazen mesela hastalık... Adını söylüyorsun. Hasta hastalığın ne olduğunu bilmiyor. Açıklaması da yapılmıyor mesela, şey, poliklinikte. Çünkü zaman dar. Biz mesela onu araştırıp açıklaması yapmak zorunda kalıyoruz....] (HI-4, p. 2)

Similar to the interpreters in the study of Pöchhacker (2000), HI-4 not only performs interpreting but also fulfills the additional task of explaining medical terms to patients. On the other hand, according to the guidelines of the New South Wales Health Care Interpreter Services of Australia, one of the outstanding ethical codes for healthcare interpreters, interpreters should refrain from explaining medical terms to service users, namely patients (NSW HCIS, 2014: 11). However, the practitioners in the present study may have to undertake more than the interpreter role and to perform such tasks, mentioned by HI-4, due to both their broad job description, as mentioned in the previous sections, and the working conditions, such as the time constraints on the part of doctors.

HI-6 (p. 21) also remarks that she usually makes explanations about routine medical procedures to uneasy and doubtful patients when they ask additional questions. In this case, similar to HI-1, HI-6 can also be said to play a part in developing the patients' trust. Along the same line, HI-8 (p. 4), a graduate of the faculty of pharmacy in

Palestine¹¹¹, also states that he sometimes makes explanations to patients about the uses of medication and provides patients with information forgotten by the doctors, such as the procedures that need to be followed before surgical operations. Similarly, HI-10, a graduate of nursing in Syria¹¹², notes that she sometimes gives detailed information to patients about the uses of medication (p. 7), which she thinks is in fact the responsibility of the pharmacist, and that she sometimes even explains the use of medication to patients by making a drawing on the paper (p. 19).

Such explanations about medical procedures, mentioned by the practitioners, are in fact considered as behaviors that challenge the professional boundaries of interpreters and that create ethical dilemmas for them in such ethical codes as the guidelines of NSW HCIS (2014: 14). In such cases, interpreters are supposed to alert the healthcare professional (NSW HCIS, 2014: 31). However, since doctors cannot always spare sufficient time for patients due to the large volume of patients in the healthcare institutions; after doctor interviews, the interpreters themselves might have to make explanations to patients to the best of their knowledge. In other words, as also highlighted by Wadensjö (1998), Bot (2003) and Angelelli (2006), the ethical codes may not be sufficiently suitable for interpreting situations under real-life conditions.

Overall, with the explanations made to refugees, HI-1, HI-4, HI-6, HI-8 and HI-10 both enlighten refugees on certain medical issues and resolve their doubts about healthcare institutions and healthcare professionals. It can be argued that in so doing, the practitioners, as individuals familiar with the procedures and the system that refugees are unfamiliar with, contribute to the increase in their symbolic value in refugees' eyes to a certain extent.

6.2.2.3. Recommendations and Advice

The last issue that stands out within the context of the relationships established by the interviewed patient guides with refugees out of interpreting is the advice and

¹¹¹ As a non-citizen and due to bureaucratic barriers, HI-8 cannot practice his main profession in Turkey.

¹¹² Similarly, HI-10 has not yet found the opportunity to practice her main profession, which is nursing, in Turkey. Yet she emphasizes that she would like to take steps in this direction.

recommendations given to refugees. In this regard, HI-5 mentions that he sometimes recommends patients to visit another healthcare institution and to consult to specialist doctors to obtain more effective medical results. He remarks

If I know about the subject... For example, sometimes we tell the patient. We say "I mean, it is not possible for you to get results by us"¹¹³. I say, "In the ... Primary Healthcare Center, there is a specialist doctor. You need to go there. If you listen to me or if you want to get a result, it is useful to go there. Here there is only one doctor or there is a general practitioner. But you need a specialist. If you [want] to get the result, there is the specialist doctor." So we do these too.

[Bildiğim konuysa... Mesela bazen hastaya anlatıyoruz. Diyoruz ki "senin yani, senin netice alman bizim yanımızda değil." Atıyorum, "... Sağlık Ocağında, orada işte uzman doktor var. Oraya gitmen lazım. Beni dinlersen veya sen bir sonuç almak istiyorsan oraya gitmende fayda var yani. Burada tek doktor veya atıyorum, pratisyen doktor. Ama sana uzman doktor lazım. Sonucu alacaksan uzman doktor orada var." Bunları da yapıyoruz yani.] (HI-5, pp. 7-8)

Likewise, HI-9 (p. 13) expresses that in cases where the doctor's gender is a problem for patients, he advises them to see another doctor. HI-6 (p. 5), who works in the maternity hospital, says that when women who are in the late phase of their pregnancy ask her for her opinion about abortion, she advises them not to have their children aborted, yet she further adds that she leaves the final decision to them to avoid taking responsibility afterwards. HI-8 also notes that he sometimes gives advice to patients based on the doctor's instructions. Giving the example of his advice to patients about surgical operation, he mentions

I give advice based on what the doctor says. I mean if the doctor says the patient should have an emergency operation, and if the patient asks if she/he can postpone it a bit, I say, "you have to hurry according to what the doctor says". "It would be better if you did it", I say.

[Doktorun söylediğinden çıkarak tavsiye veriyorum. Yani doktor acil bir ameliyat olması lazım, diyorsa, ve hasta soruyorsa, hani, "biraz ertelesem", falan diyorsa, ben diyorum, "doktor söylediğine göre acele etmen lazım". "Onu yapsan daha iyi olur", diye söylüyorum.] (HI-8, p. 5)

¹¹³ It is understood that HI-5 has identified himself with the institution he works for. He views himself as part of the healthcare institution and gives a recommendation to patients from that perspective.

By the same token, HI-10 speaks of her recommendations to patients regarding diet and adds that she repeats the dietitian's recommendations to patients and also warns them about the subject. She remarks

The dietician says, for example, that [the patient] is to eat two matchbox-sized pieces of cheese. I say to [the patient], "look, if you eat two and a half, you can't do anything". I say, "if they say two, then eat two. Don't eat two and a half. Absolutely don't do that".

[Diyetisyen hani, iki kibrit kutusu kadar peynir yiyecek, diyor mesela. Ben diyorum ona, "bak, iki buçuk yersen sen hiçbir şey yapmamış olacaksın", diyorum. "İki dediler mi sana iki [diyorum], ikiye al. İki buçuk yapma. Kesinlikle yapma".] (HI-10, pp. 8-9)

Similarly, the questionnaire responses indicate that the majority of the practitioners tend to give advice to the parties, particularly refugees. Accordingly, 16 of the 27 respondents agree that an interpreter can give advice to the parties. Moreover, 16 of the 26 respondents denote that they usually or always give advice to refugees on cultural differences.

Figure 64: Practitioner Views on the Issue of Giving Advice to the Parties

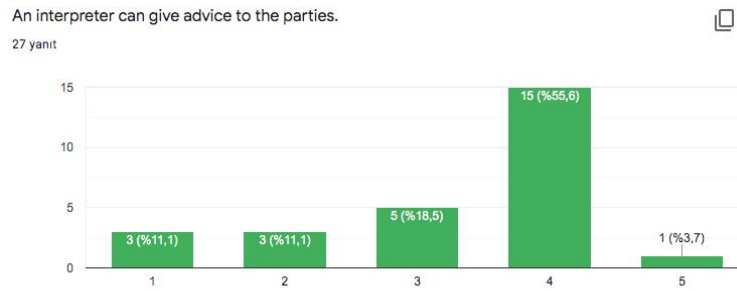
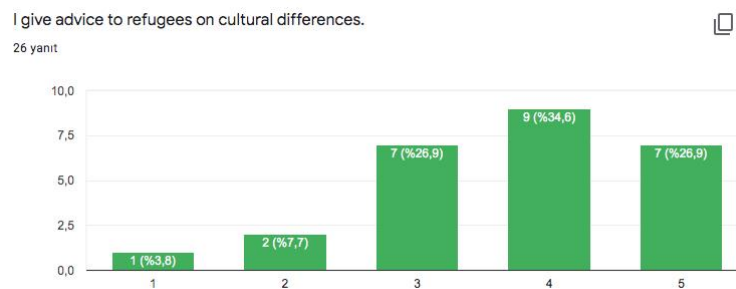


Figure 65: Practitioner Views on Whether They Give Advice to Refugees on Cultural Differences



On the other hand, many ethical codes stipulate that interpreters refrain from engaging in guidance and giving advice to service users (CHIA, 2002: 26; NCIHC, 2004: 16; NSW HCIS, 2014: 10). In this respect, the US National Council on Interpreting in Health Care (NCIHC) states

Interpreters in the health care encounter understand that they are not there as primary participants in the interaction and, therefore, are not in a position to make decisions, to advise or counsel, or to speak for the other participants. ... it is not within the interpreter's set of duties to give advice or to counsel either party with respect to the goals of the health care encounter. (NCIHC, 2004: 16)

However, as can be understood from the experiences of the healthcare interpreters in the present study, contrary to what is stipulated in the ethical codes, interpreters can go beyond the task of mere interpreting and can give advice and guidance particularly to service users under dynamic real-life conditions. As a matter of fact, the interpreters in this study are in a sense expected to fulfill such duties due to the job title of “patient guide” and the relevant job descriptions. And based on the sincerity that develops between them and refugees because of coming from the same country and the same cultural background, and also based on relatively larger amount of knowledge acquired regarding the system and procedures, the practitioners can offer advice and recommendations - although not directly related to medical care and interventions that fall within the healthcare professionals' area of expertise - to refugees, who attribute symbolic value to them due to their positions and ask for their opinions.

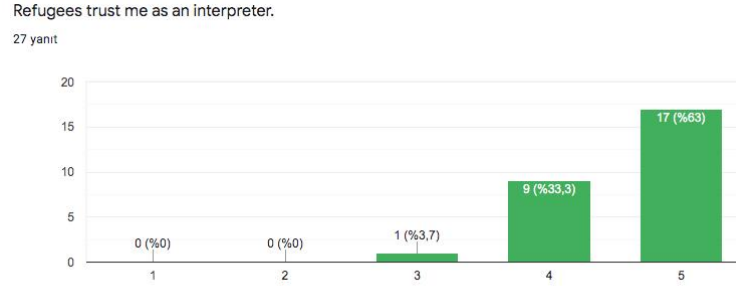
Overall, the issues of pre-interview dialogues, explanations, and recommendations and advice hint at the relationships that the patient guides establish with refugees out of interpreting. As a matter of fact, the interviewed HPO5 (p. 2) also affirms that the patient guides may establish such relationships with refugees and may care more about them. However, interpreters' developing such relationships with the parties, especially with service users, is traditionally considered to be an act that goes beyond the task boundaries and that leads to a subjective stance violating the principle of neutrality (Duman, 2018).

In this regard, the interviewed HPO6 (p. 2), who is a nurse, also describes interpreters' personal communication with patients within the healthcare institution as going beyond the boundaries. In a similar vein, the guidelines of the New South Wales Health Care Interpreter Services (NSW HCIS) recommends that interpreters refrain from establishing unnecessary contact with service users out of interpreting tasks in order to maintain professional boundaries (HIN, 2007, cited in NSW HCIS, 2014: 15). It is even recommended that interpreters "avoid sitting with patients in the waiting area" before the doctor interviews (NSW HCIS, 2014: 16).

Yet as discussed previously, it seems that the practitioners in the scope of the present study inevitably establish relationships with refugees outside interpreting tasks due to both their job descriptions and working conditions. That is to say, as also underlined in several other studies (Wadensjö, 1998; Bot, 2003; Angelelli, 2006), some of the prescriptions in the ethical codes may not be suitable for all interpreting practices in real life, especially in healthcare settings.

In fact, by making explanations to refugees and giving them recommendations and advice, the practitioners can be said to adopt the role of "integration agent" proposed by Leanza (2005), since they make an effort to enable refugees to make sense of the procedures in the host country and to behave accordingly. It can also be suggested that the practitioners become an element of trust for refugees, who are relatively unfamiliar with the system and procedures in the host country. In this regard, of the 27 practitioners responding to the questionnaire item whether refugees trust them, 9 have chosen "Usually" option and 17 have marked "Always" option.

Figure 66: Practitioner Views on Whether Refugees Trust Them as Interpreters



6.2.3. Interventions During Interpreting

The other finding implying that the healthcare interpreters within the scope of the present study, in other words the patient guides, go beyond the task of interpreting and actively undertake certain initiatives is the interventions they make during interpreting. In this regard, explanations; dealing with misstatements, in other words correcting patients' mistakes; and modifications and omissions in messages emerge as the leading interventions made during interpreting.

6.2.3.1. Explanations

Within the scope of the interventions during interpreting, one of the issues implied by the interviewed patient guides is various kinds of explanations they provide to the parties. For instance, HI-1 mentions that he offers further explanations to patients who do not understand the subject matter during interpreting. He remarks

[...] I would like to give a lot of details. I would like to give a lot of details while I am interpreting. And I would also like to get feedback from the patient whether he/she understood me or not. ... I get [feedback]. If he/she doesn't understand, I explain it to him/her again. If he/she understands, he/she already tells it. ... If he/she doesn't understand, I definitely don't let him/her go. [...]

[...Ben çok detay vermek isterim. Çeviri yaptığım zaman bayağı bayağı detay vermek isterim. Ve geri bildirim de almak isterim hastadan. Anladı mı, anlamadı mı beni diye. ... Alıyorum. Anlamadıysa tekrar anlatıyorum ona. Anladığı zaman zaten söylüyor. ... Anlamadıysa kesinlikle bırakmıyorum yani....] (HI-1, p. 19)

Furthermore, HI-1¹¹⁴ (p. 42) states that he generally uses medical language to express obscene words and expressions, yet when refugees do not understand the medical language, he explains it to refugees through polite words and expressions, similar to the healthcare interpreters feeling responsible for explaining technical terms to service users in the study of Pöchlacker (2000). In this respect, HI-1 says

I use medical language, but if the migrant doesn't understand, I express it differently. For example, I say "bowel movement" for "medical analysis". I use polite terms, if she/he doesn't understand, I explain.

[Tıbbi dil kullanırım, ancak göçmen anlamazsa farklı şekilde ifade ederim. Mesela “tahlil” için “büyük abdest” derim. Kibarca terimler kullanırım, anlamazsa açıklarım.] (HI-1, p. 42)

On the other hand, according to some ethical codes (NSW HCIS, 2014: 11), explaining medical terms to service users is an act that interpreters should avoid.

As regards explanations, HI-2 (p. 14) notes that while interpreting to doctors, he uses medical terminology, which shortens the length of his speech; however, while interpreting to patients, he needs to speak more explanatorily and sometimes he even has to repeat the relevant information to patients two or three times. For such situations, the guidelines of the New South Wales Health Care Interpreter Services (NSW HCIS) recommends that the interpreter inform the healthcare professional so that the professional offers further explanations (NSW HCIS, 2014: 20).

HI-4, HI-5, HI-6 and HI-9 speak of the explanations they provide to doctors. HI-4 (p. 13) and HI-6 (p. 8) state that when they encounter certain expressions they are not familiar with, they explain them to doctors based on patients’ relevant accounts. HI-4 further mentions that he might sometimes show the medication used by the patient to the doctor in order to indicate what the relevant illness or disease is. He remarks

[...] One day someone came. He said the name of an illness in the emergency unit. The patient's dialect was quite foreign. When I could not understand what the illness was, I asked the patient. I asked "what happens when one gets ill?" The patient made an explanation about what that illness was. I made an explanation to

¹¹⁴ The further explanations and the use of medical language by HI-1 might hint at the confidence in his professional background and knowledge. This can be explained through the fact that he is better integrated and invested in the job (see Section 6.1.).

the doctor according to what he/she said. Apart from that, once another patient came. He/She said the name of the illness. "I use this medication," he/she said. Again, it was an illness I didn't know. It was the first time I had had such an experience. I took the medication and entered [the doctor's room]. I said, "Mr. Doctor, the patient uses this medication. He's suffering from this illness. I don't know the exact name of this illness." [...]

[...Geçen birisi geldi. Acilde bir hastalığın adını söyledi. Ben de, hasta biraz şivesi bayağı yabancıydı. Hastalığın ne olduğunu bilemeyince hastaya sordum. "Ne oluyor?", dedim. "Yani hasta, hastalanınca ne oluyor?" İşte, bu hastalık ne, diye bir açıklama yaptı. Ben ona göre mesela doktora açıklamasını yaptım sonuçta. Onun haricinde bir kere de oldu. İşte, yine bir hasta geldi. Hastalığı adını söyledi. Ben bu ilacı kullanıyorum, dedi. Yine bilmediğim bir hastalıktı. İlk defa başımdan geçti. İlacı aldım elime, [doktorun odasına] girdim. "Doktorum", dedim. "Hocam bu ilacı kullanıyor. Bu hastalıktan şikâyetçi", dedim. "Ben bu hastalığın ismini tam bilmiyorum", dedim....] (HI-4, p. 13)

In fact, the use of such a method by HI-4 and HI-6¹¹⁵ stems from the lack of knowledge of the field, in which they perform interpreting, an issue also expressed by HI-6.

Regarding the issue, HI-9 (p. 9) mentions that when patients cannot explain the medical situation to him, he tries to understand what they mean by asking them further questions. Then he explains the situation to the doctor based on patients' accounts. From a different perspective, HI-5 (p. 7) notes that he provides explanations to doctors on behalf of timid female patients who cannot express themselves. In this case, HI-5 needs to make the aforementioned intervention due to the communicative practices of patients, an issue also discussed by Hsieh (2006). Accordingly, when the parties do not participate in communication competently, healthcare interpreters might have to go beyond the task of mere interpreting in the communication process (Hsieh, 2006: 724).

HI-6 also mentions another kind of explanations she provides to healthcare professionals. Similar to what has been found in the study of Pöchlacker (2000), HI-6 states that she sometimes needs to make explanations concerning misunderstandings that stem from the healthcare professionals' limited knowledge of Arabic. She says

[...] some doctors have learned Arabic, although a few words. Sometimes they can distract them. "That's what [the patient] said. I understood it", [the doctor]

¹¹⁵ This also shows that HI-4 and HI-6 are not sufficiently integrated and invested in the job they perform, contrary to HI-1, discussed above.

says. I say, "No, Mr. Doctor. He/She didn't say that, you got it wrong. He/She wanted to say this".

[...bazı doktorlar birkaç kelime de olsa Arapça öğrenmişler. Onu bazen yanlış tarafa da çekebiliyorlar. “İşte, bu böyle söyledi. Ben anladım”, diyor. Ben de diyorum ki, “hayır doktor bey. Hani, bu böyle söylemedi, siz yanlış anladınız. Bu böyle böyle söylemek istedi”.] (HI-6, p. 6)

In this case, it seems that as an individual who shares the same nationality, cultural background and past experiences, in other words common *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998), with refugees, HI-6 instinctively feels responsible for correcting the misunderstanding on behalf of the refugee and for improving the refugee’s image in the doctor’s eyes.

Overall, since interpreter-mediated encounters have not been observed in the present study, no definitive remarks can be made regarding to what extent and in what way the interpreter explanations discussed above affect communication processes. However, based on the practitioners' statements, it is understood that the practitioners' activities are not limited to only interpreting and that they can undertake certain initiatives during interpreting, albeit mostly not based on careful analysis of the situation and professional judgment.

6.2.3.2. Dealing with Misstatements

Addressing misstatements, in other words correcting patients’ mistakes, is another kind of intervention made by the patient guides during interpreting. In this regard, HI-1 states that he warns understanding patients about their misstatements and corrects their mistakes by asking them. As an example of this situation, he mentions

Well, healthcare professionals do not generally express such [misstatements], but usually patients... They say wrong terms. Once they said something. Ultrasound. Ultrasound in Arabic [Arabic expression]. Shady. Shady x-ray. They say so in Arabic. They call it a shady x-ray. The patient was telling me something else. Actually it should be Zaliliye. She said Zülaliye. Zülaliye is another, different thing. There is an illness called Zülal. First I thought she had that illness. I said "What is this?" She said "X-ray." ... Sometimes it happens. I ask more to understand. ... I corrected it. I said by asking her. She said "This is the x-ray."

"Then it is not this, not Zülal. Zülal is an illness. What you mean is Zaliliye", [I said]. [...]

[Yani genelde sağlık çalışanları falan öyle yanlış [ifade] olmuyor da genelde hastalardan... Yanlış terimler söylüyorlar falan. Bir ara şey söylemişlerdi. Ultrason. Ultrasonun Arapçası [Arapça ifade]. Gölge. Gölge film. Öyle diyorlar Arapçada. Gölge film diyorlar. Hasta başka bir şey diyordu bana. Aslında Zaliliye olması gerekiyor. Kendisi Zülaliye diyordu. Zülaliye de başka, farklı bir şey. Zülal diye bir hastalık var. Ben şey sandım önce. O hastalık var diye bayanda. Dedim "Bu ne?" Dedi "Film." ... Bazen şey oluyor böyle. Anlamak için daha fazla soruyorum. ... Düzelttim. Sorarak söyledim. Dedi "Film bu." "O zaman bu değil, Zülaliye değil. Zülal hastalık. Sizin demek istediğiniz Zaliliye" [dedim]....] (HI-1, p. 27)

Likewise, HI-4 (p. 6) remarks that first he calls patients' attention to their misstatements and then he asks them additional questions to elicit clear information from them. In a similar vein, HI-5 (p. 7) says that when he realizes that the patient makes a misstatement, he first asks the patient what she/he means and then he conveys to the doctor what the patient says and actually means. HI-6 also mentions that she corrects patients' misstatements during interpreting and that she informs doctors and patients about such corrections. She notes

I also explain to the patient. [I say] "It is wrong in that way; I said it by correcting". I tell him/her whatever his/her reaction is. ... Because it can happen. I mean, I might be wrong too. Of course, I also explain it to the doctor. [I say] "He/She said that, but I said this to him/her". Where I am already right, [the doctor] says "you are right that way". Or he/she says "No, [what the patient says] is right".

[Hani, hastaya da açıklarım. "Öyle yanlış, ben düzeltip söyledim", diye. Tepkisi ne olursa olsun onu söylerim ona. ... Çünkü olabilir. Hani, ben de yanlış söylüyor olabilirim. Tabi, doktora açıklarım. "Böyle böyle söyledi ama ben ona böyle böyle dedim". Şey der, zaten haklı olduğum yerde der, "böyle haklısın". Veya der ki "yok, onun şeyi doğru", diye.] (HI-6, p. 4)

HI-9, highlighting the importance of establishing proper communication with patients, says

I correct it first with the patient. If he says it properly... If I tell the doctor the wrong information, the doctor will provide the wrong treatment. Therefore, I first establish proper communication with the patient. I mean, I try to have him/her say it right. Then I convey it to the doctor.

[Önce hastayla düzeltirim. Düzgün söylerse... Doktora yanlış söylediğim takdirde doktor da yanlış tedavi verecek. Onun için hastayla önce iletişimi düzgün kurarım. Hani, onun düzgün söylemesini çalışırım. Sonra doktora aktarırım onu.] (HI-9, p. 9)

Lastly, HI-10 (p. 8) implies that she does not address patients' misstatements on her own initiative. She remarks that only if the doctor realizes the patient's mistake and objects to the patient's statement, she once more asks the patient what she/he means.

Regarding the issue, around 74% of the 27 questionnaire respondents in the present study, namely the majority of them, agree that an interpreter can correct the wrong information expressed by the parties. Furthermore, it is understood that around 70.4% of the respondents tend to correct the wrong information expressed by the parties during interpreting.

Figure 67: Practitioner Views on the Issue of Interpreter's Correcting the Wrong Information Given by the Parties

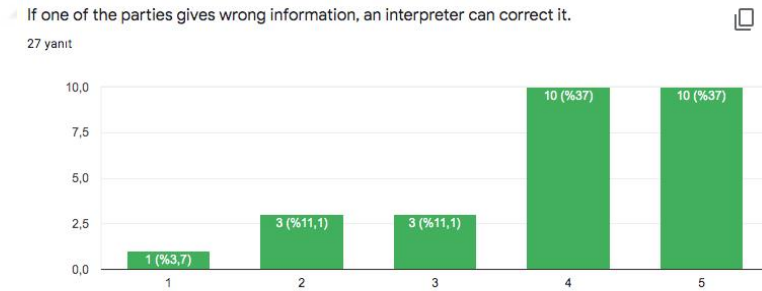
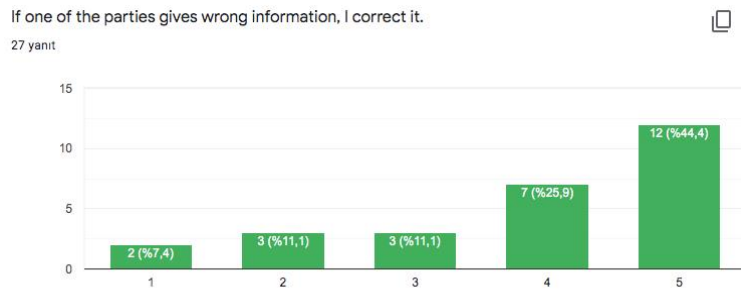


Figure 68: Practitioner Views on Whether They Correct the Wrong Information Given by the Parties



On the other hand, the guidelines of the New South Wales Health Care Interpreter Services of Australia states that it is primarily the healthcare professionals' duty to ask patients additional questions if patients make statements that conflict with their health status (NSW HCIS, 2014: 39). Accordingly, among HI-1, HI-4, HI-5, HI-6, HI-9 and HI-10, only HI-10, leaving it to the initiative of the healthcare provider to correct patients' mistakes, acts to a certain extent in compliance with the relevant recommendation of the mentioned guidelines.

Since interpreter-mediated encounters have not been observed in the present study, definitive remarks cannot be made on in what way the mentioned patient guides correct the misstatements expressed by patients. However, according to what the aforementioned practitioners remark, it can be said that these practitioners somehow adopt an intrusive attitude in interpreting processes by contributing to the correction of patients' statements.

6.2.3.3. Modifications and Omissions in Messages

The majority of the interviewed patient guides mention that they make certain changes, including omissions, in messages to be interpreted in the interviews between healthcare professionals and patients. Such changes and omissions in fact point to another form of intrusive attitude adopted by the practitioners. In this respect, one of the outstanding issues is the omissions in the parties' offensive or derogatory remarks indicating their reactions towards each other, mentioned especially by HI-1 and HI-2. Accordingly, HI-1 states

I generally believe that everyone has own interpreting method. I believe that. You have to give some of your soul in interpreting. I believe that. I mean in normal interpreting... Now here in the hospital there are situations like... We don't interpret everything. Sometimes the doctor says something bad, we don't interpret it to the patient. ... The bad thing is not about the illness, but the reaction. For example, "Have [refugees] come again?". We don't interpret it. Sometimes patients react to the doctor in the same way. Well, they say something. We don't interpret it. [...]

[Ben genel olarak, şöyle bir şeye inanıyorum. Herkesin bir çeviri yöntemi var. Ben şuna inanıyorum. Çeviride biraz kendi ruhunu vermen gerekiyor. Ona

inanıyorum ben. Yani normal çeviride... Şimdi burada hastane olarak şöyle durumlar oluyor. Her şeyi çevirmiyoruz yani. Bazen doktor kötü bir şey söylüyor, biz hastaya onu çevirmiyoruz. ... Kötü şey dediğim de hastalıkla ilgili değil, tepki. Mesela. “[Mülteciler] Yine mi geldiler?” mesela. Onu çevirmiyoruz. Bazen aynı şekilde hastalardan tepki geliyor doktora. İşte, bir şeyler söylüyorlar yani. Onu biz çevirmiyoruz....] (HI-1, p. 25)

HI-2 also notes that he prefers not to convey patients’ offensive or derogatory remarks to doctors and that he sometimes only informs the doctor about the speaking manner of the patient and does not go into the details of the patient's remarks. He says

For example, a Syrian patient is coming, angry. She/He says wrongful words about the doctor. I shouldn't tell these to the doctor. Sometimes, at the same time, the doctor asks, "What did this patient say?" So I had to say it when the doctor insisted. ... I mean I didn't interpret everything, but I said, "She/He said something wrongful."

[Yani, şimdi, mesela, Suriyeli bir hasta geliyor, sinirli. Yanlış kelimeler söylüyor. Doktor hakkında yanlış kelimeler söylüyor. Yani doktora söylememem gerekiyor. Bazı zamanlarda, aynı zamanda da doktor soruyor, “Ne söyledi bu hasta?” Yani doktor ısrar edince söylemek zorunda kaldım. ... Yani her şeyi çevirmedim ama “Yanlış bir şey söyledi” dedim.] (HI-2, p. 8)

The code of the US National Council on Interpreting in Health Care (NCIHC) underlines that interpreters are required to interpret every detail, including such derogatory or offensive remarks. It is stated

A question that is often raised by interpreters with respect to accuracy and completeness is whether the interpreter should immediately and fully convey discriminatory, prejudicial, or derogatory remarks made by either party. Interpreters often find such remarks personally offensive and some may be unwilling to utter them even when they are not speaking in their own voice. This, however, is not an adequate or appropriate reason for interpreters to omit such messages or to “clean them up and make them nice.” Interpreters need to remember that everything that is said is a potential source of data. [...] (NCIHC, 2004: 14-5)

It is further recommended that the interpreter warn the party making such remarks about possible negative consequences, remind her/him that the interpreter is obliged to convey every detail, and allow the relevant party to reframe their remarks if she/he wishes to do so (NCIHC, 2004: 15). From this perspective, HI-1 and HI-2, who

prefer not to interpret such offensive or derogatory remarks on their own initiative, can be said to somehow intervene in the interpreting process.

Another issue mentioned by HI-1, HI-4 and HI-8 is conveying medical language in a way that patients can understand. As Pöchlhammer (2004: 57) mentions, in public service interpreting settings, there is generally a large discrepancy between the parties of the communication process in terms of social status and educational backgrounds. In the healthcare context, patients' lack of understanding of medical concepts or the health system and healthcare professionals' lack of attention to this issue may create communication gaps (NSW HCIS, 2014: 13-4). Under the circumstances, as Pöchlhammer (2004: 57) suggests, interpreters may have to simplify, explain or paraphrase service providers' utterances in communication processes so that service users can make sense of them. In this regard, HI-1 remarks

[...] Sometimes the doctor is explaining. I mean, she/he explains in medical language. We interpret it in a way the patient can understand. There are also such situations.

[...Bazen de şöyle oluyor. Hoca anlatıyor. Yani, tıbbi dille anlatıyor, şöyle şöyle diye. Biz onu hastanın anlayacağı şekilde çeviriyoruz. Öyle bir durumlar da oluyor.] (HI-1, p. 26)

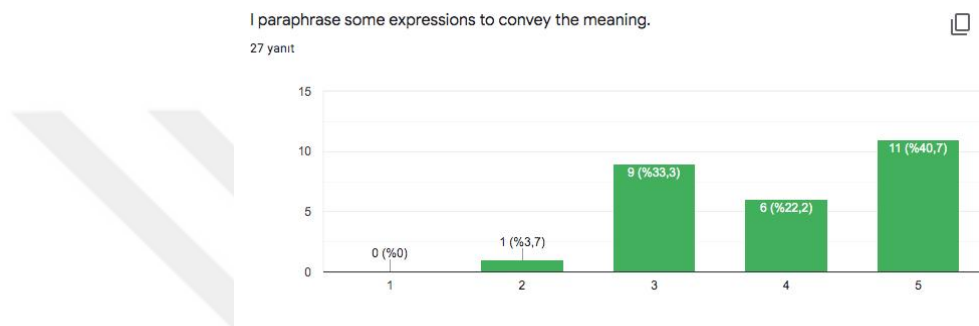
HI-1 (p. 35) further mentions that he searches for medical terms and expressions he is not familiar with in the internet and uses closest equivalences of them while interpreting to the patient. HI-4 also states that he conveys medical expressions through public language. He denotes

Sometimes there are colloquial names for illnesses. The illness has another name instead of the medical term. Then such colloquial names have to be used. I mean, you say to the patient, for example, "appendicitis", but she/he doesn't know what appendicitis is. It has another word in her/his dialect. [...]

[Bazen hastalıkların halk arasında kullanılan mesela isimleri var. Tıbbi terim olarak başka bir ismi var bu hastalığın örneği. Onların mecbur halk arasında kullanılan dili kullanmak gerekiyor. Yani, hastaya diyorsun mesela, örneğin, "apandisit" var, apandisit ne olduğunu bilmiyor. Veya başka bir kelimesi vardır o şivesinde....] (HI-4, p. 10)

Regarding the issue, it is also worth mentioning that more than half of the 27 practitioners, who have responded to the questionnaire, nearly 63% of them, tend to paraphrase some expressions to convey the meaning during interpreting.

Figure 69: Practitioner Views on Whether They Paraphrase Some Expressions to Convey the Meaning



Yet on the other hand, certain ethical codes highlight that the interpreter should not make changes in technical terms and expressions during interpreting and that it is the responsibility of the relevant parties to make such expressions understandable in the communication process. The standards of the California Healthcare Interpreters Association mentions

Notify the parties of any medical terms, vocabulary words, or other expressions which may not have an equivalent either in the English or target languages, thus allowing speakers to give a simplified explanation of the terms, or to assist speakers in doing so. (CHIA, 2002: 31)

The guidelines of the New South Wales Health Care Interpreter Services states

Accurate interpretation extends to maintaining register, including in circumstances where the terminology used by the healthcare provider is too technical and the patient is likely not to understand the message. When the register is altered by the interpreter, a wrong message is sent to the parties about the level of communication. The onus is on healthcare providers to speak in plain language and adjust their register to that of the patient in the course of the consultation. It is also the doctor's role to explain unfamiliar terms to the patient and to check whether the patient understands. (NSW HCIS, 2014: 41)

The practitioners HI-1, HI-2 and HI-4¹¹⁶ also mention the changes they make in obscene or vulgar expressions during interpreting and suggest such strategies as using polite words and expressions instead and softening obscene expressions. Contrary to the attitude adopted by the mentioned practitioners in such situations, the standards of CHIA stipulates that the interpreter “[m]aintain the tone and the message of the speaker even when it includes rudeness and obscenities” (CHIA, 2002: 30).

HI-1 and HI-10 also speak of the changes they make in the messages when interpreting bad news that doctors convey to patients or their relatives. HI-1 notes that when he has to give bad news, such as news about death of a patient, he softens doctors' medical expressions and instead uses religious expressions for conservative patients. He says

[...] For example, in case of death, doctors explain it scientifically. We can't say in that way. I myself add religious [expressions] for those who are conservative. They can beat me if I say it in the way the doctor has told. I tell them gently.

[...Örneğin ex olma durumunda doktorlar bilimsel olarak anlatıyorlar. Biz o şekilde söyleyemeyiz. Ben kendim muhafazakâr olanlara dini yönden de bir şeyler ekliyorum. Doktorunki gibi söylersem beni dövebilir. Alıştırma alıştırma söylüyorum.] (HI-1, p. 43)

Likewise, HI-10 (p. 12) remarks that she conveys bad news to patients gently and indirectly so that they can get familiar with the idea. In this respect, Hsieh (2006: 724) suggests that since giving bad news requires cultural sensitivity, interpreters may need to deviate from the conduit role while doing so.

Within the frame of modifications and omissions in messages, the last issue mentioned by several practitioners¹¹⁷ is the omissions of details deemed unnecessary in

¹¹⁶ HI-1 (p. 42) states that in such situations, he uses polite words and expressions. HI-2 (p. 13) notes that he softens such obscene expressions while conveying them to the parties. HI-4 (p. 12), affirming that he has difficulty in interpreting vulgar or obscene expressions, mentions that he conveys such expressions directly only if the patient does not understand indirect rendition of them.

¹¹⁷ HI-4 (p. 13) marks that he sometimes does not convey to doctors the details that he thinks are not directly related to patients' health status. Similarly, HI-5 (p. 12), thinking that word-for-word interpreting does not always provide full equivalence of what is said, states that he decides whether to summarize or to interpret in a detailed manner according to the nature of the illness. For instance, he mentions that he summarizes the information given by patients about such diseases as flu. Along the same line, HI-6 (p. 3) notes that she sometimes does not convey the details, which she thinks are unnecessary. She adds that when the doctor asks about the difference in the speech length of the patient and hers, she explains those

the course of communication. However, omissions in patients' remarks may have undesirable consequences for the health conditions of patients. It is the responsibility of healthcare professionals rather than interpreters to decide whether or not patients' remarks make sense in terms of the communication process. As a matter of fact, the ethical codes also state that the interpreter is required to interpret every detail conveyed by the parties in the communication process (CHIA, 2002: 28; NCIHC, 2004: 13; NSW HCIS, 2014: 40). More specifically, the code of the US National Council on Interpreting in Health Care (NCIHC) mentions

In the case of direct communication between a patient and a provider, messages and the meanings conveyed are not censored except by the parties themselves. It is, therefore, necessary that the interpreter convey everything that is said by either party in its entirety and in the manner in which the message is delivered, that is, without omitting from, adding to, or distorting the message. (NCIHC, 2004: 13)

Since the actual interpreting situations have not been observed in the present study, it is not possible to make definitive remarks on to what extent the modifications and omissions mentioned by the practitioners affect the communication processes. However, it can be claimed that the practitioners violate the ethical principle of accuracy to some extent by making such modifications and omissions during interpreting. In fact, having full grasp of messages in communication processes and interpreting accurately and completely require sound background knowledge, such as knowledge of the field of interpreting and of cultural context (NCIHC, 2004: 20-1). Such knowledge as well as the mechanisms that will enable interpreters to make informed decisions in interpreting processes can be acquired through extensive trainings and/or long-term professional experience, which the majority of the practitioners in this study lack for.

The interventions by the practitioners, discussed in the previous sections, namely explanations made to the parties, correcting patients' mistakes, modifications and omissions in the parties' remarks, indicate that the practitioners go beyond the task of interpreting by undertaking certain initiatives in interpreting processes. However, as also mentioned by Şener (2017) and Duman (2018), with such interventions in interpreting

details to the doctor. HI-9 (p. 14) also says that he does not interpret the details he deems unnecessary, receiving the doctor's approval. Lastly, HI-3 (p. 9) and HI-10 (p. 11) report that they interpret patients' remarks in detail or summarize them according to what doctors request them to do.

processes, the practitioners violate certain principles mentioned in the ethical codes (CHIA, 2002; NCIHC, 2004; IMIA, 2006; NSW HCIS, 2014) to some extent, as discussed in the previous sections. Such violations stem from several factors. First of all, the codes designed for interpreters do not adequately address the dynamic nature of interpreting and each and every working condition in real life, as also underlined by various scholars (Wadensjö, 1998; Bot, 2003; Angelelli, 2006). Furthermore, the practitioners in the present study mostly lack professional and educational background that would enable them to act taking account of ethical principles and to undertake initiative in interpreting situations by using professional judgment.

Overall, the behavioral style expected from interpreters within the framework of the conduit role, as defined in Western societies, namely interpreting like a machine without being involved in any other process, may also not be appropriate for other cultures (see Hsieh, 2006: 727). In addition to this, the fact that the Turkish and Syrian people, who have had such a large-scale migration experience only recently (see Section 1.2.3.), are not familiar with the concept of an interpreter assuming the conduit role may also explain why the practitioners in the present study do not act accordingly. However, due to the dynamic nature of the interpreting job, working conditions, the relevant job description and the expectations it entails, it would not be quite possible for the practitioners to act like a conduit, as defined in Western societies, even if they were aware of the mentioned role framework.

6.3. THE INTERPRETERS ACTING UNDER CHALLENGING WORKING CONDITIONS

The healthcare context is a dynamic and busy work environment that involves highly sensitive communication processes, and certain factors can create challenges for interpreters while performing their daily duties. As a matter of fact, an issue frequently emphasized by the healthcare interpreters interviewed within the scope of the present study is the challenging working conditions. Accordingly, the most frequently mentioned factors that pose challenges for the interpreters in the work environment are

gender-related issues, shortage of interpreters leading to an increased workload, bias towards refugees, tense atmosphere and refugees' problematic expectations.

6.3.1. Gender-related Issues

Gender-related issues are one of the commonly reported factors creating challenges for the healthcare interpreters in the course of the daily work routine¹¹⁸. In this respect, the majority of the interviewed interpreters (7/10) mention that patients' communication styles, their concerns for privacy and reservations about receiving service from a member of the opposite sex, be it an interpreter or a healthcare professional, might cause some disruptions in the course of the daily work. Furthermore, the difficulty of interacting with a member of the opposite sex is also an issue raised in this regard.

HI-1 (p. 41), denoting that female refugees, being generally secluded in houses, may sometimes be less understanding than males in the communication process, underlines that he is thus able to communicate with male refugees more easily and more effectively. HI-4 (p. 11) also affirms that it is easier to give service to male patients. HI-5 (p. 7) notes that he sometimes has to provide explanations to healthcare professionals on behalf of timid female patients who cannot express themselves. Regarding the issue, HI-7 says

Some women don't speak at all anyway. Their husbands speak. We have to take [husbands] out. The doctors don't accept it.

[Bazı kadınlar da hiç konuşmaz zaten. Eşleri konuşuyor. Onu da dışarı almak zorunda kalıyoruz. Hani, doktorlar kabul etmiyor.] (HI-7, p. 10)

¹¹⁸ Among the interviewed patient guides, only HI-6 and HI-10 are female. And the official in charge of the SIHHAT project at the General Directorate of Public Health, who was interviewed on the phone, has mentioned that that mostly female patient guides have been appointed to maternity hospitals. However, gender-related issues seem to be a problem in other healthcare institutions other than maternity hospitals, where male patient guides also have to give service to female patients or vice versa.

Accordingly, particularly female patients' timidity or incompetency in communication processes can be said to somehow affect the work practices of the mentioned interpreters.

Based on the interpreters' statements, it could be suggested that verbal interaction with someone of the opposite sex about medical procedures can be challenging for both the interpreters and patients. In this regard, HI-4 (p. 12) admits that he has difficulty in interpreting vulgar or obscene expressions to female patients. He further adds that he sometimes even turns his back while interpreting for timid female patients (HI-4, p. 18). HI-5 (p. 11) also remarks that in early interpreting experiences, he behaved timidly towards female patients. Likewise, HI-6 (p. 17) accepts that as a female interpreter, she feels ashamed while giving service to male patients. Highlighting that she was not used to giving such a service to males before, HI-6 (p. 19) further mentions that she interprets vulgar or obscene expressions hesitantly to male patients and male doctors. In a similar vein, HI-7 expresses the difficulties he experiences while interpreting issues related to gynaecological diseases, saying

For example, there are some [gynaecological diseases]. There are some problems while interpreting them. ... We are a little more reserved. I mean we can't approach [women]. We have just one female interpreter, she is in the screening center. Sometimes we call her. [...]

[Bazı kadın şeyleri var mesela hastalıkları var. Çeviride biraz daha sıkıntı oluyor onlarda. ... Biraz daha çekimser davranıyoruz. Yani, şey, yaklaşmıyoruz. Bir bayan şeyimiz var zaten, tercümanımız var da o görüntüleme merkezinde. Bazen onu çağırıyoruz....] (HI-7, p. 10)

HI-7 (p. 11) also remarks that the female interpreter in the healthcare institution may also call the male interpreters to give service to male patients particularly in the urology department. The interviewed HPO2, who is a urologist, touches on the same issue, saying

[...] Sometimes urology or genital [organ]-related issues are not fully interpreted. It is more effective if there is an interpreter with the same gender as the patient's. [...]

[...Bazen üroloji, genital içerikli şey söylendiğinde tam çevrilmiyor. Cinsiyeti aynı olan tercüman olursa daha efektif oluyor....] (HPO2, p. 1)

It can be argued that both patients' and the interpreters' ways of behavior based on their cultural norms, as well as the interpreters' lack of professional development background lead to such timid behaviors.

With regard to patients' concerns for privacy and reservations about receiving service from a member of the opposite sex, HI-7 (p. 10) mentions that some female patients refuse to be examined by male doctors. HI-9 (p. 12), stating that the patient's gender does not affect his service, denotes that only if the patient has a problem with this issue then he intervenes and takes action accordingly. He remarks

We call the female interpreter when there is a female patient. Sometimes some patients, generally female patients, don't want a male nurse for injection for example because it is so in Arab culture. In that case, I am stuck in a difficult situation. The patient asks, "Is there no [female nurse]?" I am trying to say, "There is no other nurse on the night shift. They are sometimes here at night. Wait a little. Maybe they change the shift". Other than that, I can't say "If you don't want, don't get [the injection] done, my friend". ... If there is another nurse in another department, I can of course ask her.

[Bayan tercüman çağırıyoruz bayan olunca. Bazen bazı hastalarda hani, kadınlarda genellikle Arap kültüründe öyle olduğu için mesela atıyorum, enjeksiyonu yapınca erkek hemşire istemiyorlar. O durumda ben zor durumda kalıyorum. Hasta, "[Kadın hemşire] Yok mu?", diyor. "Başka nöbetçi yok. Geceleri bazen oluyor. Biraz bekleyin. Belki nöbet değiştirirler", falan demeye çalışıyorum yani. Bunun dışında ben diyemem ki "Yaptırmıyorsan yaptırma arkadaşım", diyemem. ... Giderim başka bir hemşire varsa tabi ki farklı bir bölümde, ondan rica edebilirim.] (HI-9, p. 12)

A similar issue is also mentioned by an interviewed healthcare professional, who states that female patients may sometimes ask for a female interpreter while having an injection (HPO1, p. 2). HI-9 (p. 13) further expresses that in cases where the doctor's gender is a problem for patients, he may also advise them to see another doctor. Regarding the issue, HI-10 (p. 13) says that some male patients may give up treatment when they cannot find any male interpreter. She also mentions that in order to persuade such hesitant male patients to receive service, she tells them that she is also a nurse, and upon learning this, some patients interestingly accept receiving service from her.

6.3.2. Shortage of Interpreters and Increased Workload

The shortage of the interpreters recruited in healthcare institutions within the scope of the SIHHAT project and thereby an increase in the workload of the available interpreters are reported to be another factor that creates a challenge to the interpreters' agency in the work setting. As mentioned earlier, in the scope of the project (see Appendix 16), 960 patient guides have been recruited and assigned to the healthcare institutions particularly in the 28 provinces with the highest Syrian population (see Figure 1 for the the ten provinces, where the largest Syrian populations reside¹¹⁹). However, the majority of the interviewed patient guides mention that available patient guides generally fall short of giving service to the large number of refugees visiting the healthcare institutions. HI-1, frequently emphasizing the aforementioned situation, states that he sometimes has to do interpreting for more than one person at the same time (p. 25). HI-1 further expresses that due to the mentioned situation, the interpreters suffer loss of rights and also receive complaints from the hospital management, saying

There is a low number of interpreters in this project. They don't appreciate [us]. They want [us] to do work and to come immediately. They say we can't meet the demands. At least 20 interpreters are needed for good service. Otherwise, our rights are lost. There are complaints from the management every month. If this work is to be done, it should be given its due. [...]

[Bu projede sayımız az. Takdir etmiyorlar. Hemen iş yapılsın, hemen gelsinler istiyorlar. Talepleri karşılayamıyorsunuz diyorlar. İyi hizmet için en az 20 tercüman gerekli. Yoksa bizim hakkımız kayboluyor. Her ay yönetimden şikâyet geliyor. Bu iş yapılacaksa tam hakkı verilmeli....] (HI-1, p. 45)

In a similar vein, HI-7 notes that the available interpreters in the healthcare institution cannot meet the demands and that they sometimes hear complaints from the healthcare professionals. He remarks

There are not many interpreters in our hospital. There are only two in the polyclinics. We can't [meet the demands]. Other colleagues are in the emergency unit, in the screening center. We go to a doctor, the other doctor says, "Why are you late?" [...]

¹¹⁹ See <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638> for the rest of the provinces with the highest Syrian populations.

[Bir de hastanemizde fazla tercüman yok. Polikliniklerde iki tane sadece. Yetiştiremiyoruz. Diğer arkadaşlar da acilde, görüntüleme merkezinde. İşte, bir doktora gidiyoruz, diğer doktor “Niye geç kaldın?” diyor....] (HI-7, p. 2)

HI-2 (p. 10) mentions that due to the shortage of interpreters in the healthcare institution, he also has to give service in the outpatient clinics although he mainly works in the emergency unit. HI-10 (p. 17) admits that she is not able to give service to every patient due to the vast size of the healthcare institution and the shortage of interpreters.

Furthermore, several patient guides speak of the negative influence of the excessive workload on their specific interpreting performances. For instance, HI-4 (p. 14) denotes that he is not always able to convey patients' emotions during the doctor interviews in the hectic working environment. HI-6 (p. 22) and HI-8 (p. 10) report that they cannot always hold pre-interview dialogues with each and every patient. HI-6 (p. 23) further mentions that due to the excessive workload, she is not able to give a detailed service to every patient in the hospital procedures out of interpreting. HI-7 (p. 8) remarks that he is sometimes not able to respond to patients' additional questions due to the increased workload.

The shortage of interpreters in the healthcare institutions is also mentioned by the interviewed healthcare professionals, HPO3 and HPO5. In this regard, HPO3 (p. 1) states that the number of interpreters is not sufficient, and thus, patients are sometimes also assisted by their acquaintances who speak the languages. HPO5, a nurse working in the vaccine unit, mentions that interpreting services provided in the scope of SIHHAT project are useful yet not sufficient. She says

[...] There is a shortage of interpreters in the polyclinics. We can only manage by calling the [interpreter] colleague from the emergency unit or asking him what [the patient] means on the phone.

[...Tercüman eksikliği var polikliniklerde. [Tercüman] Arkadaşı acilden çağırabilirsem ya da arayıp telefonda [hastanın] ne demek istediğini sorabilirsem ancak o şekilde yapabiliyoruz.] (HPO5, p. 1)

6.3.3. Bias Towards Refugees

Bias of Turkish people and sometimes of public officials towards Syrian refugees, another issue implied by the interviewed interpreters, is understood to be another factor affecting the interpreters' interpreting activities and creating a challenge for them. It can be argued that such prejudices may lead to a number of reactions in the work setting against Syrians, including the interpreters who are also refugees themselves.

As also discussed in Section 1.2.1., it is a common case to hold prejudices and show strong reactions against migrants/refugees in migration-receiving countries, since migrants/refugees, who mostly adopt different cultural practices from those of the hosting society, are generally viewed as a cause of insecurity and are often considered to impose burdens on social services (Castles and Miller, 1998: 10-13). As a matter of fact, it is frequently highlighted that Turkish citizens exhibit strong prejudices and show reactions against Syrian refugees despite the shared religion (Oytun & Gündoğar, 2015; Lazarev & Sharma, 2017; Mete, 2018).

The differences in language, culture and lifestyle between local populations and Syrians are reported to be the major causes of negative biases and reactions among Turkish people against Syrians (Oytun & Gündoğar, 2015: 16). More specifically, the lack of trust, interaction and integration has already led to the general exclusion of Syrian refugees (Mete, 2018: 57), and certain stereotypes about refugees have been produced among Turkish people, such as "disobeying social norms", "being immoral and 'too fertile'" and "being disrespectful" (emphasis in the original, *ibid.*, p. 81). Furthermore, failures of public services experienced by local populations due to the large number of refugees, such as the capacity problems in terms of physical conditions and medical staff in public healthcare institutions, have further heightened the negative reactions, already stemming from the mentioned negative biases (Oytun & Gündoğar, 2015: 20).

In this respect, HI-1 mentions that in the work environment, he personally faces the stereotyping, social exclusion and discriminatory behavior towards refugees, adding

that he sometimes feels in-between due to the negative reactions against refugees. He expresses

[...] people we work with, those we serve, Syrians, are excluded from the society. For example, we go to the doctor. The doctor hates them. Both us and patients... The society is also reactive. They react, saying, "We can't receive treatment in our country." ... But actually that [Syrian] makes an appointment, comes to the appointment, waits for her/his turn. [Turkish patients] don't want to accept this. This time we are stuck in between. Same with the doctors... Not everyone, but there are generally such situations.

[...bizim çalıştığımız kişiler, Suriyeliler, hizmet verdiğimiz kişiler toplumdan dışlanıyorlar. Yani mesela doktora gidiyoruz. Doktor nefret ediyor. Hem bizden hem hastadan... Yani millet, millet de tepkili. İşte, "biz kendi ülkemizde şey edemiyoruz, tedavi olamıyoruz", diye tepki veriyorlar. ... Ama aslında o [Suriyeli] adam randevu almış, randevusuna gelmiş, sırası var. [Türk hastalar] Sıra vermek istemiyorlar. Bu sefer biz de arada kalıyoruz. Doktorlarla da aynı... Herkes değil de böyle bir durumlar oluyor yani genelde.] (HI-1, p. 23)

HI-1 (p. 30) also implies that due to their social status, he does not respond or make any explanations to the reacting doctors, who do not know that he is also a Syrian. However, he mentions that in the same situation, he can make explanations to the staff other than doctors. Accordingly, it can be said that by making explanations in favor of the society to which he belongs and by striving for eliminating biases, HI-1, being a Syrian Turkmen (see Table 4), in a sense assumes the role of a "community agent", acknowledging cultural differences and promoting migrant values and norms (Leanza, 2005: 186).

HI-1 (p. 34) also remarks that if the medical examination of Syrian patients takes a long time, Turkish patients, thinking that refugees are disrupting the services they will receive, may react. Thus, in order to shorten the time to be spared to refugee patients, he resorts to the strategy of collecting information about their health status before doctor interviews. Furthermore, HI-1 (p. 37) admits that he cannot respond to Turkish patients in such situations because of his position in the healthcare institution¹²⁰, yet he is demoralized. HI-1 considers Turkey and Syria as "parents" and says that he cannot distinguish between the two countries and their peoples. However, as an individual who

¹²⁰ After all, he is the employee of the healthcare institution; and arguing with Turkish patients and defending refugees against them may endanger his job.

shares the same nationality, cultural background and past experiences, in other words common *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1998), with refugees, HI-1 empathizes with refugees and is psychologically affected in the face of such negative reactions that refugees experience.

By the same token, HI-4 also complains about some Turkish patients' misunderstandings and biased perceptions while he is entering the doctor's room with the Syrian patient, and he says that he sometimes has to provide explanations to such patients about the job he performs in the healthcare institution. He remarks

[...] For example, we sometimes stand at the polyclinic door. Other patients think that we are taking patients in [the doctor's room]. They think that we have patients skip the line. They believe they are my acquaintances. Or they say, "They are privileged, why are they privileged" and so on. There is no priority. After all, it is her/his turn, I take the patient in. I mean, because they don't know that I am the interpreter... .. Sometimes we argue. I mean, there is a dialogue, not a quarrel. [...]

[...Mesela bazen poliklinik kapıda, kapısında duruyoruz örneğin. Diğer hastalar bizim [doctor odasına] hasta girdirdiğimizi zannediyorlar yani. Sıradan hasta geçirdiğimizi zannediyor yani. Yakınım falan zannediyor. Veya işte, yok, "Bunlar öncelikli, niye öncelikli", falan diyor. Öncelikli falan yok. Sonuçta hani sırası gelmiş, hastayı alıyorum içeri. Yani, tercümanın olup olmadığını bilmedikleri için... .. Bazen tartışıyoruz yani öyle. Yani, tartışma değil de diyalog kuruluyor bazen....] (HI-4, p. 17)

Regarding the issue, HI-7 (p. 7) informs that some doctors may not want to examine Syrian patients, and Syrian patients may complain to him about such doctors. HI-7 further states that in this case, he tells patients that he cannot intervene as an interpreter and that they can complain to the relevant authorities if they want. On the other hand, HI-6 (p. 2) states that being a Syrian (see Table 4), she was not approved and appreciated by the hospital staff when she first started her job. Likewise, HI-9 (p. 16) remarks that just because he is a Syrian (see Table 4), he is sometimes exposed to discrimination by some of the hospital staff, who do not establish communication with him or who insult him.

As can be understood from the statements of the interpreters, both refugees and the interpreters themselves are at times exposed to stereotyping and discriminatory treatment from local people and even public officials. In the ethical codes, interpreters

are expected to behave non-biased in the event of discriminatory behaviors against outgroups and not to identify with any of the cultures (CHIA, 2002: 26; NSW HCIS, 2014: 19). They are further expected to demonstrate sufficient cultural knowledge to minimize misunderstandings that stem from cultural differences and stereotypes (NCIHC, 2004: 18). Moreover, they are recommended to have the parties explain their intentions to minimize the possibility of a misunderstanding and also to present the issue involving discriminatory practices to the attention of the relevant department in the institution if they cannot find a solution to the problem (CHIA, 2002: 47-8).

On the other hand, the healthcare interpreters in this study in fact lack the power to resist discriminatory behaviors or to take action to correct the relevant situations for several reasons: As the employees of the healthcare institutions, they may feel concerned about losing their job (CHIA, 2002: 47). Also, they mostly lack the professional knowledge, development and experience (see Section 6.1.) to minimize the misunderstandings stemming from cultural differences, as mentioned in the ethical code above. Furthermore, in Turkey, public service interpreters are not yet a recognized professional group, and there are not institutional mechanisms to improve unfavorable situations that bother the interpreters and affect their performances. And more importantly, prejudices and social exclusion against refugees are a social and political problem, the solution of which requires nationwide actions and sound integration policies.

However, at least raising the awareness of public officials who give service to refugees and who work with interpreters about the cultural practices and migration experiences of outgroups (see NSW HCIS, 2014: 19) may be one of the steps to be taken in this regard. Accordingly, as the interviewed HPO2 (p. 3) states, public officials can be trained in such issues as sociology, psychology and acceptance without alienation.

6.3.4. Tense Atmosphere

Another factor that creates a challenge in the work environment for the interviewed interpreters is the tense atmosphere mostly caused by refugee patients' lack

of understanding of the medical procedures and their problematic expectations. The majority of the interviewed practitioners mention that in such cases, they resort to such strategies as not interpreting patients' offensive remarks towards healthcare professionals, warning patients about their wrongful behavior, or easing patients' tension by making explanations to them about the medical procedures¹²¹.

HI-1 admits that in such cases, he is inevitably aligned with the institution he works for, since he earns his livelihood there, saying

To be honest, I do not take sides first. But there is just something like that: I mean, it is not intentional, but that is what generally happens. I am a little bit inclined towards [the institution] I work at. Because it is the place where I earn a livelihood. But I usually... For example, there is tension. I don't interfere, I don't do anything. Because otherwise, there would be more quarrel and more disturbance. Then I explain it to the patient. "What you have done is wrong. The situation is like this or that." I explain the course of the process. [...]

[Ben açık konuşmak istersem taraf tutmuyorum önce. Ama sadece şöyle bir şey var. Yani, isteyerek değil de yani öyle oluyor genelde. Çalıştığım yere meyil oluyorum yani biraz. Çünkü yani ben ekmek kazandığım yer yani. Ama genelde ben şey yapıyorum. Hani mesela gerginlik çıktı. Karışmıyorum ama bir şey de yapmıyorum yani. Daha fazla kavga edecek, daha fazla karışacak durum, şey yapmıyorum yani ben. Daha sonra hastaya anlatıyorum yani. "Bu yaptığın yanlış. Şöyle şöyle şöyle durum." Anlatıyorum, sürecin yürüyüşünü....] (HI-1, p. 28)

HI-8 (p. 5) narrates the initiative he undertakes against refugees in the tense atmosphere as follows:

When the patient gets angry, [I say], "You have no right to do that. Because you have to respect the doctor. If you don't like what the doctor says, you can go to another doctor. You can go to another hospital".

¹²¹ In this respect, HI-1 (p. 28) mentions that in the tense atmosphere occurring due to the mentioned reasons, he explains the medical procedures to refugees after doctor interviews by also reminding them that they have displayed wrongful behavior. HI-1 (p. 30) further states that in the tense atmosphere, he does not interpret patients' offensive remarks towards healthcare professionals out of concern for losing his job. In a similar vein, HI-2 (p. 8) also prefers not to convey patients' offensive remarks towards healthcare professionals in order not to give rise to tense atmosphere. HI-2 (p. 9) and HI-10 (p. 16) also state that in the event of patients' unrealistic demands, such as being examined by the doctor without waiting for their turn, they calm patients down by making necessary explanations to them. HI-6 (p. 3) remarks that she sometimes warns untactful and rude patients to behave respectfully towards healthcare professionals. HI-7 (p. 11), expressing that he is stuck in a difficult situation when patients behave in a disrespectful manner that could annoy or irritate doctors, says that he warns such patients to behave properly. And HI-9 (p. 10) implies that as an interpreter, he feels responsible for calming the parties down and eliminating misunderstandings in the tense atmosphere.

[Hasta sinirlendiğinde işte, “Böyle yapma hakkın yok. Çünkü senin doktora saygı göstermen lazım. Doktorun söylediğini beğenmiyorsan başka doktora gidebilirsin. Başka hastaneye gidebilirsin”, [derim].] (HI-8, p. 6)

It is understood that in the tense atmosphere, the interpreters feel the need to undertake initiative, and they tend to ease the tension of patients, warn them to behave properly or make necessary explanations to them. In this respect, easing the tension of patients, the interpreters can be said to take on a role similar to the role of “buffer” suggested by Öztürk (2015). By explaining the host country's system and procedures to refugees and by warning them to act accordingly, the interpreters also in a sense assume the role of “integration agent” proposed by Leanza (2005). Overall, as also mentioned by Rudvin (2007), the interpreters seem to align with and act as part of the host country and the institution they work for, which after all provide their livelihood, and they also feel responsible for encouraging their co-nationals, namely refugees, to comply with the rules and system of the host country.

It is also worth mentioning that the questionnaire responses regarding the issue are parallel to the interviewed interpreters' statements. Accordingly, more than half of the questionnaire respondents (14/27) mark that they usually or always intervene in the tense atmosphere between the parties. Moreover, the majority (20/27) agree that an interpreter can warn the parties when they make improper statements, and likewise, the vast majority (24/27) indicate that they usually or always warn the parties when they make improper statements.

Figure 70: Practitioner Views on Whether They Intervene in the Tense Atmosphere Between the Parties

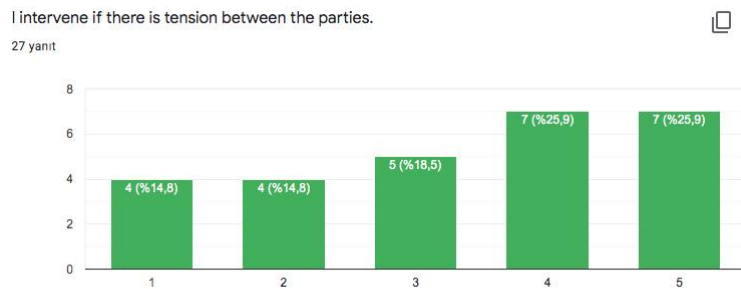


Figure 71: Practitioner Views on the Issue of Warning the Parties When They Make Improper Statements

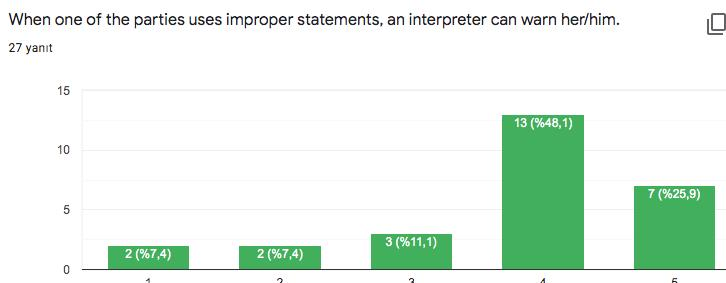
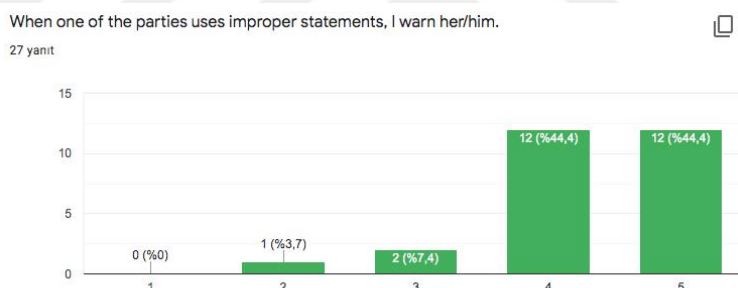


Figure 72: Practitioner Views on Whether They Warn the Parties When They Make Improper Statements



Based on the questionnaire responses, it cannot be clearly mentioned which party in the communication process the practitioners actually warn. However, it can be claimed that similar to the interviewed interpreters, the practitioners responding to the questionnaire also undertake certain initiatives in the tense atmosphere.

It is also confirmed by the interviewed healthcare professionals that the patient guides act as a kind of mediator in the tense atmosphere. For instance, HPO2 says

Sometimes [the interpreters] try to calm down the annoyed patients who are referred from elsewhere. They say, "We will do what is needed". If the situation is justifiable, the interpreter reports it. They mediate. If the patient has been subjected to injustice, [the interpreters] let us know. We do everything for the solution. [...]

[Bazen [tercümanlar], başka yerden sevk gelmiş, biraz sinirlenmiş kişiler olursa onları yatıştırmaya çalışıyorlar. “Gerekeni yapacağız” diyorlar. Tercüman haklı bir durum olursa bildiriyor. Arabuluculuk yapıyorlar. Hasta haksızlığa uğramışsa bunu bize bildiriyorlar. Çözümüne yönelik her şeyi yapıyoruz....] (HPO2, p. 2)

Similarly, HPO5 (p. 3) states that in the tense atmosphere, the interpreters are mostly on the side of the staff, yet if the patients are right, they also indicate this and try to eliminate misunderstandings on behalf of patients. In other words, they act as a sort of mediator.

6.3.5. Refugees’ Problematic Expectations

Due to the ambiguous role boundary and professional status of public service interpreters as well as the general lack of awareness towards the interpreter’s role, practitioners often face problematic expectations of the parties in the communication process (NSW HCIS, 2014; Skaaden, 2019). The healthcare interpreters interviewed within the scope of the present study also mention such expectations of especially patients, which sometimes leave them in a difficult situation¹²². In this respect, HI-1 (p. 44) remarks that what patients concentrate on is the medical solutions they will receive rather than the interpreting service; thus, they may view the interpreter as an individual who needs to assist them in every procedure in the healthcare institution (see Section 6.2.1.). Likewise, HI-6 also speaks of patients’ expectations from the interpreter to accompany them to each and every unit in the healthcare institution, saying

[...] Your job will not end by the doctor. After that, you will take every patient to an ultrasound. You will take them to blood collection [unit]. There is a urine bowl. That urine bowl... The toilet is there, you will do it there, you will take it to that lab. They are expecting all of them one by one from us. But we can't deal with

¹²² HI-2 (p. 9) mentions that some patients demand that they be examined and treated without much waiting, yet that he explains them an effective treatment requires some time. Similarly, HI-4 (p. 15), HI-5 (p. 15) and HI-10 (p. 16) note that some patients ask the interpreters to take them into the doctor’s room without waiting for their turn. HI-5 (p. 8) further states that he sometimes explains patients who want to be examined quickly that doctors have excessive workload and thus they have to wait. HI-7 (p. 13) also states that some patients even expect assistance from him for their daily work outside the healthcare institution. HI-8 (p. 10) complains that patients who find the medical procedures carried out by doctors inadequate expect the interpreter to make an explanation about the issue.

all of them. I mean, if you take care of every patient like this, ... is a very busy place. We can deal with 5 patients or 6 patients at most.

[...Doktorun yanında bitmeyecek senin işin. Ondan sonra ultrasona götüreceksin her hastayı. Kan almaya götüreceksin. Affedersiniz, idrar kabı var. O idrar kabını işte... Tuvalet şurası, şurada yapacaksın, şu laboratuvara götüreceksin. Bunların hepsini teker teker bekliyorlar bizden. Ama biz hepsine yetişemiyoruz. Hani, her hastayla böyle ilgilenirsen zaten ... çok yoğun bir yer. En fazla 5 hasta veya 6 hastayı yetiştirebiliriz.] (HI-6, p. 23)

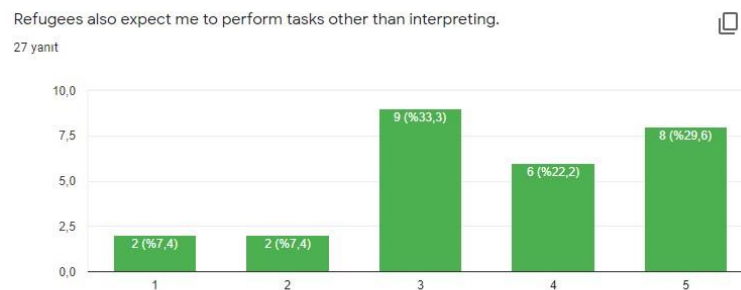
Along the same line, HI-9 states that some patients even expect treatment from him. He remarks

Sometimes patients expect the treatment from me. ... I mean, the patient sometimes comes up and says, "I have the flu". "You have me get an injection and send me."

[Bazen tedaviyi benden istedikleri oluyor hastaların. ... Yani, bazen gelip hasta, ... "gribim", diyor. "Ya, sen bir iğne yaptır da gönder".] (HI-9, p. 15)

In a similar vein, more than half of the 27 healthcare interpreters (around 52%), who have responded to the questionnaire, indicate that refugees, i.e. patients, always or usually expect them to perform tasks other than interpreting.

Figure 73: Practitioner Views on Whether Refugees Also Expect Them To Perform Tasks Other Than Interpreting



Another issue mentioned by HI-1 and HI-7 is patients' expectation that considerable amount of time will be allocated for them during doctor interviews. Yet the interpreters also imply that patients' such expectations are at odds with the actual

working conditions, under which doctors provide services. In this regard, HI-1 (p. 33) and HI-7 (p. 12) report that against the possibility of patients' speaking at length during doctor interviews, they use the method of learning about patients' health conditions and complaints before the interviews. HI-1 remarks

[...] Patients' problems never end. They talk a lot, ask a lot, want to ask a lot. But the doctor has no time. She/He can't listen to ... all. The doctor speaks little. ... But that isn't the case with patients, so we learn about their stories earlier because of time [constraints]. [...]

[...Şimdi, hastanın derdi uzun. Hasta çok konuşur. Çok sorar, çok sormak ister. Doktor da içeride, zamanı yok. Hepsini ... dinleyemez. Ama hoca az konuşuyor. ... Hastanın öyle bir durumu olmadığı için, zamandan dolayı da daha önce hikayesini öğreniyoruz....] (HI-1, p. 33)

HI-4 (p. 3) states that when patients and doctors talk at the same time during interviews for similar reasons, he has to act more rapidly as an interpreter. As can be understood, such conflicting expectations of patients and healthcare professionals may pose a challenge to the interpreters' performances (cf. Hsieh, 2006: 726).

Ethical codes make certain suggestions regarding the problematic expectations of the parties from interpreters. For instance, the guidelines of the New South Wales Health Care Interpreter Services recommends that interpreters inform and educate service users about their role boundary (NSW HCIS, 2014: 15). The code of the US National Council on Interpreting in Health Care (NCIHC) suggests that interpreters avoid establishing personal relationships with the parties in order to eliminate the risk of facing conflicting expectations (NCIHC, 2004: 17). However, as mentioned previously, it is not always possible for the practitioners who lack professional and educational background to adopt informed behavior patterns specified in the ethical codes in real-life conditions, where clear-cut and well-defined communication processes do not always take place¹²³.

Overall, it seems that the healthcare interpreters have difficulty handling the challenges they face in the work environment, including the issues of gender-related issues, shortage of interpreters leading to an increased workload, bias towards refugees,

¹²³ It is understandable to some extent that the healthcare interpreters, who have not received directly interpreting-oriented in-service trainings (see Section 6.1.), do not seem as aware of ethical principles as the NGO interpreters, who are more bound by institutional conditions, including the institutional code of ethics and mostly interpreting-oriented in-service trainings (see Section 4.3.).

tense atmosphere and refugees' problematic expectations. One of the reasons for this is the fact that external factors and institutional mechanisms that would enable the practitioners to work under favorable conditions are not always available. And another reason is that they are not adequately equipped with the knowledge, skills and dispositions required by the field, in which they act. In other words, there is inconsistency between their positions and dispositions, which shows that they are actually acting in a "zone of uncertainty" in Bourdieu's (2000: 160) terms.

In general, against the above-mentioned challenges that interpreters face in the work setting and the stress brought along by such challenges, interpreters need to "be aware of their own level of emotional responses" and "to know how to protect their own health and well-being" (CHIA, 2002: 38). Yet on the other hand, interpreters can acquire this kind of awareness only through trainings that involve instructions on professional demands on interpreters and on how to address such demands within the framework of ethical principles (Dean and Pollard, 2001: 13). Furthermore, institutions that recruit interpreters also have certain responsibilities regarding the issue. In this respect, the standards of CHIA (2002) recommends

organizations employing interpreters help protect the health and well-being of their staff by offering workshops. Topics include handling difficult situations, managing conflict and anger, dealing with anxiety, stress and other emotions, and nurturing oneself. (p. 38)

6.4. THE PRACTITIONERS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE INTERPRETING PROFESSION

In this section, the general attitude of the interviewed healthcare interpreters regarding the interpreting profession will be evaluated. More specifically, the practitioners' general perceptions of the interpreting profession, their perspectives on the general awareness towards interpreting and the recognition of interpreters as well as on professional deficiencies will be discussed. Lastly, this section will address whether the practitioners have built self-esteem in their work trajectory, whether they are able to maintain their *illusio*, and whether they view interpreting as a sustainable job.

6.4.1. General Perceptions of the Interpreting Profession

The interviewed healthcare interpreters hold various opinions regarding how they view the interpreting job they perform. In this regard, similar to the legal field interpreters, who consider the interpreting job as a means of meeting communication needs (see Section 5.4.1.); the healthcare interpreters, HI-2 (p. 5), HI-4 (p. 5), HI-5 (p. 4), HI-8 (p. 3), HI-9 (p. 7), view the interpreter as an individual establishing communication between people who do not speak languages. Regarding the issue, HI-4 remarks

We establish communication, after all. We establish a dialogue, I mean, the purpose is to establish communication between the patient and the doctor. Making the work easier... Saving time too... So, without an interpreter, the doctor may not understand the patient's problem in 15 minutes. But when there is an interpreter, the problem is solved in 2 minutes.

[İletişim kuruyoruz sonuçta. Diyalog kuruyoruz, yani hastayla doktor arasında iletişim kurmak amaç. İş daha fazla kolaylaştırma... Zamanı kazanma, o da var. Yani tercüman olmayınca belki doktor 15 dakikada hastanın derdini anlamayabilir yani. Ama tercüman olunca 2 dakikada mesele çözülüyor.] (HI-4, p. 5)

In the same regard, HI-5 (p. 4) even uses the analogy of the "intermediary joining two mountains" for the interpreter.

Furthermore, similar to some of the NGO interpreters interviewed in the present study (see Section 4.4.1.), several healthcare interpreters, HI-2 (p. 5), HI-7 (p. 3), HI-9 (p. 20), HI-10 (p. 5), imply that interpreting is a means of helping people. In this respect, HI-9 states

[Interpreting] has become my job¹²⁴. I love it. I mean, helping people... I mean, I both perform a job and help people. I like it.

[[Tercümanlık] Mesleğim gibi oldu, aynen. Seviyorum. Yani, insanlara yardım etmek... Yani, hem iş yapıyorum hem insanlara yardım ediyorum. Hoşuma gidiyor yani.] (HI-9, p. 20)

¹²⁴ From this perspective, it seems that HI-9 has had strengthened *illusio* and has gained commitment in his work trajectory. He seems to have internalized the stakes of the job.

Considering interpreting as a humanitarian job, HI-10 (p. 5) remarks that she empathizes with patients and thinks that it must be very difficult for them not to be able to explain their problems and not to be able to understand what is being told.

Lastly, similar to the legal field interpreters (see Section 5.4.1.), the majority of the healthcare interpreters think that as interpreters, they perform a critical job and take on an essential role. In defining the significance of their role, the interpreters stress that human life is at stake in medical interpreting and that the interpreters' mistakes can lead to grave problems in terms of the healthcare services provided to patients¹²⁵. Along the same line, the significance of interpreters' work for other healthcare professionals to be able to perform their jobs is another highlighted issue. For instance, HI-1, having a strong belief in the significance of the job he performs and expressing that the work performed by the interpreter is sometimes more critical than the work performed by the doctor, says

[...] In fact, I see our work superior to that of the doctor. The work we do between a foreigner and a citizen, I mean a doctor, is sometimes superior to that of the doctor. Because the doctor can't do anything without us. If we don't explain to the patient, the patient won't receive treatment. [...]

[...Hatta doktordan daha üstün görüyorum yani bizim yaptığımız işi. Yabancıyla yani, yabancıyla vatandaş arasındaki, hocanın arasındaki yaptığımız iş bazen doktordan daha üstün oluyor. Çünkü doktor bizsiz bir şey yapamaz yani. Biz anlatmazsak hastaya, hasta tedavi göremeyecek....] (HI-1, p. 21)

Likewise, HI-4 (p. 5) and HI-5 (p. 14) mention that the interpreter facilitates the work of doctors and saves time for them, and HI-5 (p. 14) further remarks that the doctor is inevitably dependent on the interpreter. Similarly, HI-6 (p. 26) says that the interpreter's work actually benefits the whole staff of the healthcare institution.

¹²⁵ Accordingly, HI-1 (p. 19) underlines that human life is at stake in medical interpreting and implies that the work of a healthcare interpreter is as important as that of a doctor. HI-1 (p. 19) further explains that an incorrect piece of information the interpreter conveys to the patient can cause the patient to die or to lose her/his hopes. Similarly, HI-4 (p. 18) expresses that there is no chance of making mistakes in healthcare interpreting. Viewing interpreting as a job that cannot be performed by everyone, HI-6 (p. 2) also states that the interpreters' giving false information to the doctor may lead to misdiagnosis. In a similar vein, HI-7 (p. 2) highlights that healthcare interpreting is the most difficult form of interpreting, since little mistakes can cause grave problems. And HI-8 (p. 3) remarks that a healthcare interpreter in fact performs a risky job.

Hence, defining interpreting as a means of establishing communication between people who do not speak languages, a means of helping people, and a critical job, in which human life is at stake; the healthcare interpreters seem to have comprehended the major stakes of the public service interpreting job they perform. On the other hand, it is necessary to observe actual interpreting situations to assess to what extent the practitioners act in accordance with the mentioned understanding during interpreting.

6.4.2. Perspectives on the General Awareness Towards Interpreting and the Recognition of Interpreters

As previously discussed (see Sections 4.4.3. and 5.4.2.), public service interpreting in general does not enjoy the high prestige and status attributed to well-established professions, such as medical, legal or other technical professions, due to the lack of formal educational opportunities, commonly accepted professional ethics, professional associations and eligibility criteria to perform the profession among others. Moreover, the job of public service interpreters is mostly associated with providing *ad hoc* services to marginal groups, such as refugees, which further undermines its public image. Hence, public service interpreters generally lack the resources that would yield them a remarkable amount of recognition, esteem and value in others' eyes, namely symbolic capital in Bourdieu's (1998, 2000) sense.

As a matter of fact, certain interviewed healthcare interpreters affirm the mentioned lack of recognition towards public service interpreting and interpreters. For instance, HI-1, who frequently emphasizes the mentioned issue, remarks that the interpreting job in the scope of the project he is involved in is viewed as a simple job that can be practiced by anyone who knows the relevant languages (p. 22)¹²⁶, an issue also touched upon by HI-6 (p. 2). Furthermore, HI-1 (p. 44) states that particularly nurses think the interpreters do not perform their job properly if they are unable to

¹²⁶ With regard to the lack of recognition, HI-1 (p. 44) also mentions that interpreters are required to perform secretarial work in healthcare institutions with low number of patients.

convince patients, which hints at the lack of awareness regarding the role and task boundary of interpreters.

HI-4 (pp. 16-7), also pointing to a lack of recognition for the interpreters' role in healthcare institutions, especially by Turkish patients and the staff other than healthcare professionals, remarks that to this end the job descriptions for the interpreters need to be explained by the relevant authorities in the institutions. Regarding the issue, HI-5 (p. 7) describes the interpreter as an “invisible tool” and mentions the lack of respect of public officials towards interpreters¹²⁷. When asked whether public officials respect him as an interpreter, HI-5 responds as follows:

No, I don't think at all. They try to handle the works themselves. They reach me when they get stuck. So this job isn't so much... When I was in Libya, interpreting was a good profession. Here everybody does it. Those who don't speak the languages do it too. If someone asks, I don't say that I am an interpreter anymore¹²⁸. I say I am an officer at the Ministry of Health.

[Hayır, hiç de düşünmüyorum. Birçok işi kendileri halletmeye çalışıyor. Ne zaman ki çıkmaza girdikleri zaman bana ulaşıyorlar. Yani bu iş çok da şey değil. Ben Libya'dayken tercümanlık iyi bir meslekti. Burada herkes yapıyor. Dil bilmeyen de yapıyor. Ben artık tercümanım demiyorum biri sorarsa. Sağlık Bakanlığında memurum diyorum.] (HI-5, p. 15)

HI-1, HI-5 and HI-10¹²⁹ also mention the lack of respect and value towards interpreters by refugees. HI-1 states in this regard

[...] for example, Syrian patients come and [say] “You are here for me. You will do interpreting.” I mean by force. ... There are also such reactions. “You are here for me.” They act as if I were their servant. These also affect us. Then we don't want to [do interpreting]. [...]

¹²⁷ In a similar vein, HI-8 (p. 3) also complains that the importance of interpreters' role is not understood in general. HI-10, whose main profession in Syria was nursing, likens the lack of value for interpreters in Turkey to the lack of value attached to nurses in Syria (p. 5).

¹²⁸ In fact, this situation expressed by HI-5 points to a weakened *illusio* in his work trajectory. He seems to have lost his interest in the stakes of the interpreting job he performs. He has become disinterested as he has realized the lack of recognition for the group he is involved in. After all, according to Bourdieu's (2000) framework, “[t]he need for “recognition” is at the heart of” the formation of interest in an area (emphasis in the original, Grenfell, 2012: 163).

¹²⁹ HI-10 (p. 19) complains that refugees do not value her as an interpreter. Accordingly, she recounts that once a patient who waited for a long time before the doctor interview told her that she was not doing her job as an interpreter and then spat in her face. HI-10 further remarks that another time a patient insulted her, saying that she was working in the healthcare institution thanks to the fee paid by the patient.

[...mesela Suriyeli hasta geliyor. İşte, “Sen burada, benim için buradasın. Çeviri yapacaksın.” Zorla yani. ... Böyle tepkiler de geliyor. İşte, “Sen benim için buradasın.” Yani, sanki ben onun yani, hizmetçisi gibiyim gibi davranış gösteriyor. Bunlar da bizi etkiliyor bu sefer. [Çeviri] Yapmak istemiyorsun....] (HI-1, p. 39)

HI-5 (p. 13) mentions that refugees generally do not perceive his role as an interpreter correctly, since they are not familiar with the interpreting job and the concept of an interpreter.

Several interpreters also report that negative perspective and reactions towards Syrian refugees in the society also affect the perspective towards themselves as interpreters. For instance, HI-1 (p. 23) mentions that interpreters working in the scope of the project he is involved in are generally not appreciated, since they provide services to a marginalized and unrecognized group of people, namely refugees. As another example of biased perceptions towards refugees, HI-6 (p. 25) remarks that when she first started working in the healthcare institution, she was not appreciated nor recognized by any of the institution staff. HI-7, implying that some Turkish patients question his work in the healthcare institution because of their reactions to refugees (p. 2), also reports that some doctors are skeptical of the interpreters and question how they got into the job in the healthcare institution¹³⁰ (p. 7). And HI-9, mentioning the discriminatory attitude of some of the staff towards himself, says

[...] Well, discrimination and so on... I have encountered those kinds of things. Some employees don't even communicate [with us] just because we are Syrian. Sometimes they also humiliate [us].

[...Hani, ayrımcılık, falan... O tür şeylerle karşılaştım. Bazı çalışanlar hani, sırf Suriyeli olduğumuz için [bizle] iletişime bile geçmiyorlar. Aşağıladıkları da oluyor.] (HI-9, p. 16)

Thus, it is understood that the fact that the interpreters belong to or give service to a marginalized group, such as refugees, is one of the factors that undermines the

¹³⁰ The mentioned skeptical and biased approach of the institutional staff is understandable to a certain extent. After all, the staff members are not quite familiar with the concept of public service interpreting due to Turkey's being a country that has experienced such a migration event only recently. Moreover, the patient guides have been newly recruited to the institutions to urgently respond to the increasing needs. Thus, it may require some time for the institutional staff to establish trust and recognition towards the patient guides.

public recognition and appreciation towards them, thus the likelihood of their accumulating symbolic capital.

As a matter of fact, certain interviewed healthcare professionals have also made remarks indicating the low public awareness and recognition towards the interpreting profession. For instance, HPO1 (p. 2) defines the role of interpreters as guidance and states that it is unnecessary for interpreters to be the permanent staff of the institution. HPO1 (p. 3) also highlights that the interpreter trainings should consist of the issues of medical secretaryship and reception of patients, which in fact do not lie within the task boundary of interpreters. Acknowledging that he is not familiar with professional interpreting services, HPO2 implies that interpreting is not a job that requires expertise. In this regard, by referring to the interpreters assigned in the healthcare institution within the scope of the project, he says

[...] These are not professional anyway. They are enough for this job. When there is good will and good command of the language, the problem is solved. ... It is enough for them to be aware of the seriousness of their work and to know how to follow up serious illnesses. They don't need to have command of further medical knowledge.

[...Bunlar profesyonel değil zaten. Bu iş için yeterliler. İyi niyet ve dile hakimiyet olunca iş çözülüyor. ... Sadece işlerinin ciddiyetinin farkında olmaları, ciddi hastalıkların takibini bilmeleri yeterli. Daha anormal bir tıbbi bilgi olmasına da gerek yok.] (HPO2, p. 3)

And lastly, by mentioning that interpreters do not need to undertake any initiative and they only need to properly convey what healthcare professionals and patients say, HPO3 (p. 2) in fact attributes the conduit role to the interpreters.

Based on the statements of the above-mentioned healthcare professionals, it is understood that they view interpreting as a secondary activity (see Simeoni, 1998; Wolf, 2007). The mentioned perspective of the healthcare professionals and the parallel impressions of the above-mentioned interpreters overall point to the interpreters' lack of symbolic capital, realized as esteem, recognition and value in others' eyes, especially in the eyes of those holding large amounts of capital (Bourdieu, 1998, 2000). As will be discussed in detail in Section 6.4.4., this lack of recognition is one of the factors that

undermines the interest and *illusio* of certain interpreters, such as HI-5 mentioned above (see Footnote 128 for the relevant discussion), in the job they perform.

On the other hand, certain healthcare interpreters, who mention the general lack of awareness and recognition for the interpreting job and interpreters, also report that some healthcare professionals recognize their role and appreciate them to some extent¹³¹. In this regard, HI-7, implying that he feels the respect of some doctors towards him as an interpreter, says

[...] Some doctors allow us in directly as soon as they see us, saying "The interpreter has another job". They don't keep us waiting. They speak and explain properly. I mean they speak respectfully.

[...Bazı doktorlar görür görmez "Tercümanın başka işi var", diye direkt alıyor yani. Bekletmiyor bizi. Güzelce konuşuyor, anlatıyor. Saygıyla konuşuyor yani.] (HI-7, p. 13)

The issue of the staff members' recognition and respect towards the interpreters, suggested by the mentioned practitioners, needs verification, since in the scope of this study, there was no opportunity to interview each of the mentioned officials and staff members. Besides, the practitioners have not either made any remarks regarding on what grounds they have earned the recognition and respect of the staff members. Yet based on the statements of certain interviewed healthcare professionals, it can be said that they have grown an amount of awareness towards the vital role of the interpreters in meeting the communication needs in the institutions and therefore in facilitating the work of healthcare professionals. Furthermore, the fact that the interpreters are the full-time staff of the institutions also seems to have contributed to the establishment of trust of some of the healthcare professionals towards the interpreters.

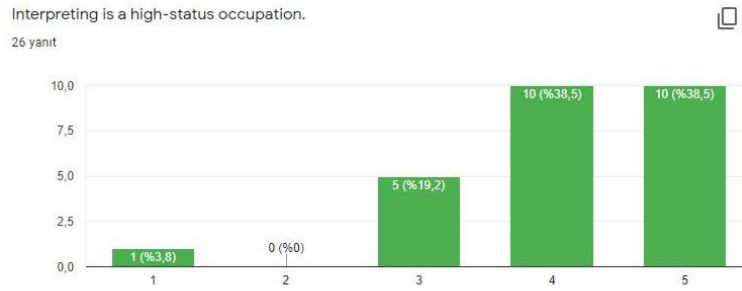
¹³¹ For instance, HI-1 (pp. 44-5) remarks that especially doctors and nurses who have experience of working with interpreters and understand the importance of interpreters respect the interpreters in the healthcare institution. HI-2 (p. 15) notes that the healthcare professionals prefer to work with him among the interpreters in the healthcare institution and they generally treat him with respect. HI-5 (p. 14) also mentions that the doctor he works with recognizes his role as an interpreter and that the doctor believes he will further improve in his job over time through the master-apprentice relationship. In a similar vein, HI-6 (p. 26) and HI-7 (p. 3) state that some of the doctors in the healthcare institutions, where they work, have informed them that the interpreters' activities have made a great deal of contribution to the work of the doctors. Lastly, HI-9 (p. 17) reports that the staff members, who respect the interpreters, express their thanks to them.

In this respect, HPO2 (p. 1) and HPO5 (p. 1) state that they find the interpreting services provided in the scope of the SIHHAT project useful and effective, and HPO3 (p. 1) expresses that the interpreters facilitate the healthcare professionals' work. Likewise, HPO5, acknowledging that healthcare services require a team work and the interpreters are an indispensable element in this work (p. 4), expressly states that healthcare professionals cannot perform their duties without interpreters (p. 1). Moreover, underlining that the interpreters are individuals who can undertake initiative and who should assist in every way in the relevant tasks, HPO5 (p. 6) also attributes a broader realm of authority to the interpreters. In this respect, it can be argued that the approach of HPO5 to the interpreters is in a sense in accord with the approach revealed in the study of Bot (2003), who discusses that the active role of interpreters is recognized by the healthcare professionals, and also in the study of Clifford (2004), who suggests that as the relationships between healthcare professionals and interpreters improve, the interpreters are assigned a broader role than the role of conduit.

In terms of the trust relationship developed with the available interpreters, HPO2 (pp. 1-2), HPO5 (p. 2) and HPO6 (p. 1) mention that since the interpreters are the staff assigned within the scope of the project, they work with them with a team spirit and have established a trust relationship with them.

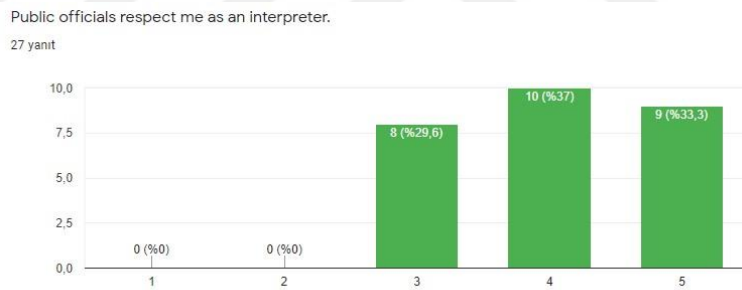
The healthcare interpreters, who have responded to the questionnaire in the scope of the study, have mostly expressed positive opinions regarding the interpreter status and the awareness and recognition towards the interpreters. Accordingly, the majority of the 26 respondents (77%) agree that interpreting is a high-status occupation.

Figure 74: Practitioner Views on the Status of the Interpreting Profession



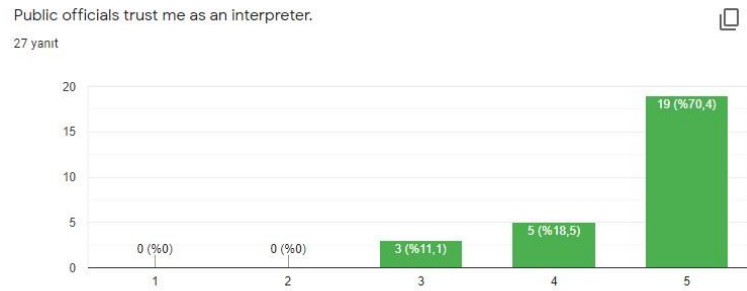
Furthermore, around 70% of the 27 respondents indicate the respect of public officials towards them.

Figure 75: Practitioners' Views on Whether Public Officials Respect Them



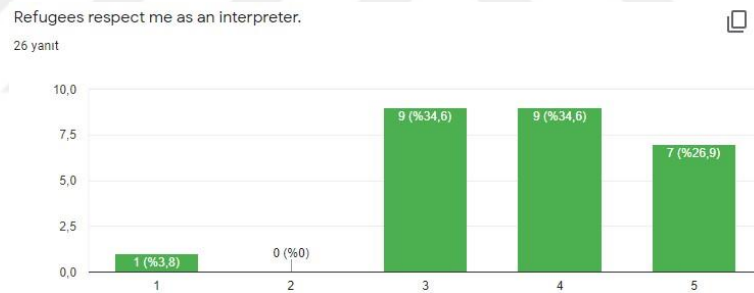
Similarly, the vast majority of the 27 practitioners (24/27) mark that public officials usually or always trust them.

Figure 76: Practitioner Views on Whether Public Officials Trust Them



Lastly, the majority of the 26 respondents (61.5%) mention the respect of refugees towards them.

Figure 77: Practitioners Views on Whether Refugees Respect Them



Yet in general, based on the statements of the interviewed interpreters and healthcare professionals, who have elaborated on the issue of public awareness towards the interpreting profession and interpreters, it can be argued that the interpreters' role is not yet sufficiently recognized and that their work is most of the time not adequately appreciated.

6.4.3. Perspectives on Professional Deficiencies

The interviewed interpreters touch upon a number of issues as regards professional deficiencies. The most frequently emphasized issues are the lack of comprehensive trainings for interpreters, unqualified practitioners working in the scope of the project, the shortage of interpreters in the healthcare institutions and the need for trainings for public officials working with interpreters.

As for the training needs for interpreters, HI-1 (p. 45), mentioning the lack of language skills of some practitioners, suggests that practitioners should be given further language trainings, followed by relevant examinations. HI-2 (p. 16) expresses that practitioners should be selected among the graduates of the interpreting department¹³². HI-3 (p. 2) mentions the inadequacy of the 5-day trainings provided to the practitioners within the scope of the project (see Appendix 20) and states that long-term trainings should be organized. And HI-10 (p. 18) suggests that more detailed and more frequent trainings, especially covering the subject of medical terminology, should be organized.

As a matter of fact, most of the interviewed practitioners imply their lack of knowledge regarding medical terms, and they express that they strive for overcoming the difficulties they encounter in medical terms in their own way. The most frequently mentioned methods in this regard are searching for unknown terms and expressions in the internet, asking healthcare professionals or other colleagues about such unknown terms and expressions, and making use of the resource on medical terminology provided in the in-service trainings.

As for the practitioners' understanding of the scope of interpreter trainings, it can be said that especially HI-1 and HI-10 reduce the trainings to language and terminology trainings. None of the practitioners, except for HI-2, underlines the need for full-fledged interpreter trainings that would address relevant interpreting skills. Thus, it can be

¹³² Considering the shortage of the translation and interpreting departments in the relevant languages to meet the increased language and communication needs (see Section 1.2.3.) and the absence of any strict regulations regarding the eligibility criteria for the interpreter position, it can be said that the mentioned suggestion of HI-2 is still far from being realized for the moment.

argued that the practitioners themselves in fact do not consider interpreting as a profession requiring comprehensive and specific technical trainings.

The need for interpreter trainings is also indicated by the practitioners who have responded to the questionnaire. Accordingly, the great majority of the 27 respondents (around 93%) agree that interpreters need to receive trainings.

Figure 78: Practitioner Views on the Necessity of Interpreter Training



The interviewed healthcare professionals also express various opinions on the scope and content of the trainings that interpreters need to receive. For instance, HPO2 (p. 3) notes that the trainings should cover such subjects as patient follow-up, patient rights, job awareness and legal responsibility that the job brings. HPO5 (p. 5) reduces interpreter training to language training and also highlights the need for trainings on communication skills, mentioning the practitioners' lack of those skills.

In terms of professional deficiencies, another issue raised is unqualified patient guides working in the scope of the project. In this regard, HI-1 (pp. 45-6) stresses that the interpreting job in the scope of the mentioned project is an opportunity for those with little knowledge of languages or those who cannot practice their main professions. He also adds that experienced and educated people prefer to either practice their own professions or work in jobs with higher income. He remarks

[...] It is sufficient to know only Turkish and Arabic to work in this project. The knowledge of terminology, culture doesn't matter. A lot of people are now working under this project. I mean, there are even some colleagues here. Not educated. Only Turkmen. They work because they lived in Syria and know Turkish and Arabic. But I don't know exactly how they work.

[...Yani bu projede çalışmak için sadece Türkçe-Arapça bilmesi yeterli. Terminolojisi, kültürü olsun olmasın, önemli değil. Bu proje kapsamında şimdi bayağı kişiler çalışıyor. Yani, hatta burada arkadaşlardan olan da var yani. Eğitimli değil. Sadece Türkmen. Suriye’de yaşadığı için, Türkçe-Arapça bildiği için çalışıyor. Ama nasıl çalışıyor bilmiyorum tam olarak.] (HI-1, p. 22)

In the same regard, HI-5 (p. 15), who implies that the interpreting job he performed for a construction company in Libya was more prestigious than the healthcare interpreting job in the mentioned project, complains that even individuals who do not speak the relevant languages have been recruited in the scope of the project. HI-5 (p. 17) further mentions that the educational status of the practitioners recruited under the project was also not paid sufficient attention.

The interviewed healthcare professionals also point to the same issue. In this respect, HPO1, noting that interpreters should be more sensible and rational people (p. 1), further remarks

There are problems in [the interpreters'] communication [manner] and approach to people. ... They need training on these. Their educational status should be suitable for this job. They should take courses on body language and behavioral science.

[İletişim konusunda, insana yaklaşım konusunda sıkıntılar var. ... Bununla ilgili eğitim lazım. Öğrenimlerinin uygun olması lazım bu işe. Beden dili, davranış bilimi gibi dersler almaları lazım.] (HPO1, p. 2)

Underlining that the patient guides working within the scope of the project are not professional, HPO2 (p. 1) states that the practitioners can have problems due to dialect differences or sometimes they cannot fully interpret the statements expressed by the parties. HPO3 (p. 2) and HPO4 (p. 1) point to the practitioners' lack of Turkish language skills, and HPO4 (p. 1) also mentions the practitioners' lack of medical knowledge. Lastly, HPO5 (pp. 4-5) talks about the practitioners' lack of communication skills and the problems they can experience due to dialect differences in Arabic. Thus, it is understood that individuals with inadequate language and communication skills, which are the basic competencies required for the interpreting job, have also been recruited to the relevant position in the scope of the project.

The other issues elaborated on by the interviewed practitioners is the shortage of interpreters in the healthcare institutions¹³³ (see Section 6.3.2. for a detailed discussion) and the need for trainings for public officials working with interpreters. Accordingly, HI-1, who seems to be the most integrated in the job (see Section 6.1.) and to be the most preoccupied with the issues regarding professional deficiencies and professional development requirements, draws attention to the need for training officials on humanitarian issues and non-discrimination (p. 45). HI-4 (p. 15) and HI-5 (p. 15) mention the need for raising the awareness of the staff other than healthcare professionals towards the interpreters' role in the healthcare institutions. HI-6, who, as mentioned previously, expresses that she faced prejudiced attitudes of the staff when she first started to work in the healthcare institution, suggests that healthcare professionals and the other staff need to receive orientation to overcome their prejudices towards interpreters and refugees (p. 25) (see Footnote 130 for the relevant discussion). HI-7 (p. 14), HI-8 (p. 12) and HI-9 (p. 18) point to the need for raising the awareness of healthcare professionals towards interpreters' task boundaries and the working conditions for them. In this regard, HI-8, in fact pointing to the remarkably weaker position of the interpreters against the doctors, remarks

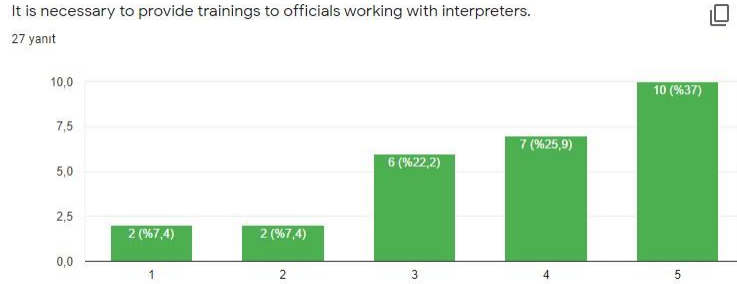
[...] the biggest problem we experience is that [doctors] keep us waiting. "Wait, I will let you in after this patient." Or "Wait, wait outside." If they understood the interpreter's job, it would be easier for them, and it would be better for other doctors and patients.

[...bizim yaşadığımız en büyük sıkıntı zaten sürekli bekletiyorlar. "Bekleyin, şu hastadan sonra alacağım." Veya "Bekleyin, dışarıda bekleyin." Falan. Hani tercümanın işini anlasalar hem onlara daha kolay olur, hem diğer doktorlara da, hem de hastalara daha iyi [olur].] (HI-8, p. 12)

¹³³ In this respect, as mentioned previously, HI-1 (p. 45) reports that the available interpreters are not able to meet the needs and that they receive complaints from the management, and suggests that at least 20 interpreters are required for effective service in the healthcare institution where he works. HI-8 (p. 13) also states that in the healthcare institution where he works, only two interpreters are on duty in the three-storey polyclinic with fifteen departments, which is not sufficient. Similarly, HPO5 (p. 1), expressing that the number of interpreters should be increased, states that it would be better to appoint an interpreter for each healthcare professional in every polyclinic.

Likewise, more than half of the 27 practitioners who have responded to the questionnaire (17/27) agree that officials working with interpreters need to receive trainings.

Figure 79: Practitioner Views on the Necessity of Training for Officials Working with Interpreters



Four of the six interviewed healthcare professionals also find the idea of trainings on how to work with an interpreter favorable. Accordingly, HPO2 (p. 3), claiming that the education level of doctors is already high and that doctors are well-equipped in communication, suggests that if such trainings are to be given to doctors, they should involve such issues as sociology, psychology and non-discrimination. HPO5 (p. 5) believes that such trainings would be beneficial, since sometimes interpreters may be held responsible for miscommunication although healthcare professionals are incapable of explaining issues to patients. HPO6 (p. 2) also states that healthcare professionals can be made aware of the boundaries of their demands through such trainings. On the other hand, HPO1 (p. 3) and HPO3 (p. 2) do not believe that healthcare professionals could participate in such trainings. HPO3 remarks

No, there is no need. We can't even attend trainings related to our own field, we could never attend such a training.

[Hayır gerek yok. Biz kendi alnımızla ilgili eğitimlere bile gidemiyoruz, öyle bir eğitime hiç katılamayız.] (HPO3, p. 2)

Based on the mentioned statements of the interpreters and healthcare professionals, it can be said that there is a need for trainings for the staff working with

interpreters, especially covering the issues of interpreters' role and task boundaries and non-discrimination against refugees/migrants.

Overall, the lack of comprehensive trainings for interpreters, unqualified practitioners working in the scope of the project, the shortage of interpreters in the healthcare institutions and the need for trainings for public officials working with interpreters are the issues that are raised by the interviewed healthcare interpreters as regards the professional deficiencies. Among these, especially the lack of comprehensive trainings for interpreters, the lack of trainings for the staff on how to work with an interpreter, and the lack of control mechanisms and sound professional principles that can prevent individuals who do not have the necessary skills from performing interpreting are already frequently proposed as the major obstacles to the professionalization of public service interpreting (Pöchhacker, 2004; Corsellis, 2008; Rudvin, 2015; Hale, 2015).

6.4.4. Maintaining *Illusio* and Perspectives on the Sustainability of the Interpreting Job

As mentioned in Section 6.1., the healthcare interpreters in the present study, except for HI-1¹³⁴, do not have long-term and rooted investments, and accumulated resources in the field of translation and interpreting. Nor have they taken part in the *illusio* of the field, which brings along hard work, resilience and commitment in a long-term process (see Bourdieu, 2000: 11)¹³⁵. It seems that in the face of the increased

¹³⁴ In this respect, with his educational background and experience in the field of translation and interpreting, HI-1 differs from the other practitioners (see Section 6.1.).

¹³⁵ For Bourdieu (2000: 11), “being caught up in the game”, namely *illusio*, is understood as “a fundamental belief in the interest of the game and the value of the stakes which is inherent in that membership”. He further points out “[e]ntry into a scholastic universe presupposes a suspension of the presuppositions of common sense and a para-doxal commitment to a more or less radically new set of presuppositions, linked to the discovery of stakes and demands neither known nor understood by ordinary experience. Each field is characterized by the pursuit of a specific goal, tending to favour no less absolute investments by all (and only) those who possess the required dispositions (for example, *libido sciendi*). Taking part in the *illusio* - scientific, literary, philosophical or other - means taking seriously (sometimes to the point of making them questions of life and death) stakes which, arising from the logic of the game itself, establish its 'seriousness', even if they may escape or appear 'disinterested' or 'gratuitous' to those

communication needs of refugees in the public institutions in Turkey, the practitioners in general, having viewed interpreting as an opportunity that will yield them an income, have been engaged in the job solely based on their “embodied linguistic capital” in the form of “native-speaker capacity” (Koskinen, 2020: 110) (see Section 6.1.).

It is understood that during their work trajectory, some practitioners have developed growing commitment and interest in the job they perform, whereas the majority have become “indifferent” (see Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 116) to the job for the reasons mentioned below. Furthermore, the majority of the practitioners think that public service interpreting is not a job they can practice in the long run. Even among the practitioners who have developed commitment and interest in the job, there is uncertainty as regards the sustainability of the job, since they are involved in a fixed-term project¹³⁶.

In this regard, HI-1, who also frequently emphasizes the lack of recognition and appreciation for the interpreting job and the interpreters in the scope of the project, mentions that public service interpreting is not a promising job with many opportunities and that he has other career plans for the future. HI-1 (p. 22) suggests the regular salary within the scope of the project and the likelihood of different alternatives after the end of the project as only short-term sources of satisfaction in the current job. He further remarks

I am lucky with the [work] environment. I get many opportunities. I have been practicing consecutive, simultaneous interpreting for 1-2 years. After 10 years, I want to be good at simultaneous interpreting. I would like to be like those who interpret for politicians. This area doesn't have a future. There is not much work area. I would like to continue in simultaneous interpreting. I would like to do

who are sometimes called 'lay people' or those who are engaged in other fields (since the independence of the different fields entails a form of noncommunicability between them) (Bourdieu, 2000: 11).

¹³⁶ As mentioned previously, the EU funded healthcare project SIHHAT, under which the healthcare interpreters in the present study work, was planned to last for a period of 36 months and to be completed on December 1, 2019 (see Section 3.2.2.3. and Appendix 16). (The interviewed patient guides reported that their contracts in the scope of the project were extended until 2021.) During this period, the patient guides work at the service of the provincial directorates of health (see Appendix 19). As mentioned by the official at the General Directorate of Public Health, who was interviewed on the phone, the patient guides have been assigned to various healthcare institutions by the provincial directorates of health based on needs, and they work as full-time staff of the healthcare institutions under the command of the management of the institutions. Yet even if the practitioners work as full-time staff in return for a regular salary for the time being, the fixed-term project and contract lead to uncertainties about the sustainability of the job they perform.

diplomatic interpreting. This is not a job I can trust. I would like to do trade. This job is temporary for me.

[Ben çevre olarak şanslıyım. Bana çok fırsatlar geliyor. 1-2 yıldır simültane, ardıl yapıyorum. 10 yıl sonra simültanede iyi olmak istiyorum. Politikacılara tercüme yapan kişiler gibi olmak isterim. Tercümanlık olarak bu alan geleceğe çok açık değil. Çok iş alanı yok. Ben simültanede devam etmek isterim. Diplomatik çeviri yapmak isterim. Bu, güveneceğim bir iş değil. Ticaret yapmak isterim. Bu iş geçici benim için.] (HI-1, p. 46)

It is understood that although HI-1 seems to be the most integrated in the job (see Section 6.1.), the lack of recognition¹³⁷, rewards and symbolic capital of public service interpreting has caused him to become disinterested and has weakened his *illusio* in the job¹³⁸. It seems that by also taking advantage of the social circle he has acquired, he wants to use his accumulated knowledge and skills and to make professional investments in the more prestigious simultaneous and consecutive interpreting jobs¹³⁹. It can be argued that, HI-1 thinks simultaneous interpreting will provide him with more rewards and capital and will better meet his career expectations. And this situation shows that HI-1 in fact maintains the *illusio* in different areas of translation and interpreting.

Along the same line, HI-4 (p. 17), mentioning there is no guarantee in the interpreting job in the scope of the project, adds that he will seek different opportunities by improving his English and taking advantage of the experience he has gained from the current job. With regard to the unsustainability of the job, HI-4 (p. 18) also notes that interpreters may no more be needed in the future once refugees turn back to their country or learn Turkish. HI-5 (p. 18), HI-7 (p. 17) and HI-8 (p. 13) also view interpreting as a job they can only practice in the short term. In this respect, HI-5 says

To be honest, I don't see myself in this job. If I get citizenship in 2 or 3 years, I will most probably engage in foreign trade in Turkey. ... Because it won't get you anywhere.

¹³⁷ As mentioned earlier, in Bourdieu's (2000) framework, earning recognition underlies the development of interest in a field, which is in fact a long-standing process (Grenfell, 2012: 163).

¹³⁸ HI-1 seemingly views himself as being overqualified in the area of public service interpreting, where even unqualified practitioners with little language proficiency can work.

¹³⁹ Simultaneous interpreting is a type of interpreting that is mostly performed in the area of conference interpreting. As discussed earlier in Section 1.1.3, conference interpreting, involving more clear-cut task definitions, is an area that yields higher recognition and status.

[Vallahi bu işte kendimi görmüyorum ya. Ben 2 yıl, 3 yıl sonra büyük ihtimal, vatandaşlığı da alırsam zaten Türkiye veya yurtdışı ticaretle uğraşırım. Sonu yok çünkü.] (HI-5, p. 18)

Furthermore, HI-5, HI-7 and HI-8 speak of the disillusionment they experience with the interpreting job they perform due to various reasons such as the lack of recognition for the interpreting job and poor working conditions (cf. Colley and Guéry, 2015). Accordingly, stating that he is actually wasting time in the current interpreting job, HI-5 (p. 5, 16) also claims that he cannot receive a recompense for his labor and his available language skills due to non-recognition and relatively lower status of the interpreting job he performs. Comparing the interpreting job in the project to the interpreting job he once performed at a construction firm in Libya, HI-5 (p.10) adds that he is less able to improve himself in this job¹⁴⁰.

HI-7 and HI-8 report that they have taken a dislike towards the interpreting job due to such reasons as Turkish patients' reactions towards them and refugees, and doctors' lack of understanding about the working conditions for the interpreters. HI-7 (p. 2) expresses that he has lost his patience due to the mentioned reasons, and HI-8¹⁴¹ (p. 13) admits that he feels regretful about getting into the interpreting job. Accordingly, it can be said that HI-5, HI-7 and HI-8, who are already not equipped with strong *illusio* in the field of translation and interpreting (see Section 6.1.), seem to have adopted an attitude of strong "indifference"¹⁴² (see Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 116) towards the job they perform due to the mentioned unfavorable conditions. And they can be called

¹⁴⁰ In fact, it is not quite possible to compare these two forms of interpreting with each other. Public service interpreters provide service to economically and socially weak marginalized groups, while interpreters in the business sector give service to those who are economically strong and who hold large volumes of capital. In other words, the difference between the amounts of capital of the groups given service affects the amount of capital available to the interpreters in the two spheres.

¹⁴¹ As previously mentioned, HI-8, who holds a bachelor's degree in pharmaceuticals, cannot pursue a career in this field due to being a non-citizen in Turkey and to bureaucratic obstacles. It can be argued that he is in a way underemployed in the public service interpreting job, whose rewards and stakes are quite low.

¹⁴² Bourdieu uses the concept of *indifference* as the opposite of the concept of *illusio*. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 116) say in this regard "[t]o be indifferent is to be unmoved by the game: like Buridan's donkey, this game makes no difference to me. Indifference is an axiological state, an ethical state of nonpreference as well as a state of knowledge in which I am not capable of differentiating the stakes proposed."

the "displaced"¹⁴³ actors in Bourdieu's sense (2000: 157) in the frame of the public service interpreting job.

HI-5, HI-7 and HI-8, no more finding the interpreting job worth practicing, would like to look for other job opportunities that they think will bring them larger resources or will better suit their educational background and accumulated knowledge¹⁴⁴. Besides HI-5, HI-7 and HI-8; HI-10, who has not made any implication of the weakened *illusio*, nevertheless does not view interpreting as a long-term and high-status job, expressing that she wants to improve herself in her major profession, which is nursing, and to work in that area. She says

I want to further improve myself. I want to go to university. I don't see myself [in interpreting]. I have my eyes in higher positions. It is a pity. I am a nurse. [Interpreting] isn't related to my job. I think I need to return to my own standards, sooner or later.

[Ben daha kendimi geliştirmek istiyorum. Buradan üniversiteye geçmek istiyorum. [Tercümanlıkta] Görmüyorum kendimi. Daha yükseklerde gözüm. Yazık yani. Hemşireyim. [Tercümanlık] İşimle alakalı değil yani. Bence kendi seviyeme dönmem lazım er ya da geç, öyle.] (HI-10, p. 18)

As a matter of fact, the attitude of HI-5, HI-7, HI-8 and HI-10 discussed above is actually a challenge for the interpreting profession. It can be argued that even its practitioners do not view public service interpreting as a rewarding, high-status and academically-oriented work area.

On the other hand, HI-2, HI-3, HI-4, HI-6 and HI-9 seem to maintain the *illusio* in the interpreting field. Similar to HI-1 mentioned above, HI-2 talks about his interest in different areas of translation and interpreting¹⁴⁵. HI-3, HI-4, HI-6 and HI-9 also express

¹⁴³ In this respect, Bourdieu (2000: 157) remarks "[t]he homology between the space of positions and the space of dispositions is never perfect and there are always some agents 'out on a limb', displaced, out of place and ill at ease."

¹⁴⁴ As mentioned earlier, HI-5 wants to engage in foreign trade in the near future. HI-7, studying at the mechanical engineering department at a public university in Turkey, and HI-8, studying for a master degree in pharmaceuticals at a public university in Turkey, emphasize that they can practice the current interpreting job only until they graduate and that they would like to pursue their future career in the fields, in which they have received education.

¹⁴⁵ He expresses that he wants to learn other languages in the future and continue interpreting, and that he would like to continue his education at open education faculty to be able to carry on both interpreting and his education at the same time (p. 5). He further adds that after the project ends, he would like to work as a sworn translator and also as a translator in his father's company (pp. 15-6).

their willingness to continue in the healthcare interpreting job if the project and their contracts were extended. HI-6 (p. 26) even implies that she is quite concerned about the uncertainties regarding the extension of the project. And HI-9 (p. 20) admits that interpreting has become his main profession, expressing that while interpreting, he both performs a job and helps people at the same time. In fact, HI-3, HI-4, HI-6 and HI-9, who have relatively lower amount of accumulated resources and institutional capital in the form of academic qualifications in other fields¹⁴⁶, may view public service interpreting as the best job opportunity they may have with their available linguistic capital.

Overall, uncertainties about the sustainability of the public service interpreting job stem from either the limited duration of the project and contract or the lack of resources and rewards in the job in question. On the other hand, those who have relatively lower accumulated resources and investments in other fields and who consider the current job as a source of income in the country, where they live as refugees, might want to continue practicing the job if they had the opportunity. However, those who have investments, educational background and skills in other fields do not want to continue practicing the public service interpreting job. In other words, for these practitioners, the *illusio*, which is already not strong, has been further weakened and has turned into disinterest in public service interpreting.

6.5. THE FORMS OF CAPITAL (UN)AVAILABLE TO THE INTERPRETERS AND THE (NON)FORMATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

As is the case with most of the NGO and legal field interpreters in the present study, the vast majority of the healthcare interpreters, namely the patient guides, recruited under the SIHHAT project to give service to Syrian refugees in public healthcare institutions, have not made any remarkable and long-term investments to gain professional *habitus* in interpreting (see Bourdieu, 1998, 2000). Nor do they seem to

¹⁴⁶ HI-3 is a high school graduate, and HI-6 is a secondary school graduate. HI-4 received an associate degree in land surveying, and HI-9 is studying at a two-year logistics department (see Table 4).

have developed strong and rooted belief and interest, namely *illusio* (see Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), in the stakes of the translation and interpreting field. Thus, not being fully equipped with the resources and dispositions required by the interpreting field, most of the practitioners have been engaged in the interpreting job solely based on their knowledge of the relevant languages, which are Turkish and Arabic.

As is the case with the NGO and legal field interpreters, the knowledge of the relevant languages possessed by the healthcare interpreters, the majority of whom are Syrian Turkmen (see Table 4 and Section 6.1.), is available in two forms: as part of the embodied and institutionalized state of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The “embodied linguistic capital” (Koskinen, 2020: 110) is the form of capital acquired by the practitioners naturally based on the ethnic origin, region of origin, family background and social environment, which are the elements contributing to primary *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1972, cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 134; Bourdieu, 1998). Furthermore, since all the practitioners have received education in Arabic language (see Table 4 and Section 6.1.), and since several of them (HI-2, HI-4, HI-7, HI-8 and HI-9) have also studied in the Turkish universities or have participated in Turkish language courses (see Table 4 and Section 6.1.); the institutionalized form of cultural capital, i.e. school and course education, can also be said to have contributed to the linguistic capital of the practitioners.

As mentioned earlier, the healthcare interpreters are not trained in the field of translation and interpreting (see Table 4 and Section 6.1.), similar to the NGO and legal field interpreters. Thus, it can be claimed that the mentioned “embodied linguistic capital” (Koskinen, 2020: 110) in the form of native or second language, rather than institutionalized cultural capital in the form of university degree or a relevant training certificate, becomes meaningful in performing the interpreting job. And as is the case with the NGO and legal field interpreters, the mentioned linguistic capital possessed by the practitioners has transformed into “scarcity value” in Bourdieu's (1986:244) sense in the face of the increased communication needs between Syrian refugees and Turkish officials in healthcare institutions. It can be argued that the mentioned capital also turns into a “source of power” (Rudvin, 2005) for the practitioners to some extent, allowing

them to be the only individuals understanding and speaking the language of both parties in communication processes.

Furthermore, as also discussed previously, when certain practitioners assume in a sense the role of “integration agent” (Leanza, 2005) by making explanations to refugees and giving them recommendations on the host country's system and procedures (see Sections 6.2.2.3. and 6.3.4.), and when HI-1 adopts in a sense the role of “community agent” (Leanza, 2005) by making explanations to Turkish officials in favor of refugees to eliminate biases (see Section 6.3.3), the value of the mentioned cultural capital is revealed once again.

On the other hand, there may be situations where linguistic capital, the most powerful resource that the interpreters have, is partially devalued. As mentioned earlier, the patient guides were to pass the Turkish and Arabic language examinations in the selection process (see Appendix 17). However, it can be argued the fact that practitioners who do not have sufficient language skills are also able to work within the scope of the project, an issue observed by several interpreters (see Section 6.4.3.), and the lack of control mechanisms that can prevent such individuals from performing interpreting render the mentioned linguistic capital relatively meaningless.

Another situation that devalues the linguistic capital of the interpreters is healthcare professionals' or refugees' being able to communicate with each other in the relevant languages. Becoming familiar with the language of refugees in time, an issue mentioned by HPO2 (p. 1) and HPO3 (p. 1), and refugees' knowledge of Turkish to some extent, an issue noted by HPO4 (p. 1), actually reduce the symbolic value of interpreters in communication processes.

As Bourdieu (1986) suggests, the three forms of capital, namely economic, cultural and social capital, are all convertible into each other and also into symbolic capital. As for the healthcare interpreters in the present study, the relationships between the other parties and the interpreters in interpreting processes, the volume of capital the other parties possess (see Bourdieu, 1993a: 112-144), as well as the working conditions for the interpreters, the resources accumulated by the interpreters for the job they perform, and the resources allocated to the development of the interpreting profession

and interpreters determine to what extent the interpreters' linguistic capital, their most powerful resource, transforms into the other forms of capital.

As noted previously, the healthcare interpreters are recruited in the scope of the EU funded SIHHAT project (see Appendix 15), and they have been assigned by the provincial directorates of health to various healthcare institutions (see Appendix 19), where they work as full-time staff. These factors in fact have the potential of granting certain resources to the healthcare interpreters. The resources that might be available to the practitioners based on the mentioned factors are the knowledge brought by the in-service trainings organized in six rounds within the scope of the project¹⁴⁷ (see Appendix 20), the economic capital in the form of a regular salary and the social capital in the form of institutional membership and identity.

More specifically, it can be said that in the interpreting job under the SIHHAT project, the healthcare interpreters are able to convert their linguistic capital into economic capital in the form of a regular salary, albeit for a limited period of time. As a matter of fact, the majority of the interviewed interpreters (7/10)¹⁴⁸ are satisfied¹⁴⁹ with the salary they earn from the current interpreting job. Moreover, several interpreters also had the chance to convert the cultural capital they own into economic capital in their previous interpreting work experience (see Table 4 and Section 6.1.).

Working as full-time staff in healthcare institutions within the scope of a project funded by a prestigious organization such as EU could in fact bring social capital to the interpreters in the form of institutional membership. However, the lack of recognition and respect for some interpreters by some staff members and healthcare professionals (see Section 6.4.2.) and the prejudice against refugees and the interpreters (see Section 6.3.3.) may hint at the fact that they are not always sufficiently welcome in the

¹⁴⁷ However, since these trainings were not generally related to the issues in interpreting (see Toker, 2019), it can be argued that they have not provided sufficient resources to practitioners in terms of professional development.

¹⁴⁸ Only HI-1, HI-5 and HI-6 think that the income earned from the job is not sufficient, and HI-1 and HI-5 stress that they have to do additional work. HI-1 performs simultaneous and consecutive interpreting jobs as a freelancer, transforming his cultural capital into economic capital also in other forms of interpreting. HI-5 works as a waiter besides doing the interpreting job.

¹⁴⁹ It may also be the sense of satisfaction brought by being able to get such a job opportunity in a country, where they live as refugees.

healthcare institutions, where they work, or they are not always considered as staff members in the fullest sense. For this reason, it cannot be said that all the interpreters always benefit from this aspect of social capital.

Similar to the NGO and legal field interpreters (see Sections 4.5. and 5.5.), the healthcare interpreters also imply the social bonds they develop, albeit limited, with the refugees they give service to. Yet the bonds established with refugees by the healthcare interpreters, the majority of whom are refugees, must be different than the bonds between refugees and the other groups of interpreters, most of whom are Turkish citizens of Arab origin. In this respect, since the healthcare interpreters and refugees are co-nationals and since they have most probably had similar experiences, the healthcare interpreters are likely to show more empathy towards refugees.

As a matter of fact, as previously mentioned in Section 6.4.1., certain healthcare interpreters view interpreting as a means of helping people. In particular, HI-6 (p. 16) and HI-10 (p. 5) mention the concept of humanitarian aid, which is an inherent element in public service interpreting. And HI-7 (p. 3) remarks that as an interpreter, he is trying to help people and thus performing an enjoyable job. In addition, HI-4 (p. 6) and HI-10 (p. 7) talk about the financial aid they sometimes provide to refugees.

Furthermore, most of the interpreters speak of the empathy they show and the affection they feel towards refugees. In this regard, HI-1 (p. 40) mentions that although he sometimes gets angry with the refugees who mistreat the interpreter, he feels pity for them in the final analysis, since they are after all in a desperate situation. HI-1 (p. 43) also expresses that he has a developed ability for empathy and that he generally does not lose his emotionality, although he has to work professionally.

Along the same line, HI-2 (p. 12), HI-4 (p. 11), HI-6 (p. 16), HI-7 (p. 9) and HI-10 (p. 12) mention the emotional affection and difficulties they experience while reporting bad news to patients or their relatives. In this regard, HI-7 (p. 9) states that in such cases, sometimes he calls another colleague to report the bad news to the patient or her/his relative. Empathizing with patients or their relatives in traumatic situations, HI-10 (p. 12) remarks that she conveys bad news to patients or their relatives gently and indirectly so that they can get familiar with the idea. HI-6, working in the maternity

hospital, states that when women have to have an abortion, she gets very upset and even cries (p. 16)¹⁵⁰.

Moreover, as previously discussed in detail in Section 6.2.2., the healthcare interpreters inevitably establish relationships with refugees outside interpreting tasks due to both their job descriptions and working conditions. Within the boundary of such relationships, the interpreters make explanations to refugees and give them recommendations and advice to enable them to make sense of the procedures in the host country and to behave accordingly.

Since only durable social relations established with groups possessing other forms of capital have the potential for yielding large resources to individuals (Bourdieu, 1986:246-7), the social capital in the form of the mentioned social bonds and relationships established with refugees, namely individuals with relatively lower amount of capital, is not likely to turn into economic and symbolic capital for the healthcare interpreters, as is the case with the NGO and legal field interpreters. Such bonds developed with refugees can nonetheless bring about moral satisfaction to the interpreters.

¹⁵⁰ In this regard, according to a source of American Translators Association (ATA) (Espondaburu, 2009: 12); healthcare professionals, such as doctors and medical students, acknowledge that sharing bad news is one of the most difficult tasks they perform. Based on the guidelines of "the Project to Educate Physicians on End-of-Life Care (EPEC)", which generally gives healthcare professionals certain recommendations in the case of sharing bad news; interpreters are also recommended to choose their words carefully, to check whether they are understood, and to pay attention to their pace, manner of non-verbal communication and tone of voice while delivering bad news (Espondaburu, 2009: 17). It is further recommended that interpreters imagine themselves as actors of a movie in such situations, and they make necessary arrangements before the traumatic sessions (*ibid.*). Moreover, if interpreters are traumatized in such situations, they are advised to seek support of the institutions they work for, if such opportunities are available (*ibid.*, p. 18). However, the interpreters within the scope of this study are not adequately equipped with professional knowledge, skills and dispositions to be able to implement the aforementioned strategies. In addition, the working conditions (large number of patients to be served; increased workload and shortage of time, hampering them to give detailed service to each and every patient; the lack of institutional programs and resources that would give support to the interpreters on the issue) are not convenient for the practitioners to be able to employ such strategies. Under these circumstances, when delivering bad news, the practitioners seem to display instinctive behaviors and to produce solutions in their own way (as is the case with HI-7 mentioned above). And if they cannot produce solutions, they may become emotional together with the patients and thus may move away from the professional behavior.

Considering the fact that the interpreters are to work at the healthcare institutions for a limited period of time due to the scope of the project; the sincere and warm relations developed with the healthcare professionals, those mentioned by especially HI-3, H-4 and HI-6, may also not have the potential to provide other resources to the interpreters, since those relations may not be durable. In this case, it can be said that only the social capital in the form of the social circle, through which the practitioners have found the interpreting jobs (see Section 6.1.), has had the potential to yield more resources to the interpreters. As a matter of fact, the mentioned social circle has enabled the interpreters to obtain economic capital in the interpreting jobs they have practiced so far.

Overall, the mentioned resources that might be available to the practitioners are far from generating a degree of symbolic capital and institutional identity for the practitioners due to several major factors: First of all, since the practitioners are involved in a fixed-term project, the mentioned resources are of a transient nature in a sense. Yet apart from that, the lack of institutionalization and recognition of the translation and interpreting profession (see Inghilleri, 2005a; Sela-Sheffy, 2005; Wolf, 2007) is the major factor that prevents practitioners from gaining symbolic value as much as other established high-status professional groups. As frequently highlighted, public service interpreters in general do not act in an autonomous and fully established field with its own laws and sufficient professional incentives. They rather act in a “zone of uncertainty” in Bourdieu’s (2000) sense. In those spaces without clear social definition, they are in fact “concurrently involved in someone else’s game as well as playing their own” (Colley and Guéry, 2015: 118), and their performances are overshadowed by the agents of other established professions (Inghilleri, 2005a: 83).

Furthermore, most of the practitioners do not have the power to firmly define their position and role as interpreters, since they lack hard-earned professional development background, and they are not either supported with professional development opportunities. Not being sufficiently integrated and invested in the field, most of them act solely based on their linguistic capital acquired naturally through the social environment. And the mentioned linguistic capital may also be devalued at times

due to the lack of relevant control mechanisms preventing individuals who do not have sufficient skills from performing the job (see Section 6.4.3.), as well as due to healthcare professionals' or refugees' speaking the relevant languages enough to communicate with each other.

The fact that most of the practitioners are themselves refugees, a marginalized group of people approached with prejudice, is also an obstacle to the practitioners' obtaining symbolic value and power. In fact, not belonging to the country they live in by birth puts them at a disadvantage (Koskinen, 2020: 111) in social life as well as in the professional sphere (see the discussion in Section 6.3.3.). On the other hand, refugees' asking for the opinions and recommendations of the interpreters, who have relatively larger amount of knowledge regarding the system and procedures of the host country (see Sections 6.2.2.3. and 6.3.5.), can be construed as their attributing a sort of symbolic value to the interpreters. However, symbolic capital can only be realized through the recognition in the eyes of those who hold larger amounts of resources and “who are well-known and recognized” (Bourdieu, 1989: 21). And the general lack of recognition for the interpreting profession and interpreters, and more specifically, the problematic perspective of the healthcare professionals and the other staff towards the interpreting profession and the interpreters, as discussed in Section 6.4.2., already point to the low symbolic capital of the interpreters and the profession.

Hence, all the mentioned factors constitute an obstacle to the practitioners' forming a professional identity and maintaining the feel that triggers them to act in this field (see Bourdieu, 2018: 92-3). As a matter of fact, the majority of the practitioners, even HI-1, who seems to be more integrated and invested in the field, do not view public service interpreting as a job that can be practiced in the long run (see Section 6.4.4.). That is to say, they do not find it worth pursuing the interpreting job as a future career. And for HI-3, HI-4, HI-6 and HI-9, the practitioners who express their continued interest in and commitment to the job (see Section 6.4.4.), the temporariness of the job they perform seems to be the major factor that leads to uncertainties regarding the sustainability of the job in question.

The recruitment of interpreters to meet the urgent communication needs in public healthcare institutions within the scope of the SIHHAT project is in fact a considerably favorable initiative; however, it is not without its flaws. In this regard, first of all, it is necessary to review the "patient guide" position, in which the practitioners are obliged to perform additional tasks apart from interpreting (see Section 6.2.1.). The task boundaries of the interpreters need to be specified with the support of the relevant university departments. Furthermore, the criteria for the recruitment to the interpreter position need to be raised, and those who are more invested and disposed to practice the job, such as HI-1, need to be selected. To this end, the candidates need to be administered an aptitude test, prepared in cooperation with the relevant university departments and professional associations.

Moreover, in cooperation with the relevant university departments, those who are recruited need to be provided with more comprehensive and regular in-service trainings involving both theoretical and practical issues in interpreting. The practitioners' professional development needs to be monitored through institutional mechanisms that are also academically supported. It is also necessary to provide other professional groups working with interpreters with practical trainings, in which the significance of the interpreter's role and the problems that may be caused by unprofessional interpreting services are highlighted. Fulfilling the mentioned conditions will most likely contribute to the improvement of the quality and functioning of vital healthcare services mediated by interpreters, to the awareness towards the significant role of interpreters and interpreting services, and also to the development of the interpreting profession and the status of interpreters.

6.6. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has discussed the trajectory and the perceptions of the patient guides, namely healthcare interpreters, who have been recruited for a period of 36 months in the scope of the EU-funded healthcare project SIHHAT, undertaken to improve the health status of the Syrian refugees in Turkey. The 960 patient guides have

been recruited in the public healthcare institutions particularly in the 28 provinces with the highest Syrian population in order to perform interpreting tasks between the staff and refugees and also to accompany patients in various hospital procedures. The patient guides work as full-time staff of the healthcare institutions in the scope of the project in question. And they have been provided with five-day trainings organized in six rounds, mainly covering the subjects of the Turkish healthcare system, intercultural communication and communication skills, patient rights and medical terminology (Toker, 2019).

In order to address the trajectory and the perceptions of the patient guides regarding their interpreting activities, the data obtained from the semi-structured interviews with 10 practitioners and the questionnaire responded by 27 practitioners have been used. The issues that have emerged from the mentioned data have also been discussed in the light of the data from the interviews with 6 healthcare professionals, including 4 doctors and 2 nurses, who communicate with refugees through interpreters, and from certain documents related to the selection and recruitment processes and the work procedures for the patient guides.

Accordingly, it has been found that for the healthcare interpreters, the majority of whom are refugees, involving Turkmen and Arab nationals of the Syrian Arab Republic, the linguistic capital in the embodied state (Bourdieu, 1986), acquired naturally through the family and the social environment, and also partly in the institutionalized state (Bourdieu, 1986), reinforced through school and course education, is the determining factor in the recruitment to the interpreter position, as is the case with the NGO and legal field interpreters discussed in the present study.

Similar to the NGO and legal field interpreters, none of the healthcare interpreters is trained in the field of translation and interpreting, and their educational background ranges from secondary school graduation to bachelor's degree. While the present study was being conducted, four of the practitioners, HI-2, HI-7, HI-8 and HI-9, were continuing their university education in Turkey, albeit in the fields other than translation and interpreting. Accordingly, it can be said that the institutional cultural capital in the form of university degree or a relevant training certificate has not played

any role in their recruitment to the position in question. The majority of the practitioners mention previous work experience in interpreting, in such domains as private hospital, primary health center, law office, construction company, fairs, refugee associations and maternity hospital.

As can be understood, the healthcare interpreters in the present study are generally individuals who do not have significant investments or strong interest developed in the long run, namely *illusio* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 116; Bourdieu, 2000: 11), in the interpreting field. Their only investments in the field are the short-term in-service trainings they attended¹⁵¹ and the sporadic interpreting experiences before the work in the project. Thus, it can be argued that the practitioners in general are in fact not adequately “disposed to pursue the specific goals” (Bourdieu, 2000: 11) of the interpreting field¹⁵². They have rather taken part in the public service interpreting job to meet *ad hoc* communication needs in the public institutions by making use of the only capital they possess suited to the field, namely linguistic capital.

Apart from the linguistic capital, the practitioners have still mentioned several motives that have driven them to the interpreting job in the scope of the SIHHAT project. And the suggested motives are the lack of job opportunities in other areas and the need to make a living, the desire to generate income during the university education, and the confidence developed through previous work experience. Thus, it can be argued that the healthcare interpreters, who are more disadvantaged in finding jobs than the NGO and legal field interpreters due to being refugees, perform the interpreting job more out of necessity.

It has been found that the healthcare interpreters, recruited under the title of “patient guide”, take part as active actors in the processes involving refugees in the healthcare institutions, and the role of the practitioners is not limited to only interpreting, as is discussed in many other scholarly studies (Kaufert and Koolage, 1984; Wadensjö,

¹⁵¹ These trainings are not even related to the issues in interpreting in the fullest sense (see Toker, 2019).

¹⁵² As mentioned in Section 6.1., among the 10 interviewed practitioners, only HI-1 seems to be an exception in this respect. HI-1, who has been engaging in literary translation since he was a French language and literature student at university, who currently performs simultaneous interpreting jobs as a freelancer, and who wants to make further investments to improve himself in simultaneous interpreting and to pursue it as a future career, seems to be more integrated in the field of translation and interpreting.

1998; Davidson, 2000; Pöchhacker, 2000; Rosenberg, 2002; Bot, 2003; Clifford, 2004; Angelelli, 2004a, 2004b; Leanza, 2005; Hsieh, 2006; Rudvin and Tomassini, 2008; Öztürk, 2015; Souza, 2016; Kaczmarek, 2016; Santamaría Ciordia, 2016; Şener, 2017; Duman, 2018; Koçlu, 2019). As part of their active roles, the practitioners particularly mention the issues of the additional tasks they perform; the relationships they establish with refugees out of interpreting, involving the issues of pre-interview dialogues, explanations, and recommendations and advice; and the interventions they make during interpreting, involving the issues of explanations, dealing with misstatements, and modifications and omissions in messages. And it is understood that the practitioners inevitably build up relationships with refugees by virtue of the requirements of the job description, the working conditions surrounding them, as well as the sincerity that develops between them and refugees because of coming from the same country and the same cultural background.

Several interviewed healthcare professionals also imply that they expect the patient guides to perform other tasks apart from interpreting. Thus, it can be suggested that due to the dynamic nature of the interpreting job, the service users' and service providers' unfamiliarity with the interpreters' role boundaries, the relevant job description, working conditions and the expectations they bring along; the healthcare interpreters seem to go beyond mere interpreting and sometimes display behaviors in conflict with the principles to be adhered to in interpreting contexts specified in the ethical codes, similar to the legal field interpreters in the present study. The factors giving rise to this situation could also be suggested as the failure of the ethical codes to address the dynamic nature of interpreting and each and every working condition in real life (Wadensjö, 1998; Bot, 2003; Angelelli, 2006) and as the practitioners' lack of professional and educational background that would enable them to act in interpreting situations by using professional judgment.

Another issue emphasized by the healthcare interpreters is the challenging working conditions, and the outstanding factors that create challenges for the interpreters while performing their daily duties are mentioned as gender-related issues, shortage of interpreters leading to an increased workload, bias towards refugees, tense atmosphere

and refugees' problematic expectations. Accordingly, the challenges seem to stem from the heavy work load in the hectic work environment and the specific issues relating to refugees.

Similar to the legal field interpreters, the healthcare interpreters in general view interpreting as a means of establishing communication between people who do not speak languages, and as a critical job, in which they take on an essential role. Moreover, similar to certain NGO interpreters, HI-1, HI-4, HI-6, HI-7 and HI-10 imply that interpreting is also a means of helping people. The healthcare interpreters mention variable public awareness towards the interpreting job and interpreters, similar to the legal field interpreters. On one hand, the majority of the interpreters express that the interpreting job and the interpreters are mostly undervalued and are not attached much importance. On the other hand, several interpreters remark that their work as interpreters is recognized and appreciated to some extent by some of the staff in the healthcare institutions. And within the scope of the professional deficiencies, the most frequently emphasized issues by the healthcare interpreters are the lack of comprehensive trainings for interpreters, unqualified practitioners working in the scope of the project, the shortage of interpreters in the healthcare institutions, and the need for trainings for public officials working with interpreters.

As for maintaining commitment and interest in the public service interpreting job; HI-5, HI-7 and HI-8 mention the disillusionment they have experienced due to the lack of recognition and respect towards interpreters and unfavorable working conditions. The same practitioners as well as HI-10 expressly state that they do not consider public service interpreting as a job they can perform in the long run and that they would like to engage in other jobs they think will better suit their educational background and future expectations. On the other hand, certain practitioners, HI-3, HI-4, HI-6 ve HI-9, who have a narrower educational background and more limited resources, mention their continued interest in the public service interpreting job. However, these practitioners express their doubts and concerns about the sustainability of the current job due to the limited duration of their contracts under the project.

The practitioners HI-1 and HI-2 seem to maintain their commitment and interest in the translation and interpreting field in general. HI-1, who is more invested and integrated in the field yet who is ill at ease in the current job due to the lack of recognition and appreciation towards public service interpreters and unfavorable working conditions, would like to pursue his future career in simultaneous interpreting, which he thinks will provide him with more financial and professional resources. And HI-2 mentions his willingness to become a sworn translator and also to work as a translator in his father's company after the termination of the work in the scope of the project.

Generally speaking, the resources and the forms of capital available to the healthcare interpreters within the scope of the interpreting job under the project are rather low, as is the case with the legal field interpreters. The only resources the healthcare interpreters possess are the linguistic capital, mostly in the embodied state as “native-speaker capacity” (Koskinen, 2020: 110) and partly in the institutionalized state; the economic capital in the form of a regular salary; and the knowledge brought by the in-service trainings organized in the scope of the project. However, the mentioned resources, except for the cultural capital, are of a transient nature due to the limited duration of the project.

Moreover, due to the same factor, the practitioners also do not seem to accumulate social capital in the form of institutional membership and identity, since they are not generally considered as staff members in the fullest sense, unlike the interpreters discussed in the work of Aguilar Solano (2012). Overall, the general lack of recognition of the interpreting profession and the lack of professional development opportunities and professional incentives, as well as the practitioners' lack of educational and professional background and the temporariness of the job they perform are the factors that hinder the healthcare interpreters from converting their available resources, albeit limited, into symbolic value, and from acquiring a professional identity and acting accordingly.

As a matter of fact, the recruitment of the healthcare interpreters in question as full-time staff is a positive step in terms of healthcare interpreting services¹⁵³. However, the improvement of the quality of the healthcare interpreting services, and of the status of public service interpreting and interpreters depends on further steps to be taken in cooperation with the academia and professional associations. To this end, what is initially necessary is the raised selection criteria for the recruitment to the interpreter position and a serious testing method to assess candidates' suitability for the job. It is also necessary to improve the practitioners' working conditions and to provide them with professional development opportunities, involving more comprehensive and regular in-service trainings that will equip them with necessary decision-making skills and professional judgment. Furthermore, a mechanism to monitor the practitioners' professional development, and practical trainings for other professional groups working with interpreters would be highly useful to realize the desired goals.

¹⁵³ Indeed, in many countries, interpreters are generally not employed as full-time staff. They are rather assigned to the institutions through external agencies and organizations for each job to be performed, or volunteers perform interpreting in the absence of professional interpreters (see Section 1.1.4.).

CONCLUSION

The present doctoral research has addressed the public service interpreters bridging communication gaps for Syrian refugees in Turkey as social actors and has produced significant insights into the problem of professional identity formation in the field of public service interpreting. The data obtained through the techniques of interview, questionnaire, and document analysis in the NGO, legal and healthcare contexts has enabled an in-depth examination of the following issues: a) the public service interpreters' social, cultural, educational, and professional backgrounds; b) the institutional and other external conditions surrounding the interpreters; c) the implications of the mentioned issues for the interpreters' interpreting activities and for their attitudes, perceptions and expectations towards public service interpreting.

Public service interpreting has gained more importance and meaning with the increasing migration movements worldwide since the 1980s. In line with this development, the role of interpreters as social actors more involved in communication processes has been foregrounded. The literature analysis, which I presented in the Introduction, has shown that the roles of public service interpreters, the applicability of ethical principles in interpreting in the aforementioned social settings, and the social context influencing interpreters and their work are the issues that have been increasingly addressed in the scholarly studies. The analysis of the literature in the Turkish context has revealed that public service interpreting has been addressed since the 2000s in the scholarly studies focusing on such issues as interpreter roles and positions in the contexts of interpreting in aid at disasters and in the settings of courthouses and healthcare institutions. The literature analysis has also demonstrated that there are almost no scholarly studies in the Turkish context that address the practices of the interpreters providing services to the currently largest group of migrants in Turkey, namely Syrian refugees, in settings such as healthcare institutions, NGOs, courthouses and police units. And it is observed that the existing studies on the subject, which are quite few in number, have only discussed the communication needs of refugees and the importance of public service interpreting in this regard.

Differently from the studies on the subject, I aimed to foreground the individuals working in the field of refugee interpreting as social actors and attempted to problematize the (non)formation of professional identity against the backdrop of a conceptual framework informed by the concepts from Pierre Bourdieu's social theory. Furthermore, differently from the studies that only address the interpreting practices and/or interpreters in one context, I aimed to expand the scope of the research area by examining the interpreters and their activities as well as the social and institutional conditions surrounding them comparatively in the three contexts: the NGO context, involving the ASAM units; the legal context, involving courthouses and police units; the healthcare context, involving the public healthcare institutions giving services to Syrian refugees in the scope of the SIHHAT project.

To this end, I conducted a comprehensive field work, adopting ethnographic principles, in four provinces with the highest Syrian populations (İzmir, Mersin, Adana and Gaziantep). 29 interpreters in total were interviewed (9 NGO interpreters, 10 legal field interpreters and 10 healthcare interpreters), and a questionnaire was conducted with 99 interpreters (34 NGO interpreters, 38 legal field interpreters and 27 healthcare interpreters). Besides, the authorized individuals and public officials working with the interpreters in the mentioned contexts (6 healthcare professionals, 5 legal field professionals, and 3 NGO officials) were interviewed, and context-specific documents on the working conditions and work procedures for the interpreters were collected. The data obtained through the mentioned methods has laid the groundwork for the relevant discussions, which have been conducted in the light of Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1998, 2000), capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1989, 1998) and *illusio* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2000).

In this regard, my study has demonstrated that the majority of the public service interpreters are individuals who do not have the relevant training background or the specialized knowledge required by the interpreting field. In other words, they are individuals who have mostly learned interpreting on-the-job. The most distinctive resource these individuals possess to practice public service interpreting is their inherent linguistic capital acquired naturally based on ethnic origin, family background, and

social environment, namely the factors forming part of primary *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1972, cited in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 134; Bourdieu, 1998). And I claim that in the face of the increased communication needs of the large number of refugees in Turkey, the linguistic capital possessed by the practitioners has in fact turned into a "scarcity value", adding to them a sort of distinction in Bourdieu's (1986) sense. Other than that, the majority of the individuals are not equipped with a rooted belief, namely *illusio*, in the interpreting field, and nor do they have long-term investments, experience and preparedness required for the formation of professional *habitus* in the field. In this sense, I claim that the majority of the practitioners act in a "zone of uncertainty" (Bourdieu, 2000) characterized by the inconsistency between their positions and dispositions. And it has been revealed that this situation has implications for the practitioners' awareness towards professional code of conduct and ethical principles in interpreting and also for their attitudes and expectations towards the job they perform.

In addition to the mentioned general insight, my study has also revealed findings specific to each analyzed context, i.e. the NGO, legal and healthcare contexts. In this regard, it was found that the interpreters in the ASAM units and in the legal context are mostly from the border provinces densely populated with Turkish citizens of Arab origin, whereas the interpreters in the healthcare context, namely the patient guides, are mostly Syrian Turkmen refugees. Since the practitioners in the legal context are not required to submit any document or certificate proving their language proficiency, the linguistic capital possessed by these practitioners has become open to question. As for the educational background, the ASAM interpreters are those having the highest education level among the three groups. With the lowest educational and training backgrounds and the least experience in the field, the legal field interpreters appear to be less disposed towards the interpreting job. Accordingly, my study has shown that the institutional cultural capital in the form of university degree (Bourdieu, 1986) is not at all important to perform interpreting in the legal field. My study has also demonstrated that in each context, only one or two interpreters have sound investments, experience and the relevant background in the interpreting field.

Although the interpreters in the healthcare context, who are mostly refugees and have more limited job opportunities in the host country, have specifically underlined the need to make a living among the motives that have driven them to interpreting job, the interpreters in each context have generally highlighted the inherent aspects of public service interpreting, i.e. humanitarian aid and meeting the needs of vulnerable groups. In this scope, it was found that each group of interpreters accumulate social capital in the form of emotional bonds, affection and empathy developed towards refugees. However, I claim that such bonds established with refugees, namely individuals with relatively lower amount of capital, do not have the potential of yielding symbolic capital to the interpreters. Yet they can nonetheless bring about moral satisfaction to the interpreters.

When the institutional dynamics of each context and the resources available to the interpreters were examined, it was found that the ASAM interpreters have more advantages than the other two groups. Besides the economic capital in the form of a regular salary, which is quite high by Turkey's standards, and the social capital in the form of an institutional identity and membership; the resources available to the ASAM interpreters are the in-service trainings and the institutional code of conduct, which are the elements that can contribute to their professional development. Although the interpreters in the healthcare context have the resources brought by the EU-funded project, such as a regular salary and in-service trainings, the limited duration of their contracts and their refugee background put them on a precarious ground in this sense. In terms of the legal field interpreters, the context they are involved in is characterized by the lack of resources such as institutional identity, standard job assignments and fees, and in-service trainings. Under the circumstances, the majority of the practitioners practice interpreting as a side job, mostly bringing a moral satisfaction to them. Hence, interpreting in this area can not yield sufficient economic capital for many practitioners to maintain their lives.

In terms of the interpreting agency of the practitioners, the NGO interpreters seem to have developed more awareness towards the traditional ethical principles and the role framework of interpreters, specified in the relevant ethical codes and in the code of conduct of ASAM, and also highlighted by the interviewed institution officials. And

as the likely reasons for this situation, I suggest such factors as the regular in-service trainings, the institutional code of conduct, the institutional identity and the supervision mechanism. However, another issue my study has revealed is that in line with the institutional role framework projected for themselves, the NGO interpreters seem to have internalized their restricted autonomy and subservience compared to the other professional groups within the institution.

My study has also demonstrated that the practitioners in the legal and healthcare contexts seem to adopt a more intrusive behavior in interpreting processes and go beyond the traditionally attributed roles of "conduit" or "machine", which is parallel to the findings of the many scholarly studies analyzed in the literature review. In this regard, the practitioners seem to perform other tasks apart from interpreting, such as providing recommendations and guidance, and seem to make interventions during interpreting. In this respect, considering the lack of professional development background of the practitioners, I argue that they mostly act intuitively, rather than based on careful analysis of the situation and professional judgment. In addition to the lack of professional development and experience; the unfamiliarity of both communities in the service area with the concept of interpreting as defined in Western societies, the dynamic nature of the work settings mostly not addressed by the ethical codes and standards prescribing certain behavioral patterns for interpreters, the social aspect of the interpreters' work, and the absence of institutional supervision mechanisms might also explain the interventionist approach of the legal field and healthcare interpreters. And for the healthcare interpreters, most of whom are refugees; the sincerity that develops based on the common *habitus* shared with refugees also seems to be a factor that leads them to take on an interventionist approach. In this respect, I also argue that such interventionist attitudes adopted by the practitioners under the circumstances may in fact cause the disruption of public services, and loss of rights in such important areas as healthcare and law.

More specifically, my study has revealed the legal field interpreters' contradictory attitudes regarding their interpreting agency: On the one hand the majority of the practitioners highlighted the issues of ethical principles, responsibilities, and

restricted authority brought by the environment in which they work, yet on the other hand they made remarks hinting at their interventions in interpreting processes. As for the healthcare interpreters, my analysis has unveiled that when taking part as active actors in the processes involving refugees in the healthcare institutions they work for, they in fact act in line with the job descriptions specified for them under the title of “patient guide”. The practitioners in the healthcare context also foregrounded the challenges they face in the work environment, and the most highlighted issues in this scope were gender-related issues, shortage of interpreters leading to an increased workload, negative biases towards refugees, tense atmosphere, and refugees’ problematic expectations. My analysis has indicated that refugee patients’ communication styles, and their concerns for privacy and reservations about receiving service from a member of the opposite sex might cause certain disruptions in the course of the patient guides’ daily work. As a result of the shortage of interpreters and the increased workload, the patient guides cannot always meet the demands, or they cannot always give a detailed service to every patient. Furthermore, it was understood that the negative biases and discriminatory behavior of Turkish people and sometimes of public officials towards Syrian refugees might create a tense atmosphere in the work setting. And in the face of the tense atmosphere as well as refugee patients’ problematic expectations, the patient guides feel the need to undertake initiative, and they tend to ease the tension of patients, warn them to behave properly or make necessary explanations to them. Overall, I argue that the healthcare interpreters in this study lack the power to handle the mentioned challenges in the work environment. And as the likely reasons for this situation, I suggest their concerns about losing their job, their lack of professional knowledge, development and experience, and the lack of the institutional mechanisms to improve unfavorable conditions affecting the interpreters’ performances.

As for the general awareness towards public service interpreting and interpreters, the majority of the interpreters in the three contexts are of the opinion that public service interpreting is not an appreciated job, and public service interpreters are an undervalued group, although some of the interviewed ASAM officials seem to recognize the linguistic and cultural knowledge of the interpreters, and certain interviewed healthcare

professionals seem to have grown an amount of awareness towards the vital role of the patient guides in meeting the communication needs. In this regard, the majority of the interpreters in each context, especially those in the legal and healthcare contexts, underlined the poor working conditions, the lack of professional development opportunities, and the lack of motivation resources and rewards in public service interpreting. In the healthcare context, interpreters' belonging to/giving service to the marginalized group of refugees was found to be another factor undermining the public recognition and appreciation towards them. Under the circumstances, the majority of the interpreters become disinterested in the job after a while, and some even feel rather disillusioned. And the interpreters in general do not view public service interpreting as a job that can be practiced in the long run. Those having further skills and educational background would like to pursue a future career in other areas of translation and interpreting or in areas that suit their skills, expectations, and educational background. My study has also shown that in the legal context, those who do not have high expectations from the interpreting job they perform find public service interpreting worth practicing merely based on their desire to meet the language needs of refugees. In the healthcare context, those who have lower educational backgrounds and more limited resources maintain their commitment and interest in the public service interpreting job. In this regard, I suggest that for such practitioners, interpreting might be the best job opportunity in the country, where they live as refugees.

In the light of the data obtained through the interviews and questionnaires with the interpreters; the interviews with the service providers/officials; and the document analysis in the NGO, legal and healthcare contexts, my study has overall revealed that public service interpreting in general is an unrecognized and undervalued service area in Turkey. It is mostly viewed as a secondary activity compared to other established fields, such as law, medicine and other technical professions. In other words, it is not viewed as an autonomous field with a clear social definition in Bourdieu's (1984, 1993b) sense. Even most of its practitioners do not view public service interpreting as a profession with strong *habitus*, for which comprehensive and formal education as well as specialized knowledge and skills are required. Although the contexts in which they are

involved offer a degree of resources to some of the interpreters, in the final analysis, the interpreters in general lack the power to define their positions and to form a professional identity, due to their lack of professional development and dispositions required for interpreting, and/or the general lack of awareness towards public service interpreting, and the lack of professional development opportunities, rewards and incentives. Acting in “zones of uncertainty” (Bourdieu, 2000), namely in spaces between strong fields, the interpreters in general are far from accumulating symbolic capital that would strengthen their positions.

Being a country that is most affected from the most significant mass-migration movement of recent years, Turkey hosts the world's largest refugee population. This situation requires public service interpreting, which functions as a bridge between the host society and the refugee community, to be an institutionalized occupation that is performed professionally. In this respect, the interpreting services offered within the institutional framework in the NGO and healthcare contexts are positive developments. However, there is still a long distance to be covered in the institutionalization and professionalization of public service interpreting in Turkey. In the light of the insights obtained, the present doctoral research offers certain suggestions on the subject. First of all, by taking such countries as Sweden, Australia and the UK as an example, a multicultural framework with developed language and interpreting services needs to be adopted towards migrants/refugees at the national level. This framework requires a cooperation between the relevant institutions, the academy and the professional organizations. Through such a cooperation, strong professional standards for public service interpreting need to be introduced, and societal awareness needs to be increased towards public service interpreting. By considering the societal, cultural and national conditions and also by taking into account the dynamic nature of public service interpreting, relevant ethical codes and standards need to be designed. Formal education and training programs need to be enhanced for raising public service interpreters, who are well-equipped in linguistic, communicative and cultural matters and who make informed decisions in interpreting processes based on sound professional judgment. Furthermore, the creation of permanent interpreter positions with the improved working

conditions in institutions will allow public service interpreters to act on a more solid ground.

At the institutional level, the selection criteria for the interpreter position need to be raised, and those who are more invested and disposed to practice the job need to be recruited to the institutions. An aptitude test, prepared in cooperation with the relevant university departments and professional associations, needs to be administered to the candidates. In cooperation with the relevant university departments, the practicing interpreters need to be provided with extensive and regular in-service trainings that will strengthen them professionally. Furthermore, it is necessary to create the mechanisms to monitor the practitioners' professional development. Other professional groups working with interpreters also need to be provided with practical trainings, underlining the significance of the interpreters' roles and the problems that may be caused by unprofessional interpreting services. Fulfillment of the aforementioned conditions will most likely contribute to institutionalization and professionalization of public service interpreting and increase the status of the interpreters. It will also improve the quality and functioning of interpreter-mediated public services received by migrants/refugees.

Lastly, the present doctoral research, which is a candidate to fill the gaps in terms of addressing the perspectives of the interpreters giving service to Syrian refugees and in terms of discussing the interpreters as social actors within a conceptual framework, has also opened up possibilities for further research. One of these might be to explore refugees' perspectives on the functioning of interpreting services and the practices of the interpreters. Moreover, further studies, in which interpreter-mediated encounters are observed, will shed more light on the interpreters' behavioral patterns under real-life conditions. Through such studies, the statements of the interpreters regarding their interpreting behaviors could be verified, and the implications of their behaviors for the services received by the parties could be better assessed. A final further research suggestion is to explore the changes in the career path of the interpreters interviewed in this study. Such a study will provide further insights into whether public service interpreting is a sustainable job in the long run.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Table on Regulations, Associations, Training, Certification and Accreditation Related to Public Service Interpreting in Various Migration Receiving Countries

	Regulation	Association	Training	Certification
Germany		-Der Bundesverband der Dolmetscher und Übersetzer e.V. (BDÜ) -Assoziierte Dolmetscher und Übersetzer in Norddeutschland e.V. (ADÜ Nord)	-240-hour qualification program of Gemeindedolmetscherdienst Dresden und Umland -18-months-training program of SprInt Servicestelle -Gesundheit Berlin e.V., Interkulturelle Büro der Stadt Darmstadt, Diakonie Wuppertal trainings	-Graduation from translation and interpreting training programs of universities in Germany or abroad -Completion of an exam at the State Examination Office or the German Chamber of Industry and Commerce
Italy		-The Italian Association of Translators and Interpreters -Associazione Senza Confini	-Linguistic mediation courses at universities -Trainings provided by NGOs, local government institutions, cooperatives -Irregular courses at UNINT and University of Bologna	

Sweden	-The Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities -The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages -The Swedish immigrant policy -The Code of Judicial Procedure -The Administrative Procedure Act -The Administrative Court Procedures Act -The Health and Medical Services Act -The Nordic Language Convention	- The Swedish Legal, Financial and Administrative Services Agency -The Swedish Association of Interpreters (STOF)	-Courses by Swedish universities -Course by adult education centers and voluntary educational associations supervised by the Institute for Interpretation and Translation Studies at Stockholm University	-Completion of university courses -Completion of the state authorization test administered by the Swedish Legal, Financial and Administrative Services Agency
UK	-The Race Relation Act -The Local Government Act -The Human Rights Act -The United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (UNCRPD) -The EU Directive (2010/64/EU)	-The Chartered Institute of Linguists (implements the National Register for Public Service Interpreters (NRPSI))	-College courses offered by the Institute of Linguists	-The Institute of Linguists' Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (DPSI)

US	-The Federal Court Interpreter's Act	-The Massachusetts Medical Interpreter Association (MMIA) -The National Council on Interpreting in Healthcare -The National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators (NAJIT) -The American Association of Language Specialists (TAALS)	-40-hour Bridging the Gap Training Programs for medical interpreters -Trainings provided by healthcare facilities to the bilingual staff -Degree and certificate programs in judiciary interpreting offered by colleges and institutions -Short court interpreter orientation workshops by courts or certain authorized agencies	-The National Board of Certification of Medical Interpreters -The Certification Commission for Healthcare Interpreters -The National Consortium for State Court Interpreter Certification -Completion of NAJIT examinations -Completion of the Administrative Office certification examination (Spanish) -Completion of the US Department of State conference or seminar interpreter test -Completion of the interpreter test of the United Nations

Canada	-The Multiculturalism Policy of Canada -The Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms -The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms -The Canada Health Act	-The Health Interpreting Network (HIN) -The Critical Link -The Association of Visual Language Interpreters of Canada (AVLIC/AILVC) -The Canadian Translators and Interpreters Council	-Université de Montréal trainings to interpreters of the Montreal Interregional Bank of Interpreters -Training programs for hospital employees serving as interpreters provided by HIN -Diploma programs of community college	-Completion of the Immigration and Refugee Board examination -Assessment systems of interpreter banks -Completion of an achievement test and a court interpreting competency test of court interpreting agencies -The Cultural Interpreter Language and Interpreting Skills Assessment Tool (CILISAT) -The Interpreter Language and Skills Assessment Tool (ILSAT) -Completion of tests for translation and court interpreting by the Canadian Translators and Interpreters Council
Australia	-The Access to Interpreters in the Australian Legal System -The Multiculturalism and the Law	-The National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) -The Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators (AUSIT)	-Training programs at universities and folk high schools -AUSIT training workshops	-Completion of the NAATI test -Certification of federal court interpreters by the central government agency

Appendix 2: The approval of the Ethical Board of the Faculty of Letters of Dokuz Eylül University

T.C
DOKUZ EYLÜL ÜNİVERSİTESİ
EDEBİYAT FAKÜLTESİ
Etik Kurul Kararları

Toplantı Tarihi: 28.06.2018 Toplantı Sayısı: 28

KARAR-6) Fakültemiz Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi Doç.Dr. Atalay GÜNDÜZ'ün danışmanlığında yürütülen Aşlı POLAT ULAŞ'a ait doktora tezi olan ve Doç.Dr. Atalay GÜNDÜZ'ün sorumlu araştırmacı olduğu "Türkiye'de Toplum Çevirmenleri Etrafında Şekillenen Tercümanlık Eğilimi" başlıklı bilimsel çalışmanın etik açıdan uygunluğu incelendi.

Görüşmelerden sonra; Fakültemiz Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi Doç.Dr. Atalay GÜNDÜZ'ün danışmanlığında yürütülen Aşlı POLAT ULAŞ'a ait doktora tezi olan ve Doç.Dr. Atalay GÜNDÜZ'ün sorumlu araştırmacı olduğu "Türkiye'de Toplum Çevirmenleri Etrafında Şekillenen Tercümanlık Eğilimi" başlıklı bilimsel çalışmanın Fakültemiz Etik Kurulu'na etik açıdan uygunluğuna oy birliği ile karar verildi.

(ETİK KURUL ÜYELERİNİN İMZALARI)

Prof.Dr. Mustafa DAŞ (Başkan-Dekan Vekili)
Prof.Dr. Recai TEKOĞLU (Üye-İmza)
Prof.Dr. Levent AYSEVER (Üye-İmza)
Prof.Dr. Gülay DİRİK (Üye-İmza)
Doç.Dr. Yeşim BAŞARIR (Üye-İmza)
Doç.Dr. Aygün EKİN MERİÇ (Üye-İmza)
Doç.Dr. Özge CAN (Üye-İmza)
Dr.Öğr.Üy. Urungu AKGÜL (Üye-İmza)
Dr.Öğr.Üy. Müge IŞIKLAR KOÇAK (Üye-İmza)
Dr.Öğr.Üy. Devrim Çetin GÜVEN (Üye-İmza)
Dr.Öğr.Üy. Gazanfer KAYA (Üye-İmza)
Dr.Öğr.Üy. Nurcan ŞEN (Üye-İmza)
Raporör Muharrem ÖZDEMİR

Appendix 3: Consent Form

BİLGİLENDİRİLMİŞ GÖNÜLLÜ OLUR FORMU (CONSENT FORM)

Toplum çevirmenliği başlığı altında Türkiye’de sivil toplum kuruluşu, sağlık ve hukuk bağlamlarında Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet veren toplum çevirmenlerini ele alan bu araştırma, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Mütercim Tercümanlık Anabilim Dalı Çeviribilim Bölümü Doktora Öğrencisi Aslı POLAT ULAŞ tarafından Doç. Dr. Atalay GÜNDÜZ danışmanlığında yürütülmekte olan tez çalışmasının zorunlu bir parçasıdır.

Araştırmanın amacı yukarıda anılan bağlamlarda Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet veren toplum çevirmenlerinin çeviri eylemlerine ve genel olarak tercümanlık mesleğine yönelik algı, tutum ve beklentilerini incelemek ve anılan bağlamlarda çeviri süreçlerinde yer alan ve çevirmenlerle çalışan hizmet sağlayıcıların konu ile ilgili görüşleri ile süreçlere ilişkin çeşitli dokümanlardan da yararlanarak Türkiye’de toplum çevirmenliği alanındaki mesleki ve akademik eksiklikleri ortaya çıkarmaktır.

Araştırma sırasında sizden alınacak bilgiler gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırma amaçlı kullanılacaktır. Araştırma sürecinde konu ile ilgili her türlü soru ve görüşleriniz için aşağıda iletişim bilgisi bulunan araştırmacıyla görüşebilirsiniz. Bu araştırmaya katılmama hakkınız bulunmaktadır. Aynı zamanda çalışmaya katıldıktan sonra çalışmadan çıkabilirsiniz. Bu formu onaylamanız, araştırmaya katılım için onam verdiğiniz anlamına gelecektir.

Çalışmaya Katılım Onayı:

Katılmam beklenen çalışma ile ilgili ayrıntılı açıklamalar sözlü olarak araştırmacı tarafından yapıldı. Bu çalışma ile ilgili faydalar ve riskler ile ilgili bilgilendirildim ve gönüllü olarak çalışma süresince üzerime düşen sorumlulukları anladım.

Bu araştırmaya kendi isteğimle, hiçbir baskı ve zorlama olmaksızın katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Katılımcının (Islak imzası ile)

Adı-Soyadı:

İmzası:

Araştırmacının

Adı-Soyadı:

E-posta:

İmzası:

Appendix 4: Interview Questions for the Interpreters

Social and Work Trajectory

1. Nerelisiniz? Ana diliniz nedir?
Where are you from? What is your mother tongue?
2. Eğitim durumunuz?
Your educational background?
3. Tercümanlık eğitimi aldınız mı?
Have you received interpreter training?
4. Bildiğiniz yabancı diller? Çalışma dilleriniz?
Which foreign languages do you speak? What are your working languages?
5. Çalışma dillerinizi nasıl öğrendiniz?
How have you learned your working languages?
6. Kaç yıldır tercümanlık yapıyorsunuz?
How long have you been practicing interpreting?
7. Neden ve nasıl tercümanlık mesleğini seçtiniz?
Why and how did you choose the interpreting job?
8. Tercümanlık yapmanıza elverecek karakter özellikleriniz nelerdir?
What are your character traits that allow you to do interpreting?
9. Boş zamanlarınızda yabancı diliniz ya da çeviri ile ilgili bir şey yapar mısınız? Bunlar nelerdir?
What do you do to improve your language or interpreting skills in your free time?
10. Aile bireylerinizin eğitim ve mesleki durumu nedir? Ailede sizden başka tercümanlık yapan var mıdır?
What is the educational and professional status of your family members? Are there any other interpreters in the family?
11. Aile bireylerinizin yabancı dil becerileri nasıldır?
Which foreign language(s) do your family members speak?

Perceptions of Image and Role as Interpreters

1. Tercüman olarak rolünüzü nasıl tanımlarsınız?
How would you describe your role as an interpreter?
2. Sizce tercümanlık statü bakımından nasıl bir meslektir? Benzetebileceğiniz başka bir meslek var mıdır? Geliri tatminkar mıdır? Tercümanlığın yanı sıra başka bir işle uğraşıyor musunuz?
What kind of a profession do you think is interpreting? Is there any other profession you can compare? Is the income satisfactory? Do you engage in another job besides interpreting?
3. Kamu görevlileri işinizle ilgili size talimat verirler mi? Size saygı duyduklarını düşünüyor musunuz?
Do public officials instruct you about your job? Do you think they respect you?

4. Sizce kamu görevlilerine tercümanlık hizmetlerine ilişkin eğitim verilmeli midir?
Do you think that public officials should be given training on how to work with interpreters?
5. Sizce taraflar tercüman olarak rolünüzü doğru algılıyor mu?
Do you think the parties of interpreting processes clearly perceive your role as an interpreter?

Expectations

1. Göçmenlerin ve kamu görevlilerinin tercüman olarak sizden beklentileri nelerdir? Bu beklentiler yaptığınız işi etkiler mi?
What are the expectations of immigrants/refugees and public officials from you as an interpreter? Do these expectations affect the work you do?

Perceptions of Autonomy

1. Tercümanlık hizmetiniz sırasında hiç inisiyatif alıyor musunuz? Alıyorsanız hangi durumlarda ve neden alıyorsunuz?
Do you undertake any initiative during interpreting? If so, when and why?
2. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında tarafların hatalı ifadelerini düzeltir misiniz? Düzeltirseniz bunu belirtir misiniz?
Do you correct the misstatements of the parties during interpreting? If so, do you inform the parties about this?
3. Size tercümanlık sırasında fikriniz sorulsa ya da tavsiye vermeniz istense ne yaparsınız?
What do you do if you are asked for your opinion or asked for advice during interpreting?
4. Tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında taraflar arasında gerginlik oluşması durumunda ne yaparsınız?
What do you do in the tense atmosphere between the parties during interpreting?
5. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında bağımsız olarak açıklama yapar mısınız?
Do you give explanations during interpreting?

Perceptions of Norms and Ethics

1. Tercümanlıkta sizin geliştirdiğiniz prensipler var mıdır?
Are there any principles that you have established in the interpreting job you perform?
2. Tarafların söylediklerini tercüme ederken onların ağızıyla mı yoksa dolaylı mı konuşursunuz?
Do you use first-person or third-person pronouns during interpreting?
3. Aynı bölgeden, kültürel yapıdan, etnik gruptan, dini inanıştan gelmek tarafsızlığını etkiliyor mu?
Does coming from the same region, cultural background, ethnic group, religious belief with immigrants/refugees affect your impartiality?
4. Tercümanlık hizmetiniz sırasında tarafların erkek-kadın olması verdiğiniz hizmeti etkiler mi? Onlar açısından bu durum fark eder mi?

Does the parties' gender affect your interpreting performance? Does this matter to them?

5. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında söylenenleri özetler misiniz? Evetse hangi durumlarda özetlersiniz?

Do you summarize information during interpreting? If so, in what situations do you summarize?

6. Tercümanlık hizmeti öncesi veya sonrasında taraflarla konuya ilişkin görüşme yapar mısınız? Yapıp yapmamanız tercüme hizmetinizi ne şekilde etkiler?

Do you have an interview with the parties before or after interpreting? In what way does this situation affect your interpreting performance?

Challenges and Strategies

1. Tercüme yaparken alanla ilgili terim ve ifadeleri çevirirken zorlanıyor musunuz?

Zorlandığınız durumlarda nasıl bir çözüm üretiyorsunuz?

Do you have difficulty interpreting field-specific terms and expressions? What kind of solutions do you come up with when you have difficulty?

2. Tercümanlık hizmetleriniz sırasında örneğin bir travma durumunda duygusal olarak etkilenir misiniz, yoksa kendinizi uzak mı tutarsınız?

Are you emotionally affected in traumatic cases during interpreting, or can you keep yourself apart?

3. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında konuşulanların yanı sıra duyguları da aktarabiliyor musunuz? Aktarıyorsanız nasıl aktarıyorsunuz?

Can you also convey emotions during interpreting? If so, how do you do it?

4. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında kültürel öğeleri çevirmek için ne yaparsınız?

How do you interpret cultural elements?

5. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında hassas ifadeleri çevirmek için ne yaparsınız?

How do you interpret abusive or vulgar speech elements?

6. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında lehçe/şive farklılıkları sorun teşkil eder mi?

Do the differences in dialect/accent create a problem for you during interpreting?

Professional Prospects

1. Sizce tercümanlığın meslek olarak geliştirilmesi için ne yapılmalıdır?

What needs to be done to improve interpreting as a profession?

2. Sizce tercümanlık mesleğini ne kadar sürdürebilirsiniz? 10 yıl sonra da kendinizi bu meslekte görüyor musunuz?

How long do you think you can continue in the interpreting job? Do you envisage it as a job you could also perform 10 years later?

**Tercümanlık hizmetleriniz sırasında başınızdan geçen ilginç bir olayı anlatır mısınız?*

Can you narrate an interesting experience of yours during the interpreting services you have provided?

Appendix 5: Questionnaire for the Interpreters

TOPLUM ÇEVİRMENLERİNİN TERCÜMANLIK MESLEĞİNE VE TERCÜMANLIK EYLEMLERİNE YÖNELİK ALGI ANKETİ

Değerli Katılımcı,

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye’de bulunan Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet veren tercümanların mesleğe karşı tutumları ile tercüme eylemlerine ilişkin bilgi toplamaktır. Ankette bulunan sorulara vereceğiniz cevaplar yalnızca bilimsel amaçlarla kullanılacak olup kesinlikle gizli tutulacaktır.

Bu anket üç bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölüm kişisel bilgilere yönelik 12 sorudan; ikinci bölüm tercümanların görev kapsamı ve mesleğe karşı tutumlarına yönelik 20 ifadeden; üçüncü bölüm ise tercümanların Suriyeli mültecilere verdikleri hizmetler kapsamındaki tercüme eylemlerine yönelik 30 ifadeden meydana gelmektedir.

Anket sonuçlarının sağlıklı olabilmesi için soruları samimi ve doğru olarak yanıtlamanız gerekmektedir.

İlgi ve yardımlarınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederim.

Arş. Gör. Aslı POLAT ULAŞ

Adana Bilim ve Teknoloji Üniversitesi

Mütercim Tercümanlık Bölümü

BİRİNCİ BÖLÜM

Cinsiyet	Kadın ()	Erkek ()			
Uyruk	T.C. ()	Diğer ()			
Yaş					
Eğitim Durumu	İlkokul veya Ortaokul mezunu ()	Lise ve dengi okul mezunu ()	Ön lisans (2 yıllık) ()	Üniversite (4 yıllık) ()	Master veya Doktora ()
Anadil (Bir tane işaretleyiniz.)	Türkçe ()	Arapça ()	Kürtçe ()	Farsça ()	Diğer ()
Çalışma Dilleri (Uygun olan bütün seçenekleri işaretleyiniz.)	Türkçe ()	Arapça ()	Kürtçe ()	İngilizce ()	Diğer ()

Tercümanlık yaptığınız dilleri öğrenme şekliniz (Uygun olan bütün seçenekleri işaretleyiniz.)	Anadil veya ikinci dil ()	Okul-Üniversite ()	Kurs ()	Kendi çabam ()	Diğer ()
Tercümanlık eğitimi aldınız mı?	Evet ()	Hayır ()			
Tercümanlık eğitimi türü	Lisans ()	Yüksek lisans ()	Sertifika programı ()	Hizmet içi eğitim ()	Diğer ()
Tercümanlığı aslen hangi kuruma bağlı olarak yapıyorsunuz?	Dernek/Vakıf/Sivil Toplum Kuruluşu ()	Hastane ()	Adliye ()	Serbest ()	Diğer ()
Tercüman olarak çalıştığınız yerler (Uygun olan bütün seçenekleri işaretleyiniz.)	Hastane ()	Adliye ()	Polis karakolu ()	Eğitim Kurumu ()	Diğer ()
Tercümanlık deneyimi	1 yıl ()	2 yıl ()	3 yıl ()	4 yıl ()	5 yıl ve üstü ()

İKİNCİ BÖLÜM

Bu bölüm, tercümanların görev kapsamı ve mesleğe karşı tutumlarına yönelik 20 ifadeden oluşmaktadır. Lütfen bu ifadeleri kendi düşünceleriniz doğrultusunda;

1-Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum, 2-Katılmıyorum, 3-Fikrim Yok, 4-Katılıyorum, 5-Kesinlikle Katılıyorum, seçeneklerinden birini tik (X) koyarak cevaplandırınız.

NO	İFADELER	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Fikrim Yok	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1.	Tercümanlara ödenen ücret yeterlidir.					
2.	Tercümanlık, statüsü yüksek bir meslektir.					
3.	Tercümanlık etik kuralları olan bir meslektir.					
4.	Tercümanlık için bir meslek kılavuzu gereklidir.					
5.	Tercümanlar gerektiğinde mültecilere çeviri işi dışında da yardım edebilirler.					
6.	Tercümanlar ortak özelliklerinin fazla olduğu tarafa yakınlık duyabilirler.					
7.	Tercümanlıkta profesyonellik kendi sesini çeviriye katmamaktır.					
8.	Doğru çeviri anlamın aktarılmasıdır; anlam aktarıldığı sürece her bir detayın verilmesi gerekli değildir.					
9.	Tercümanlıkta çevrilen ifadeler kesin olmalıdır; tahmin yürütülmemelidir.					
10.	Tercüme sırasında önemli olan, ihtiyacı olan tarafın ihtiyacının karşılanmasıdır.					
11.	Tercümanların ortak özelliklerinin fazla olduğu tarafla güven ilişkisi kurması yeterlidir.					
12.	Tercümanlar sözle ifade edilmeyen duyguları da aktarmakla yükümlüdürler.					
13.	Tercümanlar taraflara tavsiyelerde bulunabilirler.					
14.	Tercümanlar taraflardan birinin yanlış bilgi vermesi durumunda bunu düzeltebilirler.					
15.	Tercümanlar gereken durumda bir tarafı diğer tarafa karşı savunabilirler.					
16.	Taraflar arasında herhangi bir gerginlik yaşanması durumunda tercümanlar duruma müdahale edebilirler.					
17.	Taraflardan birinin uygunsuz ifade kullanması durumunda tercümanlar uyarıda bulunabilirler.					
18.	Tercümanların işi sadece söylenenleri çevirmektir; bunun dışında bir görev yapmaları doğru değildir.					
19.	Tercümanların tercümanlık eğitimi alması gereklidir.					
20.	Tercümanlarla çalışan görevlilerin tercümanlık hizmetlerine ilişkin eğitim almaları gereklidir.					

ÜÇÜNCÜ BÖLÜM

Bu bölüm tercümanların Suriyeli mültecilere verdikleri hizmetler kapsamındaki tercüme eylemlerine yönelik 30 ifadeden oluşmaktadır. Lütfen bu ifadeleri kendi düşünceleriniz doğrultusunda;
1-Hiçbir zaman, 2-Arada bir, 3-Bazen, 4-Çoğu zaman, 5-Her zaman,
 seçeneklerinden birini tik (X) koyarak cevaplandırınız.

NO	İFADELER	Hiçbir zaman	Arada bir	Bazen	Çoğu zaman	Her zaman
1.	Tercümanlık yaparken tarafsızlığımı korurum.					
2.	İletişim sırasında herhangi bir taraf uygunsuz ifade kullanırsa onu uyarırım.					
3.	Sözle ifade edilmeyen duyguları da çeviririm.					
4.	Taraflar yanlış bilgi verirse bunu düzeltirim.					
5.	İletişim akışını sadece ben kontrol ederim.					
6.	Çeviriye kendi sesimi karıştırmam.					
7.	Tercümanlık yaparken gereken durumda mültecileri savunurum.					
8.	Taraflar arasında sözlü çatışma olursa müdahale ederim.					
9.	Mültecilere kültür farklılıkları ile ilgili tavsiyelerde bulunurum.					
10.	Tercümanlık sırasında lehçe farklılıklarına dikkat ederim.					
11.	Tercümanlık hizmetinden önce taraflara kendimi tanıtırım.					
12.	Arapça dışında başka bir dil (İngilizce, vb.) üzerinden de tercümanlık yaparım.					
13.	Tercümanlık hizmetinden önce taraflarla bilgi alışverişinde bulunurum.					
14.	Tercümanlık hizmetinden sonra taraflarla bilgi alışverişinde bulunurum.					
15.	Tercümanlık dışı görevleri de (form doldurma, vb.) yerine getiririm.					
16.	Tercümanlık dışı görevleri yerine getirmekten memnuniyet duyarım.					
17.	Mülteciler benden tercümanlık dışı görevleri yerine getirmemi de beklerler.					
18.	Kamu görevlileri benden tercümanlık dışı görevleri yerine getirmemi de beklerler.					
19.	Mülteciler tercüman olarak bana saygı duyarlar.					
20.	Kamu görevlileri tercüman olarak bana saygı duyarlar.					
21.	Mülteciler iş ilişkisi açısından bana güvenirlir.					
22.	Kamu görevlileri iş ilişkisi açısından bana güvenirlir.					
23.	Ben mültecilere iş ilişkisi açısından güvenirim.					
24.	Ben kamu görevlilerine iş ilişkisi açısından güvenirim.					
25.	Tercümanlık sırasında ortak özelliğimin fazla olduğu tarafa yakınlık duyarım.					
26.	Anlamın aktarılabilmesi için bazı ifadeleri yorumlayarak çeviririm.					
27.	Kamu görevlileri nasıl tercüme yapmam konusunda bana talimat verirler.					
28.	Tarafların söylediklerini 1. tekil şahıs zamiri (ben) kullanarak tercüme ederim. (tarafların kendisi konuşuyormuş gibi)					
29.	Hizmet verdiğim kişiye göre üslup değiştiririm.					

30.	Tercümanlıkta kendimi başarılı bulurum.					

Değerli Katılımcı,

Konu ile ilgili ileri bir zamanda başka sorulara cevap vermek veya bu çalışmanın sonuçlarını almak istiyorsanız, lütfen iletişim bilgilerinizi yazınız.

___ Konu ile ilgili başka bir görüşme yapmak isterim.

___ Bu çalışmanın sonuçlarını almak isterim.

Ad-Soyad: _____

Telefon: _____

E-Posta: _____

Gösterdiğiniz ilgi ve ayırdığınız zaman için teşekkürler!



Appendix 6: Interview Questions for the NGO Officials

1- Ülkemizdeki Suriyelilerin en temel ihtiyaçları nelerdir?

What are the main needs of Syrians in Turkey?

2- Suriyelilerin hangi ihtiyaçlarını karşılıyorsunuz?

As an NGO, what needs of Syrians do you meet?

3- Suriyeli göçmenlerin genel olarak dilsel iletişim ihtiyaçları nasıl karşılanmaktadır?

How are Syrian refugees' language needs met in general?

4- Suriyelilerle nasıl, hangi diller ve kimler aracılığıyla iletişim kuruyorsunuz?

How do you communicate with Syrians?

5- Dil ihtiyaçlarının karşılanması için en etkili yöntem sizce nedir?

What do you think is the most effective method to meet the language needs?

6- Suriyelilere hizmet veren tercümanlarla nasıl iletişime geçiyorsunuz?

How do you contact the interpreters giving service to refugees?

7- Tercümanlar genel olarak tercümanlık eğitimine sahip kişiler midir? Genel olarak eğitim durumları nedir?

Are interpreters generally trained in interpreting? What is their educational background in general?

8- Tercümanları seçme ve onlarla çalışma kriterleriniz nedir?

What are your criteria for selecting and working with interpreters?

9- Tercümanlarla gizlilik sözleşmesi türünden sözleşme yapıyor musunuz?

Do you make a confidentiality contract with interpreters?

10- Tercümanlarla aranızdaki güven ilişkisini nasıl sağlarsınız?

How do you develop trust in interpreters?

11- Tercümanlar göçmenler için en çok hangi kurumlarda çalışıyorlar?

In which institutions do interpreters mostly give service?

12- Tercümanlara ne kadar ödeme yapılıyor? Ücreti kim belirliyor ve kim ödeme yapıyor?

How much are interpreters paid? Who sets the fee and who pays it?

13- Tercümanlar, göçmenler ya da kamu görevlileri için tercümanlık dışı işler de (form doldurma, eczaneden ilaç alma, vb.) yerine getiriyorlar mı? Bundan şikâyetçi oluyorlar mı?

Do interpreters also perform tasks unrelated to interpreting (filling out forms, buying medication from the pharmacy, etc.)? If so, do they complain about this?

14- Suriyelilere hizmet veren tercümanların rolünü nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

How would you view the role of interpreters giving service to Syrian refugees?

15- Göçmenlerin tercümanlardan beklentileri nelerdir? Tercümanlar beklentileri karşılıyor mu?

What are the expectations of immigrants/refugees from interpreters? Do interpreters meet these expectations?

16- Kamu görevlilerinin tercümanlardan beklentileri nelerdir? Tercümanlar beklentileri karşılıyor mu?

What are the expectations of public officials from interpreters? Do interpreters meet these expectations?

17- Tercümanlarla ilgili göçmenler ya da kamu görevlilerinden şikâyet geliyor mu? Bu durumda tutumunuz ne oluyor?

Are there any complaints from immigrants/refugees or public officials about the interpreters? In this case, what is your attitude?

18- Tercüman ihtiyacı olanlar, tercümanlarla doğrudan (sizden bağımsız bir şekilde) irtibat kurabiliyorlar mı?

Are those who need interpreters able to contact interpreters directly (independently of you)?

19- Tercümanların göçmenlere hizmet verirken bağımsız olarak inisiyatif aldıkları durumlar olur mu? Bunlar nelerdir?

Are there situations in which interpreters undertake initiative independently while giving service to immigrants/refugees? If so, what are these?

20- Tercümanların uyması gereken etik kurallar var mıdır? Bunlar nelerdir?

Are there ethical rules that interpreters must follow? What are these?

21- Tercümanların göçmenler ile çalışırken karşılaştıkları en büyük zorluklar/sorunlar nelerdir? Bu sorunlarla nasıl başa çıkarlar?

What are the biggest challenges/problems that interpreters face when working with immigrants/refugees? How do they deal with these problems?

22- Sizce göçmenlere sağlanan tercüme hizmetlerinde kalite nedir?

What do you think is the measure of quality in interpreting services provided to immigrants/refugees?

23- Sizce göçmenlere sağlanan tercümanlık hizmetleri yeterli mi? Değilse hizmetlerin iyileştirilmesi için ne tür öneriler sunabilirsiniz?

Do you think interpreting services provided to immigrants/refugees are sufficient? If not, what suggestions can you offer to improve services?

24- İşbirliđi içinde olduđunuz kurumlar var mıdır? Nelerdir?

With which institutions do you cooperate?

25- Tercümanlık mesleđi açısından akademik ayakla herhangi bir bađ kurma girişiminiz oldu mu? Bunun önemi nedir sizce?

Have you ever attempted to cooperate with the academic platform for interpreting services?

What do you think is the importance of this?

26- Göçmenler için yaptığınız bu iş size itibar sağlıyor mu?

Does this job you do for immigrants/refugees build a reputation for you?

27- Sizce sizin statünüz nedir? Göçmenler ve kamu görevlileri sizi nasıl görürüler?

What do you think is your status? How do immigrants/refugees and public officials view you?

Appendix 7: Interview Questions for the Service Providers in the Legal and Healthcare Contexts

1. Göçmenlere hizmet vermenin zorlukları var mıdır? Nelerdir?
2. Tercüman olmadan Suriyeli göçmenlerle iletişim kurabiliyor musunuz?
3. Tercümanlarla çalışmanın zorlukları var mıdır? Nelerdir?
4. Göçmenler için tercümanlık hizmetlerini faydalı ve yeterli buluyor musunuz? Bulmuyorsanız hizmetlerin iyileştirilmesi için ne tür öneriler sunabilirsiniz?
5. Tercümanlar sözle ifade edilmeyen duyguları da aktarabiliyorlar mı?
6. Suriyeli göçmenlere hizmet verirken tercümanların sizin söylediklerinize ne derece sadık kaldıklarına inanıyorsunuz? Tercümanlarla güven ilişkisini nasıl kurarsınız?
7. Tercümanların size söylediklerine ne derece inanıyorsunuz?
8. Tercümanlar yaptıkları işte tarafsız davranırlar mı? Değilse hangi tarafa daha yakın dururlar?
9. Tercümanların gizlilik kurallarına uyduklarına, başka bir deyişle tercüme konusu bilgileri başka yerde paylaşmadıklarına inanıyor musunuz?
10. Tercümanlar sizin kişilik haklarınıza saygılı mıdır? Göçmenlerin lehine size herhangi bir saygısızlıkları olur mu?
11. Tercümanlar tercümanlık dışı işler de (form doldurma, eczaneden ilaç alma, vb.) yerine getiriyorlar mı? Bundan şikâyetçi oluyorlar mı?
12. Tercümanlarla tercümanlık hizmetinden önce veya sonra o günkü tercümanlık durumuna ilişkin ne ölçüde bilgi alışverişinde bulunursunuz?
13. Tercümanlar göçmenlerin söylediklerini tercüme ederken onların ağzıyla mı yoksa dolaylı mı konuşurlar?
14. Tercümanlar sizi göçmenlere ya da göçmenleri size karşı savunurlar mı? Olursa hangi durumda olur?
15. Tercümanlar çeviri yapmak dışında müdahalede bulunurlar mı? Hangi durumlarda bulunurlar?
16. Tercümanlar kültürel farklar konusunda size uyarılarda/tavsiyelerde bulunurlar mı? Bulunurlarsa genellikle ne ile ilgili olur?
17. Tercümanlarla ne ölçüde işbirliği içinde çalışırsınız?
18. Tercümanlara işleri ile ilgili talimat verir misiniz?
19. Tercümanlardan tercümanlık dışı hizmetlerde de yardım bekler misiniz? Hangi durumlarda yardım beklersiniz?
20. Size göre tercümanların rolü nedir? Bağımsız inisiyatif alması gereken kişiler mi yoksa sadece söylenenleri çeviren kişiler mi?
21. Tercümanların mesleki yönden eksiklikleri olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Düşünüyorsanız hangi alanlarda eksikliklerini görmektesiniz?
22. Tercümanlık hizmetlerinde profesyonelliği ne ölçüde önemli buluyorsunuz?
23. Sizce tercümanların yaptıkları işle ilgili eğitim almaları ne derece önemlidir?
24. Tercümanlarla çalışma konusunda size eğitim verilmesini ister misiniz?

Appendix 8: ASAM Job Posting for the Interpreters

ARAPÇA TERCÜMAN



Sığınmacılar ve Göçmenlerle Dayanışma Derneği

SGDD-ASAM olarak, büyümekte olan ekibimiz içerisinde, aşağıdaki niteliklere sahip “Tercüman” arayışı içerisindeyiz.

Genel Nitelikler

- Üniversitelerin ilgili bölümlerinden mezun,
- Çok iyi derecede Arapça ve Türkçe bilen,
- Simültane ve ardıl tercüme konularında deneyimli,
- Uzmanlık alanında en az 3 yıl deneyim (Kurumsal şirketlerde veya çevirmenlik bürolarında deneyim tercih sebebidir)
- İnsani Yardım İlkeleri, Suriye Krizi ve mültecilerle ilgili bilgi sahibi olan,
- Diksiyonu düzgün, iletişim becerileri güçlü ve takım çalışmasına yatkın
- Güçlü iletişim becerisi olan ve farklı kültürlerden kişiler ile çalışabilen,
- Dernek ilkeleri ve kurum kültürüne uyum sağlayabilecek
- Yabancı uyruklu ise; çalışma izni alabilecek özelliklere sahip olan,
- İlgili şehirde ikamet eden ya da ikamet etmeye istekli,

Görev Tanımı

- Görüşmelerde sözlü olarak tercüme yapmak ve konuşulan konuları takip ederek eksiksiz aktarmak,
- Kurum ve kuruluşlar ile hastanelerde, sığınmacılar ve mültecilere işlemlerini gerçekleştirme konusunda yardımcı olmak,
- Eğitimler ve toplantılar gibi etkinliklerde sözlü tercüme yapmak,

İlgilenen adayların, hr@sgdd-asam.org adresine e-mail konusuna,

“ARAPÇA TERCÜMAN-

ÇANKIRI/KONYA/MARDİN/ÇORUM/SİVAS/UŞAK/YOZGAT/BOLU” yazarak, özgeçmişini ve motivasyon mektubu göndermeleri gerekmektedir.

Yalnızca kısa listeye giren adaylarla iletişime geçilecektir. Telefon ve e-posta yoluyla bilgilendirme yapılmayacaktır.

SGDD-ASAM HAKKINDA

20 yılı aşkın süredir, SGDD-ASAM kendisini, mültecilerin ve sığınmacıların Türkiye'de karşılaştıkları sorunlara çözüm yolu bulmaya, birincil ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya ve temel hak ve hizmetlerden yararlanmalarını sağlamak için destek vermeye adanmıştır. Kuruluşundan bu yana SGDD-ASAM, çatışma bölgelerinden gelen sığınmacılara ve mültecilere psiko-sosyal destek sağlamaktadır.

İLETİŞİM

Adres: Aşağı Dikmen Mah. Galip Erdem

Cad. No: 42 Çankaya/ANKARA

İdari Birimler

Telefon : +90 312 427 55 83 (Santral)

Telefon : +90 312 212 60 12 (Santral)

Telefon : +90 312 212 60 13 (Santral)

Faks : +90 312 212 60 15 (Satın alma)

E-posta : sgdd@sgdd.org.tr

BİZİ TAKİP EDİN!

Mülteci Danışmanlık Hattı

444 48 68

Öneri ve Şikayet

complaint@sgdd-asam.org

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Appendix 9: The Articles of the Turkish Code of Criminal Procedure Related to Court Interpreting and Interpreters

Tercüman bulundurulacak hâller

Madde 202 – (1) Sanık veya mağdur, meramını anlatabilecek ölçüde Türkçe bilmiyorsa; mahkeme tarafından atanan tercüman aracılığıyla duruşmadaki iddia ve savunmaya ilişkin esaslı noktalar tercüme edilir.

(2) Engelli olan sanığa veya mağdura, duruşmadaki iddia ve savunmaya ilişkin esaslı noktalar, anlayabilecekleri biçimde anlatılır.

(3) Birinci ve ikinci fıkrâ hükümleri, soruşturma evresinde dinlenen şüpheli, mağdur veya tanıklar hakkında da uygulanır. Bu evrede tercüman, hâkim veya Cumhuriyet savcısı tarafından atanır.⁽¹⁾

Yargılama giderleri

Madde 324 – (1) Harçlar ve tarifesine göre ödenmesi gereken avukatlık ücretleri ile soruşturma ve kovuşturma evrelerinde yargılamanın yürütülmesi amacıyla Devlet Hazinesinden yapılan her türlü harcamalar ve taraflarca yapılan ödemeler yargılama giderleridir.

(2) Hüküm ve kararda yargılama giderlerinin kimlere yükletileceği gösterilir.

(3) Giderlerin miktarı ile iki taraftan birinin diğerine ödemesi gereken paranın miktarını mahkeme başkanı veya hâkim belirler.

(4) Devlete ait yargılama giderlerine ilişkin kararlar, Harçlar Kanunu hükümlerine göre; kişisel haklara ilişkin kararlar, 9.6.1932 tarihli ve 2004 sayılı İcra ve İflâs Kanunu hükümlerine göre yerine getirilir. (Ek cümle: 2/7/2012-6352/100 md.) Devlete ait yargılama giderlerinin 21/7/1953 tarihli ve 6183 sayılı Amme Alacaklarının Tahsil Usulü Hakkında Kanunun 106 ncı maddesindeki terkin edilmesi gereken tutarlardan az olması halinde, bu giderin Devlet Hazinesine yüklenmesine karar verilir.

(5) Türkçe bilmeyen ya da engelli olan şüpheli, sanık, mağdur veya tanık için görevlendirilen tercümanın giderleri, yargılama gideri sayılmaz ve bu giderler Devlet Hazinesince karşılanır.

Appendix 10: The Regulation on Drafting the Lists of Court Interpreters

5 Mart 2013 SALI

Resmî Gazete

Sayı : 28578

YÖNETMELİK

Adalet Bakanlığından:

CEZA MUHALEMESİ KANUNUNA GÖRE TERCÜMAN

LİSTELERİNİN DÜZENLENMESİ HAKKINDA

YÖNETMELİK

BİRİNCİ BÖLÜM

Amaç, Kapsam, Dayanak ve Tanımlar

Amaç ve kapsam

MADDE 1 – (1) Bu Yönetmeliğin amacı, ceza muhakemesinde;

- Soruşturma veya kovuşturma evresinde meramını anlatabilecek ölçüde Türkçe bilmeyen ya da engelli olan mağdur, tanık, şüpheli veya sanığın iddia veya savunmaya ilişkin beyanlarının,
- Kovuşturma evresinde iddianamenin okunması ve esas hakkındaki mütalaanın verilmesi üzerine sanığın kendisini daha iyi ifade edebileceğini beyan ettiği başka bir dilde yapacağı sözlü savunmasının,

Türkçeye çevrilmesi için oluşturulacak tercüman listelerine ilişkin usul ve esasları düzenlemektir.

(2) Bu Yönetmelik; il adli yargı ilk derece mahkemesi adalet komisyonları tarafından tercüman listelerinin düzenlenmesi, güncellenmesi, tercüman olarak başvurabilecek olanların uzman oldukları dillerin belirlenmesi ve nitelikleri, başvuru şekli, başvuruların değerlendirilmesi, kabulü ve listeden çıkarılma usul ve esasları ile tercümanlarca uyulması gereken ilkeleri kapsar.

Dayanak

MADDE 2 – (1) Bu Yönetmelik; 4/12/2004 tarihli ve 5271 sayılı Ceza Muhakemesi Kanununun

202nci maddesine dayanılarak hazırlanmıştır.

Tanımlar ve kısaltmalar

MADDE 3 – (1) Bu Yönetmelikte geçen;

- Bakanlık: Adalet Bakanlığını,

- b) İşaret dili: Duygu, düşünce istek ve ihtiyaçların ifade edilmesi amacıyla el ve vücut hareketleriyle, mimikler kullanılarak oluşturulan görsel dili,
- c) Kanun: 4/12/2004 tarihli ve 5271 sayılı Ceza Muhakemesi Kanununu,
- ç) Komisyon: İl adli yargı ilk derece mahkemesi adalet komisyonunu,
- d) Liste: İl adli yargı ilk derece mahkemesi adalet komisyonu tarafından her yıl için oluşturulan tercüman listesini,
- e) Tercüman: Soruşturma ve kovuşturma evresinde mağdur, şüpheli, sanık ve tanığın beyanlarını başka bir dilden veya işaret diliyle Türkçeye çeviren gerçek kişiyi,
- f) UYAP: Ulusal Yargı Ağı Bilişim Sistemini,
- g) Yıl: Takvim yılını,
- ifade eder.

İKİNCİ BÖLÜM

Genel Hükümler

Tercüman ihtiyacının belirlenmesi

MADDE 4 – (1) Komisyonlar, her yıl en geç 15 Eylül tarihine kadar, yargı çevresindeki il ve ilçe Cumhuriyet başsavcılıklarından ve ceza mahkemelerinden hangi diller ve işaret dilinde tercümana ihtiyaç olduğunun 30 Eylül tarihine kadar bildirilmesini ister.

(2) Komisyonlar, gelen bilgilerden ve başvurulardan yararlanmak suretiyle hangi dil veya diller ile işaret dilinde tercüman ihtiyacı olduğunu belirler.

İlân

MADDE 5 – (1) Komisyonlar, tercüman olarak görev yapmak isteyenlerin komisyon başkanlığına müracaat etmelerini 15 Ekim tarihine kadar ilân eder. Bu hususu il ve ilçelerdeki gerekli görülen kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarıyla, kamu kurumu niteliğindeki meslek kuruluşlarına yazıyla bildirir.

(2) İlân, duyuru metninin il adli yargı ilk derece mahkemesi adalet komisyonu ve yargı çevresindeki adliyelerin divanhanesine asılması, mahallî bir gazetede ve elektronik ortamda yayımlanması suretiyle yerine getirilir. Bu konuda gerekirse diğer mutata vasıtalar da kullanılabilir.

(3) İlânda, listeye kabul edilenlerin yemin için hazır bulunmaları gereken tarih ya da tarihler de gösterilir.

Listeye kabul şartları

MADDE 6 – (1) Listeye kayıt olabilmek için tercümanın;

- a) Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı olması,
- b) Başvuru tarihinde fiil ehliyetine sahip olması,

- c) En az ilkokul mezunu olması,
- ç) Başvuru tarihinde onsekiz yaşını tamamlamış olması,
- d) Affa uğramış ya da ertelenmiş olsalar bile Devlete ve adliyeye karşı işlenen suçlar, 12/4/1991 tarihli ve 3713 sayılı Terörle Mücadele Kanununda yer alan suçlar ile basit ve nitelikli zimmet, irtikâp, rüşvet, hırsızlık, dolandırıcılık, sahtecilik, güveni kötüye kullanma, hileli iflâs veya kaçakçılık, resmi ihale ve alım satımlara fesat karıştırma suçlarından hükümlü olmaması veya hakkında hükmün açıklanmasının geri bırakılmasına karar verilmemiş olması,
- e) Disiplin yönünden meslekten ya da memuriyetten çıkarılmamış veya sanat icrasından yasaklanmamış olması,
- f) Komisyonun bağlı bulunduğu il çevresinde oturması veya bir meslekî faaliyeti icra etmesi,
- g) Başka bir komisyonun listesinde kayıtlı olmaması, gerekir.

Başvuru usulü

MADDE 7 – (1) Tercüman olarak listeye kaydolmak isteyenler her yıl 31 Ekim tarihine kadar komisyona veya buralara gönderilmek üzere mahallî Cumhuriyet başsavcılıklarına bir dilekçeyle şahsen başvurur. Mahallî Cumhuriyet başsavcılıklarına verilen belgeler UYAP üzerinden ilgili komisyona gönderilir. Belgelerin asılları veya mahallî Cumhuriyet başsavcılıklarınca tasdik edilen örnekleri ayrıca ilgili komisyona ulaştırılır. Bu tarihten sonra verilen dilekçeler değerlendirmeye alınmaz.

(2) Başvuru dilekçesinde ayrıca kendisine ait bir banka hesap bilgilerinin belirtilmesi gerekir.

Başvuru dilekçesine eklenecek belgeler

MADDE 8 – (1) Başvuru dilekçesine;

- a) T.C. kimlik numarası beyanı,
- b) Adrese dayalı nüfus kayıt örneği,
- c) Tercüman olmak istediği dil veya diller ile işaret diline ilişkin diploma, ruhsatname, sertifika gibi belgelerin aslı veya komisyonca onaylanmış örneği, böyle bir belgenin olmaması durumunda tercümanlık faaliyetini yerine getirecek derecede dil bildiğinin yazılı olarak beyanı,
- ç) İki adet vesikalık fotoğraf,
- d) Mezuniyet durumunu gösterir belgenin aslı veya komisyonca onaylanmış örneği, eklenir.

(2) Bir önceki yıla ait listede kayıtlı olanlardan birinci fıkranın (a), (c) ve (d) bentlerinde sayılan bilgi ve belgeler istenmez.

Başvuruların değerlendirilmesi

MADDE 9 – (1) Başvurular, başvuranların adları, bildikleri dil veya diller ile işaret dili, varsa çalıştıkları kurum ve kuruluşların adları, açık adresleri yazılmak suretiyle komisyonca kaydedilir.

(2) Başvurular, komisyon tarafından 30 Kasım tarihine kadar değerlendirilerek 8 inci maddede belirtilen belgelerin eksik olması ya da başvuru sahibinin 6 ncı maddedeki şartları haiz olmaması hâlinde, talebin reddine karar verilir. Redde ilişkin karar ilgisine tebliğ olunur.

(3) Talepleri uygun görülenlerin adları, bildikleri dil veya diller ile işaret dili, varsa çalıştıkları kurum ve kuruluşların adları, açık adresleri yazılarak oluşturulan liste en az yedi gün süre ile adliye divanhanesine asılır ve elektronik ortamda ilân edilir.

Yemin ve etik ilkeler

MADDE 10 – (1) Listeye ilk defa kabul edilenler ile listeden kendi isteği ile çıkarılıp yeniden kabul edilenlere komisyonca daha önce belirlenen ve ilân edilen gün veya günlerde Kanunun 64 üncü maddesinin beşinci fıkrası uyarınca yemin ettirilir.

(2) Tercümanlar görevlerini yaparken aşağıdaki etik ilkelere uygun davranmak zorundadırlar.

- a) Bağımsızlık.
- b) Tarafsızlık.
- c) Dürüst davranma ve doğruyu söyleme. ç) Görevini bizzat yerine getirme.
- d) Sır saklama.
- e) Temel yargılama ilkelerine uygun davranma.

Listelerin ilânı

MADDE 11 – (1) Yemin eden tercümanlardan oluşan listenin bir örneği, 31 Aralık tarihine kadar Adalet Bakanlığı

Ceza İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü ve Bilgi İşlem Dairesi Başkanlığına, mahkemelere de duyurulmak üzere merkez ve bağlı ilçe

Cumhuriyet başsavcılıklarına dağıtımli olarak gönderilir. Liste, adliye divanhanesine asılarak ayrıca ilân edilir.

(2) Komisyonlarca hazırlanarak Adalet Bakanlığı Bilgi İşlem Dairesi Başkanlığına gönderilen listeler birleştirilerek Yargı Mevzuatı Bülteni ve elektronik ortamda yayımlanır.

Tercüman giderleri

MADDE 12 – (1) Türkçe bilmeyen ya da engelli olan şüpheli, sanık, mağdur veya tanık için görevlendirilen tercümanın giderleri, yargılama gideri sayılmaz ve bu giderler Devlet Hazinesince karşılanır.

(2) Komisyonlarca oluşturulan listelerden Kanunun 202 nci maddesinin dördüncü fıkrası kapsamında sanık tarafından seçilen tercümanın giderleri Devlet Hazinesince karşılanmaz. Bu durumda, mahkeme tercüman gideri ile vezneye yatırılması gereken süreyi belirler.

Yargılamanın sürüncemede bırakılması

MADDE 13 – (1) Kanunun 202 nci maddesinin dördüncü fıkrası uyarınca, tercüman hizmetinden yararlanma hakkı, yargılamanın sürüncemede bırakılması amacına yönelik olarak kötüye kullanılamaz.

Listeden çıkarılma sebepleri

MADDE 14 – (1) Listede yer alan tercümanların;

- a) Listeye kabul şartlarını sonradan kaybetmesi,
 - b) Kanunî bir sebep olmaksızın tercümanlık yapmaktan kaçınması,
 - c) Listeden çıkarılmayı talep etmesi,
 - ç) 10 uncu maddenin ikinci fıkrasında belirtilen etik ilkeleriyle bağdaşmayan tutum ve davranışlarda bulunması,
 - d) 6 ncı maddenin birinci fıkrasının (d) bendinde yer alan suçlardan hüküm giymesi veya hakkında hükmün açıklanmasının geri bırakılmasına karar verilmiş olması,
- durumunda adı listeden çıkarılır.
- (2) 6 ncı maddenin birinci fıkrasının (d) bendinde yer alan suçlardan hakkında kamu davası açılan kişinin ismi listede askıya alınır. Dava sonucu beraat edilmesi durumunda askıya alma işlemi kaldırılır.

Listeden çıkarılma usulü

MADDE 15 – (1) 14 üncü maddede sayılan çıkarılma sebeplerinin gerçekleşmesi hâlinde tercümanın adı komisyon kararıyla listeden çıkarılır.

- (2) Listeden çıkarılmasına karar verilen tercümanlara ilişkin komisyon kararı ilgiliye tebliğ edilir ve 11 inci maddede belirtilen usule göre ilân edilir.

Listelerin yenilenmesi usulü

MADDE 16 – (1) Listeler, her yıl bu Yönetmelik hükümlerine göre yeniden düzenlenir.

ÜÇÜNCÜ BÖLÜM

Çeşitli ve Son Hükümler

2013 yılı tercüman listesinin düzenlenmesi

GEÇİCİ MADDE 1 – (1) Bu Yönetmeliğin yürürlüğe girdiği tarihten itibaren üç ay içerisinde komisyonlarca bu Yönetmelik hükümlerine göre tercüman listesi düzenlenir.

Yürürlük

MADDE 17 – (1) Bu Yönetmelik yayımı tarihinde yürürlüğe girer.

Yürütme

MADDE 18 – (1) Bu Yönetmelik hükümlerini Adalet Bakanı yürütür.



Appendix 11: The Application Announcement for Court Interpreters

**T.C.
ADALET BAKANLIĞI
ADANA ADLİ YARGI İLK DERECE MAHKEMESİ
ADALET KOMİSYONU**

Karar No
2018/1528

:

Konu : 2019 Yılı Tercümanlık İlanı

İ L Â N

Adli Yargı Adalet Komisyonumuzca “*Ceza Muhakemesi Kanununa göre İl Adli Yargı Adalet Komisyonlarınca Tercüman Listelerinin Düzenlenmesi Hakkında Yönetmelik*” hükümleri gereğince; Adana il ve ilçelerinin yargı çevresinde oturan veya mesleki faaliyeti icra eden ve başka bir komisyonun listesinde kayıtlı olmayanlardan yargı çevremiz dahilinde, soruşturma veya kovuşturma evresinde meramını anlatabilecek ölçüde Türkçe bilmeyen ya da engelli olan mağdur, tanık, şüpheli veya sanığın iddia veya savunmaya ilişkin beyanlarının ve kovuşturma evresinde iddianamenin okunması veya esas hakkındaki mütalaanın verilmesi üzerine sanığın kendisini daha iyi ifade edebileceğini beyan ettiği başka bir dilde yapacağı sözlü savunmasının alınması sırasında görevlendirilecek tercümanlar için 2019 yılı tercüman listesi oluşturulacaktır.

İHTİYAC DUYULAN DİLLER:

Afgan dili (Darice, Peştuca), Almanca, Arapça, Arapça (Suriye), Azerice, Bulgarca, Çince, Endonezce, Farsça, Fransızca, Gürcüce, Hollanda dili (Felemenkçe), İngilizce, İspanyolca, İşaret dili, Japonca, Korece, Kürtçe (Soranice, Zazaca), Osmanlıca, Özbekçe, Pakistan dili (Urduca), Rumca, Rusça, Tatarca, Türkmençe, Ukraynaca.

LİSTEYE KABUL ŞARTLARI:

Başvuru sahibinin;

a) Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı olması,

b) Başvuru tarihinde fiil ehliyetine sahip olması,

c) En az ilkokul mezunu olması,

ç) Başvuru tarihinde on sekiz (18) yaşını tamamlamış olması,

d) Affa uğramış ya da ertelenmiş olsalar bile Devlete ve adliyeye karşı işlenen suçlar, 12/4/1991 tarihli ve 3713 sayılı Terörle Mücadele Kanununda yer alan suçlar ile basit ve nitelikli zimmet, irtikâp, rüşvet, hırsızlık, dolandırıcılık, sahtecilik, güveni kötüye kullanma, hileli iflâs veya kaçakçılık, resmî ihale ve alım satımlara fesat karıştırma

suçlarından hükümlü olmaması veya hakkında hükmün açıklanmasının geri bırakılmasına karar verilmemiş olması,

- e) Disiplin yönünden meslekten ya da memuriyetten çıkarılmamış veya sanat icrasından yasaklanmamış olması,
- f) Komisyonun bağlı bulunduğu il çevresinde oturması veya meslekî faaliyeti icra etmesi,
- g) Başka bir komisyonun listesinde kayıtlı olmaması gerekir.

BAŞVURU USULÜ VE TARİHİ:

Başvuru Yeri: www.adana.adalet.gov.tr internet adresinde yayınlanan Komisyonumuza ait iş bu tercümanlık ilan metninin ekinde bulunan **BAŞVURU DİLEKÇE ÖRNEĞİNİN İNTERNET SİTESİNDEN TEMİNİ İLE** başvurular, istenilen evraklarla birlikte şeffaf kapaklı naylon dosya içerisinde **ADANA ADLİ YARGI ADALET KOMİSYONU BAŞKANLIĞINA sahsen** yapılacak veya mahalli Cumhuriyet Başsavcılıkları aracılığıyla kılınmak suretiyle belgelerin asılları gösterilip onaylatılarak ilgili belgeler mahalli Cumhuriyet Başsavcılıkları vasıtasıyla APS ile **31 Ekim 2018 Çarşamba günü** mesai bitimine kadar Adana Adli Yargı İlk Derece Mahkemesi Adalet Komisyonu Başkanlığına gönderilecektir. **31 Ekim 2018 tarihinden sonra yapılan başvurular değerlendirmeye alınmayacaktır.**

Başvuru dilekçesine ilanda belirtilen belgelerin eklenmesi gerekmektedir. Başvuru dilekçesinde ayrıca tercümana ait banka hesap bilgilerinin (Banka şubesi ve IBAN numarası) belirtilmesi gerekmektedir.

Başvuru Tarihi: Tercümanlık yapmak amacıyla listeye kaydolmak isteyenlerin başvuruları **15 Ekim 2018 Pazartesi** günü başlayıp, **31 Ekim 2018 Çarşamba** günü mesai bitiminde sona erecektir.

BU TARİHTEN SONRA YAPILAN BAŞVURU VE EVRAK TESLİM İŞLEMLERİ KESİNLİKLE KABUL EDİLMEYECEK VE SÜRE UZATILMAYACAKTIR.

BAŞVURU DİLEKÇESİNE EKLENECEK BELGELER:

- a) Nüfus cüzdanı fotokopisi,
- b) Adrese dayalı güncel nüfus kayıt örneği ya da ikametgah ilmuhaberi,
- c) Tercüman olmak istediği dil veya diller ile işaret diline ilişkin diploma, ruhsatname, sertifika gibi belgelerin aslı veya komisyonca onaylanmış örneği, böyle bir belgenin olmaması durumunda tercümanlık faaliyetini yerine getirecek derecede dil bildiğinin yazılı olarak beyanı,
- ç) Mezuniyet durumunu gösterir belgenin aslı veya komisyonca onaylanmış örneği, (Yurt dışından alınmış diplomalarının denklik belgeleri. Bu denklik belgelerinin Türkçe dilinde tercümesi yapılarak getirilmesi gerekmektedir.)
- d) Arşiv kaydını da kapsayacak şekilde güncel adli sicil kaydı,
- e) 2 adet fotoğraf

Bir önceki yıla ait tercüman listesinde kayıtlı olanların (b), (d) ve (e) bentlerindeki belgelerle yeniden müracaat etmeleri gerekmektedir.

BAŞVURULARIN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ:

Başvurular Komisyonumuzca **30 Kasım 2018 Cuma** tarihine kadar değerlendirilecektir.

Ceza Muhakemesi Kanunu'na göre İl Adli Yargı Adalet Komisyonlarınca tercüman listelerinin düzenlenmesi hakkındaki Yönetmeliğin 8'inci maddesinde belirtilen belgelerin eksik olması ya da başvuru sahibinin bu Yönetmeliğin 6'ncı maddesindeki şartlara haiz olmaması hâlinde talebin reddine karar verilecektir. Redde ilişkin karar ilgisine www.adana.adalet.gov.tr adresinde yayınlanarak **İLANEN TEBLİĞ OLUNACAKTIR. İLGİLİLERE AYRICA TEBLİGAT YAPILMAYACAKTIR.**

Talepleri uygun görülen adaylar için yemin tarih ve saatini gösterir tercüman yemin listesi Adana Adliyesinin resmi internet sitesinde ilan edilecektir. **İLGİLİLERE AYRICA TEBLİGAT YAPILMAYACAKTIR.**

YEMİN:

Listeye kabul edilenlere, 5271 sayılı Ceza Mahkemesi Kanununun 64'üncü maddesinin 5'inci fıkrası uyarınca **7 Aralık 2018 Cuma günü saat: 09.30**'dan itibaren başvuru sırasına göre Adana Adli Yargı İlk Derece Mahkemesi Adalet Komisyonunca yemin ettirilecektir.

Listeye kabul edilip de Komisyonumuzca belirtilen tarih ve saatte yemin törenine katılamayanlar, mazerete dair belgenin ekli olduğu bir dilekçe ile **12 Aralık 2018 Çarşamba** mesai bitimine kadar Komisyon Başkanlığımıza başvuru yapabileceklerdir. Mazereti kabul edilenlerin yemin töreni **14 Aralık 2018 Cuma günü saat: 09.30**'dan itibaren yapılacaktır.

Yemin etmeyen adaylar yeminli tercüman listesinde yer almayacaktır.

LİSTELERİN İLANI:

Yemin eden tercümanlardan oluşan kesinleşmiş listenin bir örneği, en geç **31 Aralık 2018** tarihinde Adana Adliyesinin resmi internet sitesinde (www.adana.adalet.gov.tr) elektronik ortamda, Adliye divanhanesinde (panolarında) yayınlanacaktır.

Kesinleşmiş tercüman listesinin, bir örneği Adalet Bakanlığına, il çevresindeki Adli Yargı Adalet Komisyonlarına, Mahkemelere de duyurulmak üzere merkez ve bağlı ilçe Cumhuriyet Başsavcılıklarına dağıtımli olarak gönderilecektir.

İlan olunur. **01/10/2018**

Appendix 12: The Application Form for Court Interpreters

ADLI YARGI İLK DERECE MAHKEMESİ ADALET KOMİSYONU BAŞKANLIĞINA ADANA

Ceza Muhakemesi Kanununa Göre İl Adli Yargı Adalet Komisyonlarınca Tercümanlık Listelerinin Düzenlenmesi Hakkındaki Yönetmelik gereğince Adana Adli Yargı İlk Derece Mahkemesi Adalet Komisyonunuzca bu hususta yapılan ilan nedeniyle;

Aşağıda tercümanlık dilini belirttiğim konularda 2019 yılı için düzenlenecek olan tercüman listesine alınmak üzere ilanda belirtilen belgeler ekte sunulmuştur.

Gereğini takdirlerinize arz ederim.
..... / 10 / 2018

Adı Soyadı :

İmza :

TERCÜMAN BAŞVURU BİLGİLERİ

Kurumu	ADANA Adli Yargı İlk Derece Mahkemesi Adalet Komisyonu			Fotoğraf
Adı	Soyadı	Cinsiyeti Erkek Kadın		
Doğum Yeri	Doğum Tarihi (Gün/Ay/Yıl)	Medeni Durumu Evli Bekar		
Baba Adı	Anne Adı	İli İlçesi		
T.C. KİMLİK NO	VERGİ KİMLİK NUMARASI	BAĞLI OLDUĞU VERGİ DAİRESİ	BAŞVURU NO 2019/	
Sabıka Kaydı Var mı?	Mahkumiyete Neden Olan Suçu		Mahkumiyeti Var İse;	
Var	Yok			
Öğrenim Durumu : Belge Türü (Diploma, Ruhsatname, Sertifika gibi) :			Süresi Yıl Ay Gün Sonucu Tecil Af Para Cez.İnfaz	
BANKA HESAP BİLGİLERİ	Banka Adı	Şube Adı	Banka Hesap IBAN No	
EN SON ÇALIŞTIĞI KURUM VEYA KURULUŞ		İKAMET ETTİĞİ İL/İLÇE		
TERCÜMAN LİSTELERİNİN DÜZENLENMESİNE ESAS ALINACAK OLAN				
MESLEĞİ :		BİLDİĞİ DİLLER		

SÜRESİ :		
TEBLİGATA YARAR ADRES BİLGİLERİ		
İŞ YERİ ADRESİ :	EV ADRESİ :	
İş Tel :	Ev Tel :	
GSM No:	E-Posta Adresi:	
VARSA ÖNCEKİ YILA AİT BAŞVURU NO	2018/.....	Bir önceki yıl başvurusu kabul edilenler ilanının b, d ve e maddesindeki belgeleri getireceklerdir.

Eksiksiz olarak doldurulmuş başvuru formunu aşağıdaki yazılı evraklarla birlikte **31.10.2018** tarihine kadar eksiksiz teslim etmediğiniz takdirde bilirkişilik talebinizin **REDDİNE** karar verileceği, listeye kabul edildiğiniz takdirde **www.adana.adalet.gov.tr** internet adresinde ilan edilecek **yemin tarih ve saatinde belirtilen yerde** hazır bulunmanız gerektiği hususu ihtar ve tebliğ olunur.

Tercümanlık talep edenin Adı Soyadı / İmzası

.....

BAŞVURU FORMUNA EKLENECEK EVRAKLAR;

a) Nüfus cüzdanı fotokopisi,

b) Adrese dayalı güncel nüfus kayıt örneği ya da ikametgah ilmuhaberi,

c) Tercüman olmak istediği dil veya diller ile işaret diline ilişkin diploma, ruhsatname, sertifika gibi belgeler, böyle bir belgenin olmaması durumunda tercümanlık faaliyetini yerine getirecek derecede dil bildiğinin yazılı olarak beyanı,

ç) Mezuniyet durumunu gösterir belge,

d) Arşiv kaydını da kapsayacak şekilde güncel adli sicil kaydı,

e) 2 adet fotoğraf.

2018 Yılı Tercüman Listesine kayıtlı olanların (b), (d) ve (e) bentlerindeki belgeleri bu başvuru formuna ekleyerek yeniden müracaat etmeleri gerekmektedir.

Appendix 13: The Sample Form for Court Interpreters to Declare the Knowledge of the Relevant Interpreting Language

**İZMİR ADLÎ YARGI İLK DERECE MAHKEMESİ
ADALET KOMİSYONU BAŞKANLIĞINA**

(Dili çeviri yapabilecek kadar biliyor olma sebebinizi yazınız) dolayı
(Başvurduğunuz dil veya dilleri yazınız) dilini iyi derece bilmekteyim. Tarafıma
verilecek ardıl çeviri görevlerini başarıyla gerçekleştirebileceğim hususunda,
bilgilerinize arz ederim. 15/10/2018 (Başvuru tarihini yazınız)

Adınız Soyadınız

İmzanız

T.C.K.N : 11 haneli T.C. Kimlik numaranız

Appendix 14: The Announcement of the Department of Training of the Ministry of Justice about the Training in the Scope of the Project of Child Friendly Interpreting in Judicial Processes

Başkanlığımız ve UNICEF (Birleşmiş Milletler Çocuklara Yardım Fonu) İşbirliğiyle 'Adli Süreçlerde Çocuk Dostu Tercüme Projesi' Kapsamında Ankara İlinde Eğitim Programı Düzenlenmiştir. (18 - 20 Mart 2019)

Başkanlığımız ve UNICEF (Birleşmiş Milletler Çocuklara Yardım Fonu) İşbirliğiyle, adli süreçlerde çocukların dahil olduğu ve tercüme gereken davalarda görev alan tercümanlara; çevirinin doğru yöntem ve teknikle yapılması, çocukla iletişim, risk altındaki çocuğa yaklaşım, uygun terminolojinin kullanılması gibi konularda eğitimler verilmesi ve konuya ilişkin yetkinliklerinin güçlendirilmesi amacı ile 'Adli Süreçlerde Çocuk Dostu Tercüme Projesi' kapsamında Ankara ilinde eğitim programı düzenlenmiştir. (18 - 20 Mart 2019)

Appendix 15: The Press Release of the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey about the SIHHAT Project

Avrupa Birliği Türkiye Delegasyonu

Türkiye'deki AB finansmanlı en büyük sağlık projesi "SIHHAT" bugün başlatıldı

16.08.2017 Çar - 14:58

Ankara –Türkiye Halk Sağlığı Kurumu Başkanı Prof. İrfan ŞENCAN ve AB Türkiye Delegasyonu Başkanı Büyükelçi Christian BERGER mülteciler ve yerel halk için Türkiye genelinde yürütülecek AB finansmanlı en büyük sağlık projesinin açılışını bugün gerçekleştirdi. SIHHAT projesi, 178 göçmen sağlığı merkezi ile 10 toplum ruh sağlığı merkezinin kuruluş, donanım ve işletme giderlerinin karşılanması ve bu merkezlerde Suriyeli doktor ve hemşireler dâhil, 1500 sağlık personelinin istihdam edilmesi yoluyla Suriyeli mültecilere sunulan birinci ve ikinci basamak sağlık hizmetlerini geliştirecek.

Avrupa Birliği Türkiye Delegasyonu ile T.C. Sağlık Bakanlığı, Suriyeli mültecilere sunulan sağlık hizmetlerini geliştirmeyi amaçlayan SIHHAT projesinin resmi açılışını bugün Ankara'da gerçekleştirdi. 300 milyon Avro değerindeki bu proje, AB'nin Türkiye'de sağlık sektöründe bugüne kadar sağladığı en büyük hibeyi oluşturmaktadır. Hibe, mülteci krizinin yerel halk üzerinde oluşturduğu baskıyı hafifletmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Türkiye'deki Mülteciler için Mali Yardım Programı (FRIT) kapsamında yer alan SIHHAT sağlık projesi, Türkiye'de geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilere sunulan birinci ve ikinci basamak sağlık hizmetlerinin güçlendirilmesi yoluyla sağlık durumlarının iyileştirilmesini sağlayacaktır.

Bu hibeyle AB, Suriyeli doktor ve hemşireler dâhil 1500 sağlık personeli çalıştıracak olan 178 göçmen sağlığı merkezinin kuruluş, donanım ve işletme giderlerini karşılayacaktır. Mültecilerle doğrudan temas halinde olan sağlık personeline göçmen sağlığı ile ilgili konularda özel eğitim verilecektir. Ulaşması zor olan mültecilere birinci basamak sağlık hizmetleri ile kanser tarama hizmetlerinin sunulabilmesi için AB fonlarıyla ilave olarak 26 mobil sağlık ünitesi sağlanacaktır. Ayrıca proje desteğiyle Sağlık Bakanlığı tarafından Suriyeli mülteci nüfusunun en yüksek ya da yoğun olduğu illerde 10 toplum ruh sağlığı merkezi açılacaktır. Bu kapsamlı hibe çerçevesinde, 20 ikinci basamak sağlık tesisinde 154 yeni doğan, 54 pediatri ve yetişkinler için 150 yoğun bakım ünitesi oluşturulacak ve özel ekipmanların sağlanması yoluyla yoğun bakım ünitelerinin işleyişi iyileştirilecektir. Proje ayrıca bulaşıcı hastalıkların önlenmesi için 6.255.000 doz aşı ve 270,000 çocuk ve gebe kadın için gıda takviyesi sağlayacaktır. Söz konusu hibe aynı zamanda iki dil konuşan sağlık çevirmenlerinin istihdamını ve ücretlendirilmesini finanse etmektedir.

AB Türkiye Delegasyonu Başkanı Büyükelçi Christian Berger konuyla ilgili şu açıklamayı yaptı: "FRIT kapsamında sağlık sektöründeki projelerin amiral gemisi şüphesiz ki SIHHAT projesidir. Bu müdahale, etrafında pek çok tamamlayıcı çalışmanın da şekillendirilip geliştirildiği bir özellik taşımakta olup, sağlık ihtiyaçları ve haklarının daha iyi bir şekilde ele alınacağı konusunda Suriyeli mültecilere güvence vermektedir." Kadınlar ve çocuklar projenin özel önem verdiği dezavantajlı gruplar arasında yer almaktadır.

Arka Plan

Avrupa Birliği, 2011 yılından bu yana mülteci krizine müdahale amacıyla hazırlanan projeleri hayata geçiren ortaklarına fon desteği sağlamaktadır. Bu destek başlangıçta Avrupa Komisyonu'nun İnsani Yardım ve Sivil Koruma Genel Müdürlüğü (ECHO) tarafından sağlanmış, ancak uzayan kriz karşısında söz konusu yardımlara sonradan AB'nin orta ve uzun vadeli müdahalelere yönelik diğer mali araçları da eklenmiştir.

Ocak 2016'da FRIT'in hayata geçirilmesiyle birlikte sağlanan yardımlar önemli ölçüde arttırılmıştır. FRIT kapsamında Türkiye'deki mülteciler ve yerel halk için 3 milyar Avro seferber edilerek, büyük çaplı insani yardımın yanı sıra eğitim, sağlık, altyapı, sosyoekonomik gelişme ve göç yönetimi gibi kilit alanlarda insani yardım dışında destekler de sunulmaktadır.

Hali hazırda 2.9 milyar Avroluk fon (toplam tutarın yaklaşık %97'si) tahsis edilmiş olup, bu meblağdan 1.6 milyar Avroluk kısmın sözleşmesi yapılmış ve 826 milyon Avronun da ödemesi gerçekleştirilmiştir. FRIT kapsamında finanse edilen faaliyetler daha şimdiden insanlara bilfiil somut fayda sağlamaya başlamıştır. Bu finansman, krizin başlangıcından bu yana Türkiye'deki mültecileri desteklemek üzere tahsis edilen 350 milyon Avroya ve AB Üye Devletleri tarafından sunulan ikili desteğe ilaveten sağlanmış bir destektir. "Türk Yetkilileri Tarafından Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyeli Nüfusun Sağlık Durumunun İyileştirilmesi ve Ek Hizmetlerin Sağlanması" projesi (SIHHAT), bir ortak koordinasyon mekanizması olan ve Türkiye'deki mültecilerin ve yerel halkın ihtiyaçlarının kapsamlı ve koordineli bir biçimde karşılanmasını amaçlayan Türkiye'deki Mülteciler için Mali Yardım Programı tarafından desteklenmektedir.

Basınla ilgili sorular için lütfen Delegasyonla temasa geçiniz:

Miray Akdağ Uluç – AB Türkiye Delegasyonu Basın Görevlisi

miray.akdag-uluc@eeas.europa.eu

M +90 532 624 93 56 / T +90 312 459 88

Appendix 16: The SIHHAT Project Activities

Proje Faaliyetleri

Ana Sayfa/Proje Faaliyetleri

Kısa adı SIHHAT olan “Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyelilerin Sağlık Statüsünün ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarafından Sunulan İlgili Hizmetlerin Geliştirilmesi” Projesinin süresi 36 ay olup, eylem planının 1 Aralık 2016’da başlayarak 1 Aralık 2019 tarihinde tamamlanması planlanmıştır. SIHHAT projesinin genel hedefi; Türkiye’de geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilere yönelik hâlihazırda Bakanlığımız tarafından sunulan I. ve II. basamak sağlık hizmetlerinin desteklenmesi ve geliştirilmesi olarak tanımlanmıştır. **Ana hatlarıyla; projede tanımlanan Suriyeli nüfusun yoğun olduğu 28 ilde sağlık hizmetlerinin kapsamının genişletilmesi ile hizmet sunum kapasite ve kalitesinin geliştirilerek 2019 yılı sonuna kadar sağlık hizmetlerine erişimin artırılması öngörülmüştür.**

SIHHAT Projesi ana faaliyetleri aşağıdaki gibidir;

Proje Ana Faaliyet Başlıkları

- 1 Göçmen Sağlığı Birimlerinin Kurulması ve İşletilmesi
- 2 İkinci Basamak Sağlık Tesislerine Tıbbi Cihaz Sağlanması
- 3 Bağışıklama faaliyetlerinin desteklenmesi
- 4 960 Hasta Yönlendirme Personeli İstihdamı
- 5 Yoğun Bakım Ünitesi Kapasitesinin Desteklenmesi
- 6 Kadın ve Üreme Sağlığı Hizmetlerinin Desteklenmesi
- 7 Mobil Sağlık Hizmetlerinin Desteklenmesi (Mobil Sağlık Araçları)
- 8 Suriyeli Misafirlerin Sağlık Okur-Yazarlığının Geliştirilmesi
- 9 Proje Teknik Destek Ekibi Oluşturulması
- 10 Sağlık Personeli Eğitimleri
- 11 Ruh Sağlığı Hizmetlerinin Desteklenmesi (10 Adet TRSM Açılması)
- 12 Çocuk Sağlığı Hizmetlerinin Desteklenmesi (D-Vit, Demir Preparatı Desteği)

Suriye’de 15 Mart 2011 yılında başlayan iç karışıklıklarda, aralarında sivililerin de bulunduğu, en az 400 bin insanın hayatını kaybettiği bildirilmektedir. Nüfusu 20 milyon olan Suriye’de 13,5 milyon insan yardıma muhtaç hale gelmiş; 6,1 milyon insan yerinden edilirken 4,8 milyon insan ise kurtuluşu komşu ülkelere sığınmakta bulmuştur. **Türkiye, Suriye krizi mağdurları için ilk günden beri din, dil, ırk**

ayrımı yapmadan “Açık Kapı Politikası” uygulamış ve onlara “Geçici Koruma Statüsü” vermiştir. Geçici Koruma altında yer alan Suriyelilere yönelik Sağlık hizmetleri, 04.11.2015 tarihli ve 9648 Sayılı Geçici Koruma Altına Alınanlara Verilecek Sağlık Hizmetlerine Dair Esaslara Ait Yönerge doğrultusunda sunulmaktadır. Türkiye’de kayıt altında bulunan ve geçici kimlik numarası almış olan Suriyeliler acil sağlık, koruyucu ve temel sağlık hizmetleri ile tedavi edici tüm sağlık hizmetlerinden ücretsiz olarak faydalanabilmektedir. Geçici kimlik numarası almamış olanlara ise Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği çerçevesinde, bulaşıcı hastalıklarla mücadele, bağışıklama ve acil sağlık hizmetleri sunulmaktadır. SIHHAT Projesi vesilesi ile Türkiye Cumhuriyeti tarafından hâlihazırda sunulmakta olan bu geniş kapsamlı hizmetlere Avrupa Birliği de katkı sağlama imkânı bulmuştur.

Proje kapsamında, geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilere yönelik olarak uygulamaya geçirilecek olan tedbirler ise özetle aşağıdaki gibidir:

- **178 göçmen sağlığı merkezi** kurularak hizmete sunulacaktır.
- Aralarında Suriyelilerinde yer alacağı **790 doktor, 790 hemşire, 84 teknisyen, 300 destek personeli, Türkçe ve Arapça bilen 960 hasta rehberi ve 26 şoför** istihdam edilerek göçmen sağlık merkezlerinde, mobil sağlık birimlerinde ve ihtiyaç duyulan ikinci basamak sağlık kuruluşlarında çalıştırılacaktır.
- Suriyeli nüfusun yoğun olarak yaşadığı **28 vilayetteki ikinci basamak sağlık kuruluşları** tıbbi donanım bakımından güçlendirilecektir.
- Mevcut mobil sağlık ünitelerine ilaveten **26 mobil sağlık ünitesi ve 5 mobil kanser tarama ünitesi** sağlanacaktır
- Suriyeli mülteci nüfusunun en yüksek ya da yoğun olduğu illerde **10 toplum ruh sağlığı merkezi** açılacaktır.
- Suriyeli nüfusun yoğun olarak yaşadığı **28 vilayetteki ikinci basamak sağlık tesisinde yeni doğan, pediatri ve yetişkinler için yoğun bakım üniteleri** oluşturulacak ve özel ekipmanların sağlanması yoluyla yoğun bakım ünitelerinin işleyişi iyileştirilecektir.
- Bulaşıcı hastalıkların önlenmesi için **6.255.000 doz aşı ve 270.000 çocuk ve gebe kadın için D Vitamini ve Demir takviyesi** sağlanacaktır.
- Yaklaşık **750.000 Suriyeli kadın ve 600.000 erkeğe üreme sağlığı hizmetleri** sunulacaktır.

- Geçici koruma altındaki Suriyelilerle doğrudan çalışan **2520 sağlık personeline** muhtelif mesleki konularda eğitimler verilecektir.



Appendix 17: The Job Posting for the Patient Guides to Be Recruited in the Scope of the SIHHAT Project

SIHHAT Projesi Kapsamında Hasta Yönlendirme Personelleri Alınacaktır

T.C. SAĞLIK BAKANLIĞI

HALK SAĞLIĞI GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

GEÇİCİ KORUMA ALTINDAKİ SURİYELİLERİN SAĞLIK STATÜSÜNÜN VE TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ TARAFINDAN SUNULAN İLGİLİ HİZMETLERİN GELİŞTİRİLMESİ PROJESİ (IPA 2016/378-641) HASTA YÖNLENDİRME PERSONELİ İSTİHDAMI İLANI

T.C. Sağlık Bakanlığı Halk Sağlığı Genel Müdürlüğü ile AB Komisyonu Türkiye Delegasyonu arasında imzalanan Doğrudan Hibe Sözleşmesi kapsamında uygulanmakta olan IPA 2016/378-641 sayılı “Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyelilerin Sağlık Statüsünün ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarafından Sunulan İlgili Hizmetlerin Geliştirilmesi Projesi” çerçevesinde görevlendirilmek üzere, “Hasta Yönlendirme Personeli” istihdam edilecektir.

Adaylar için aranan şartlar:

(Yabancı uyruklu adaylar için)

- Türkiye’de yasal olarak ikamet ediyor olmak
- Mesleğini icra etmesine engel olacak sağlık sorunu bulunmamak
- İyi derecede Arapça ve Türkçe bilmek
- Tercihen ilgili pozisyon veya benzer pozisyonlarda iş tecrübesine sahip olmak
- Kişiler arası olumlu ilişkiler kurabilme yeteneğine sahip olmak
- Mesleki gelişmelere ve yeniliklere açık olmak
- İyi derecede iletişim becerilerine sahip olmak

(Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşları için)

- Mesleğini icra etmesine engel olacak sağlık sorunu bulunmamak,
- İyi derecede Arapça ve Türkçe bilmek
- Tercihen ilgili pozisyon veya benzer pozisyonlarda iş tecrübesine sahip olmak
- Kişiler arası olumlu ilişkiler kurabilme yeteneğine sahip olmak

- Mesleki gelişmelere ve yeniliklere açık olmak
- İyi derecede iletişim becerilerine sahip olmak

BAŞVURU GENEL KOŞULLARI

Başvuru için aşağıdaki genel şartlar:

- a. 8 Kasım 2016 tarihli ve 676 sayılı KHK uyarınca yapılacak olan güvenlik soruşturması engeli bulunmamak.
- b. Kamu haklarından mahrum bulunmamak.
- c. Affa uğramış olsalar bile Devletin şahsiyetine karşı işlenen suçlarla, zimmet, ihtilas, irtikâp, rüşvet, hırsızlık, dolandırıcılık, sahtecilik, inancı kötüye kullanma, dolanlı iflas gibi yüz kızartıcı veya şeref ve haysiyeti kırıcı suçtan veya kaçakçılık, resmî ihale ve alım satımlara fesat karıştırmak, devlet sırlarını açığa vurma suçlarından dolayı hükümlü bulunmamak.
- d. T.C. Vatandaşı erkek adaylar için askerliğini tamamlamış veya askerlikten muaf olmak veya en az 3 yıl süre ile tecilli olduğunu gösterir belge sunmak.
- e. Görevini devamlı yapmasına engel olabilecek hastalığı bulunmamak.
- f. 01.01.1955 tarihinden sonra doğmuş olmak.

ADAYLARIN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

Başvurusu alınan adaylar, iki aşamadan oluşan bir değerlendirmeye tabi tutulacaktır.

Değerlendirmenin ilk aşamasında adayların başvurularını eksiksiz ve zamanında tamamlayıp tamamlamadıkları kontrol edilecektir. Bu aşamada başvurusu eksik olan veya başvurularını zamanında tamamlayamayan adaylar elenecektir. Adaylarda aranan asgari nitelikler ve tercih nedeni olan nitelikler, adayların başvuru belgeleri üzerinden değerlendirilecektir. Bu aşamada ilk önce genel nitelikler veya asgari koşulları sağlayamayan adaylar elenecektir.

Eğitim durumu, iş tecrübesi ve dil sınavı puanı kriterlerine göre adaylar arasında başarı sıralaması yapılacak olup adaylar sıralamaya göre istihdam hakkı kazanacaklardır. Adaylar için değerlendirme 100 (Yüz) tam puan üzerinden yapılacak olup eğitim durumu 40, iş tecrübesi (benzer pozisyonlarda, belge ibraz etmek suretiyle) 15 ve sınav başarı puanı 45 tam puan üzerinden değerlendirilecektir.

İlk aşamayı başarıyla geçerek başvuruları uygun bulunan tüm adaylar, ikinci aşama olan dil sınavına girmeye hak kazanacaktır.

Başvurular **15 Nisan 2018** Pazar günü TSİ 18:00'de sona erecektir. Sınav bilgileri <http://www.sihhatproject.org> üzerinden ilan edilecektir. Başvuru sahiplerine ayrıca açıklama yapılmayacaktır.

Değerlendirme sonucunda başarı puanları eşit olan adaylar olması durumunda, istihdama hak kazanacak aday kura yöntemiyle belirlenecektir.

Başvuru sayfasına gitmek için buraya tıklayınız...

Appendix 18: The Announcement of the Turkish and Foreign Language Application and Research Center of Yıldız Technical University about the Language Proficiency Examination for the Patient Guides

Sıhhat Projesi Dil Yeterlilik Sınavını Uyguladık



13.01.2019

435

Dünya Sağlık Örgütü ve Sağlık Bakanlığı tarafından yürütülmekte olan “Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyelilerin Sağlık Statüsünün ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarafından Sunulan İlgili Hizmetlerin Geliştirilmesi (SIHHAT) Projesi” kapsamındaki dil yeterlilik sınavı, üniversitemiz Türkçe ve Yabancı Dil Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi (Yıldız TÖMER) tarafından başarıyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Okuma, dinleme, konuşma ve yazma bölümlerinden oluşan Türkçe ve Arapça sınavı İstanbul, Ankara, Osmaniye ve Kilis’te 65 salonda eş zamanlı olarak yapılmıştır.

<http://www.tomer.yildiz.edu.tr/30-.html>

Appendix 19: The Announcement about the Assignment of the Patient Guides

Hasta Yönlendirme Personeli atamaları belli oldu

30.5.2018 16:53
42269

SIHHAT “Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyelilerin Sağlık Statüsünün ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarafından Sunulan İlgili Hizmetlerin Geliştirilmesi Projesi” kapsamında İl Sağlık Müdürlükleri emrinde çalıştırılmak üzere 3. Hasta Yönlendirme Personeli yerleştirmelerine ilişkin sonuçlar belli olmuştur.

Adaylarla başvurularında vermiş oldukları telefon numaralarından, yerleştikleri ildeki İl Sağlık Müdürlükleri yetkilileri iletişime geçecektir.

Soru ve sorunlarınız için 0 312 230 55 05 numaralı telefonu arayabilir veya basvuru@sihhatproject.org adresine email gönderebilirsiniz. Kamuoyuna saygıyla duyurulur.

HYP Personelleri Becayış İşlemleri Hakkında Duyuru

26.3.2018 17:24
21869

Hasta Yönlendirme Personeli dil yeterlilik sınavı sonucunda başarılı olarak yerleştirmeleri yapılan Hasta Yönlendirme Personeli adayları yerleştirildikleri illerde işe başlangıçları yapılmadan önce iller arası becayış başvurusunda bulunabilirler. Becayış talebinde bulunmak isteyen adaylar, becayış talep dilekçelerini ilgili illerdeki İl Sağlık Müdürlüklerine sunacaklardır. (Karşılıklı yer değiştirmek isteyen her iki adayın dilekçeleri ayrı olarak ilgili her iki İl Sağlık Müdürlüğüne teslim edilecektir.)

Başvuruları uygun görülen adaylar, taleplerinin onaylanıp onaylanmadığını çalışmayı talep ettikleri İl Sağlık Müdürlüklerinden öğrenebileceklerdir.

Sorularınız için 0 312 230 55 05 numaralı telefonu arayabilir veya basvuru@sihhatproject.org adresine email gönderebilirsiniz.

Adaylarımıza duyurulur.

Appendix 20: The Announcement about the Trainings for the Patient Guides

T.C. Sağlık Bakanlığı tarafından Aralık 2016'da Avrupa Birliği desteğiyle hayata geçirilen

"Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyelilerin Sağlık Statüsünün ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarafından Sunulan İlgili Hizmetlerin Geliştirilmesi Projesi" kapsamında "Hasta Yönlendirme Personeli Eğitimleri"nin birinci turu Ankara'da yaklaşık 140 kişinin katılımıyla başladı.

Eğitimin açılışı Göç Sağlığı Daire Başkanı Dr. Kanuni Keklik ve T.C. Sağlık Bakanlığı SIHHAT Projesi Eğitim Bileşeni Sorumlusu Nilüfer Avcı Işık tarafından yapıldı. Kanuni Keklik konuşmasında "Birinci ve ikinci basamak sağlık kuruluşlarında Suriyeli hastalara rehberlik ve tercümanlık hizmeti vermek üzere SIHHAT Projesi kapsamında istihdam edilen 960 Hasta Yönlendirme Personeline yönelik eğitimlerin yıl sonuna kadar çeşitli illerde tamamlanacağını" altını çizdi.

Nilüfer Avcı Işık'ın SIHHAT Projesi faaliyetlerini detaylandırarak anlattığı sunumunun ardından SIHHAT Projesi Eğitim Faaliyetleri Takım Lideri Prof. Dr. Yıldız Pekşen eğitimler hakkında genel bilgi verdi. Açılış oturumunun ardından sınıflarına ayrılan katılımcılar tanışma ve ön test uygulamalarını tamamladı.

Üç gün süreyle planlanan eğitimler toplam 6 turda tamamlanacak ve 960 Hasta Yönlendirme Personelini kapsayacaktır.

SIHHAT Eğitim Bileşeni çerçevesinde ayrıca 2520 sağlık çalışanı ve 50 Toplum Ruh Sağlığı Merkezi çalışanı eğitim görmüş olacaktır.

**SIHHAT Projesi Kapsamında Sağlık Çalışanlarına Yönelik Eğitimlerde
6. Tur Ankara'da Tamamlandı.**

T.C. Sağlık Bakanlığı tarafından Aralık 2016'da Avrupa Birliği desteğiyle hayata geçirilen "Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyelilerin Sağlık Statüsünün ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarafından Sunulan İlgili Hizmetlerin Geliştirilmesi Projesi" kısa adıyla SIHHAT Projesi kapsamında sağlık personeline yönelik yürütülen eğitimlerin 6. turu 20-22 Mayıs tarihleri arasında Ankara'da gerçekleştirildi.

Eğitimin açılış oturumuna katılan **Göç Sağlığı Daire Başkanı Dr. Kanuni Keklik** proje hakkında **detaylı bilgiler vererek yürütülen faaliyetleri ve eğitim çalışmalarını tanıttı. Kanuni Keklik ayrıca** SIHHAT Projesi'nin eğitim faaliyetleri bileşeni kapsamında toplam 2520 sağlık çalışanı, 960 Hasta Yönlendirme Personeli ve 50 Toplum Ruh Sağlığı Merkezi çalışanına yönelik bir program yürütüldüğünü ifade ederek eğitimlerin Kasım 2019 tarihine kadar çeşitli illerde gerçekleştirileceğinin altını çizdi. Sabah oturumu Sağlık Bakanlığı SIHHAT Projesi Eğitim Bileşeni Sorumlusu Nilüfer Avcı Işık ve Prof. Dr. Yıldız Pekşen'in sunumlarıyla tamamlandı.

SIHHAT Projesi Sağlık Eğitimleri kapsamında sağlık çalışanlarına kültürlerarası iletişim, iletişim becerileri, ruh sağlığı, bulaşıcı olmayan hastalıklar, stres yönetimi, üreme sağlığı, hijyen ve çevre sağlığı, bebek, çocuk ve ergen sağlığı gibi modüller işleniyor.

Üç gün süren eğitimler sonunda katılımcılara katılım belgesi verildi.

Appendix 21: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Internalized Limited Authority of the (NGO) Interpreters” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes

ROLE OF TRANSMITTER

Messenger-1-6¹⁵⁴

Machine that transmits words-1-6

Bridge-1-7; 3-4,10; 4-26

Robot-2-14

Voice-3-4,10,27,30

People's voice and language-3-11,27

Video only transmitting speech-4-35

Means of communication-5-6

Post-5-6

Mirror conveying what is said as it is-6-4,8,15

Channel-9-5

REDUCING REFUGEES' EXPECTATIONS

Reducing refugees' expectations for help-1-18, 5-18, 6-13

Task limit reminder for insistent refugees-1-19, 5-11, 6-8

Refusing to speak on behalf of refugees-1-20, 7-10

Informing authorized person about refugee efforts to communicate with interpreter-2-26

Directing refugees to official politely-2-27; 4-21,45; 5-11; 7-11,12

Reminding refugees about task limit to avoid expectations-3-24; 4-16; 5-17,18

Informing official about refugees' questions about interpreter opinions-4-25

No meeting with refugees outside-4-38, 45

Reminding refugees about responsibilities-4-45; 7-10,12; 8-14

Not accepting gifts of refugees-4-45

Not giving refugees phone number-4-45

Maintaining distance with refugees-6-8,11,12,13; 7-14

Interpreting also refugees' questions about interpreter opinions-9-8

Directing refugees' personal questions to officials-9-10

Not sharing personal information-9-10

Directing refugee expectations to officials by interpreting-9-14

RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS OFFICIALS

Informing officials in the tense atmosphere-2-17; 6-10,11; 7-12

Informing officials of dialogues with refugees-2-26, 4-24, 6-9

Expressing opinions by getting permission-3-12

¹⁵⁴ The first number in “1-6” refers to the NGO interpreter (NGOI-1) and the second number refers to the page number where the relevant code is located in the data set.

Cultural explanation by getting permission-3-12,15; 6-15

Correcting mistakes by getting permission-3-13

Informing officials about words without direct equivalence-3-19

Informing official about omitted part-3-21

Expressing points unknown or forgotten by officials with permission-4-23

Reminder about general information by asking officials-4-23

Officials as experts knowing better-4-25; 5-11; 6-8,9; 7-10; 8-6; 9-15

Expressing opinions if asked-4-25, 8-6

Informing official about refugees' questions-4-25

Informing official of everything spoken with refugee-4-26

Interpreting with approval when official is preoccupied-4-26

Informing official of what refugee says about him/her-4-27

Informing official about obscure words due to dialect-4-34

Approval from officials for male refugees-4-37

Informing official in case of urgency-4-39

Not introducing self without official's approval-4-47

Directing question to official even if answer is known-4-47

Answering question with official's approval-4-47

Informing officials about opinions/recommendations given in the field-6-10

Informing official about close equivalences-8-11

Directing refugee expectations to officials by interpreting-9-8,14

Directing refugees' personal questions to officials-9-10

Asking refugees for more plain language within officials' knowledge in dialect differences in early experiences-9-12

Stopping refugees with officials' approval-9-12

AVOIDANCE OF EXPRESSING OWN OPINIONS

Reporting to authorized person for further information-1-10

Not going beyond what officials and directors say-2-13

Expressing opinions by getting permission-3-12

Expressing opinions when asked-4-25; 8-6,7

Informing official about refugees' questions about interpreter opinions-4-25

Expressing opinions out of task limit-5-8

Expressing opinions to officials when asked-5-8

No explanations to refugees-5-9, 6-11, 7-12, 8-8, 9-9

Directing refugees' to officials when asked about opinions-5-11

Informing officials about opinions/recommendations given in the field-6-10

Interpreting refugee questions about interpreter opinions-9-8

AVOIDANCE OF ENGAGING IN DIALOGUES WITH REFUGEES

No pre-interview talk to avoid different expectations-1-8, 6-13

Information form for field jobs-1-13,18; 2-25

No pre-interview talk-2-25, 4-42, 9-14

Informing officials of dialogues with refugees-2-26, 4-24, 6-9

No need for preliminary information in consultancy interpreting-3-23, 4-42

Only resuming the case without getting preliminary information-6-13

No dialogue with refugees-7-11,15

Not preferring preliminary information-8-13

AVOIDANCE OF UNDERTAKING INITIATIVES

Refusing to speak on behalf of refugees-1-20, 7-10

Refusing to speak on behalf of doctors-1-21

Not going beyond what officials and directors say-2-13, 4-21

Informing officials in case of tension-2-17; 6-10,11; 7-12

Warning colleagues about undertaking initiatives-3-12

Not providing information to counselee refugees outside institution-4-14

Hesitation of assistance outside institution-4-14

Only general information to male refugees-4-39

Access to officials without undertaking initiative-5-7

Following officials' instructions-6-8,13,16

Not making decision alone in the field-6-10

No bonds with any party in case of tension-6-10,11

Possibility of refugees misunderstanding when interpreter undertakes initiatives-7-10

Interpreters not authorized to undertake initiatives-8-6

No need for initiatives-9-7

No need for any extra action in case of tension-9-8

Appendix 22: The Excel Column for the Theme “The (NGO) Interpreters’ Awareness Towards the Traditional Ethical Principles” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes

IMPARTIALITY

Impartiality-1; 2; 7-4,6,10; 9-10

No questioning of refugees' cultural background-1-23

Partiality out of question in interpreting job-2-21

No interpreting for acquaintances-3-17, 7-14

Focus on job for impartiality-3-17

Influence of growth in ethnic diversity and acquaintance with people from different cultures on impartiality-4-35

No priority to acquaintances-8-10

Respect for every culture and belief-8-10

ACCURACY

Conveying sensitive expressions as they are but having difficulty-1,16, 3-20, 6-16

No omissions or additions-2-12, 8-5

No change in sensitive expressions-2-23, 5-13, 6-16, 8-12, 9-11

No summary-2-24, 4-41, 5-13, 6-12, 8-12

Importance of every small item-3-20, 6-13, 7-15, 8-12

Stopping refugees making long sentences-3-22, 4-40

Asking refugees to make short sentences before interpreting-3-22

Waiting for refugee to finish sentence-4-40

No summary in hospital procedures-7-15

No hesitation in swearwords-7-18

Not adding own interpretation-9-10

Stopping refugees with officials' approval-9-12

EMOTIONAL STAMINA

No emotional reflections in front of refugee-1-6; 2-24; 4-36,37; 7-16

Delaying emotions-1-14

Overcoming emotionality-2-22; 3-18; 4-36,37; 8-10

Talking about emotional situations with interviewer after sessions-2-24, 5-12

Talking with psychologist colleague after sessions in early interpreting experiences-3-18

Effort to suppress emotions-5-12

Keeping composure in emotional situations-6-12,14

Not internalizing people's emotions-9-4,10

Appendix 23: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Leading Motives for the (NGO) Interpreters to Get into the Job” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes

DESIRE TO HELP PEOPLE

- Moral dimension of working with people-1-1
- Desire to meet needs of a disadvantaged segment-1-4,5
- Desire to help people in language matters-4-3
- Desire to alleviate refugees' hardships-6-3
- Internalization of immigration issue-9-3
- Interpreting as an opportunity to help people-9-3,4

KNOWLEDGE OF THE RELEVANT LANGUAGE

- Interpreting as an area of transferring language knowledge-1-3
- Achieving an advanced level at the Turkish course-3-7
- Discovery of Turkish language skills by the teacher-3-7
- Discovery of language skills by high school teachers-4-8
- Best job option as a person knowing the relevant language-5-4

INFLUENCE OF THE PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE

- Giving private lessons to Syrians-1-4
- First interpreting experience at refugee camp-2-6
- Interpreting experience for traders-5-3
- First experience as a temporary interpreter at DGMM-7-3,4
- Experience as an interpreter to foreign journalists-7-3
- Temporary work in another project-8-3

Appendix 24: The Excel Column for the Theme “The (NGO) Interpreters’ Attitude Towards the Interpreting Profession” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes

INTERPRETING AS SOCIAL WORK

Moral dimension of working with people-1-1
Interpreting as assistance-1-1,3,4,5,9; 4-3,8,14,55
High moral emotion felt through working with refugees-1-7
A backstage hero-1-7
Need for refugee feedback-1-23
Happiness felt through support in relief agency-2-9, 4-55
Humanity before job-4-16
Interpreting in every area where refugees face difficulty-6-2
Job area for helping refugees-6-3
Interpreting as a necessity-8-5
Emotional dimension of work-9-3
Interpreting as a good opportunity to help people-9-4
Feeling useful-9-6
Income not at the forefront-9-7

OPPORTUNITY TO USE LANGUAGE SKILLS

Interpreting as a means of transferring linguistic knowledge-1-3
Best job option as a person knowing languages-5-4, 7-4

JOB WITH LIMITED POWER

Restricted job description due to instructions-1-5
Undertaking initiative considered as a problem-1-9
Interpreter's authority limit-1-10, 4-22, 7-12
Wrongness of undertaking initiatives-3-12, 6-9, 7-10
Job is only interpreting-3-24; 6-9,10; 8-6; 9-9
Officials as experts-4-25; 5-11; 6-8,9; 7-10; 8-6; 9-15
Job is only conveying what is spoken-5-17
Opinions/recommendations given by officials not by interpreters at institution-6-10
Interpreter intervention giving hope to refugees-6-9
Interpreter intervention affecting officials' position-6-9
Interpreter intervention affecting impartiality in case of tension-6-10
Interpreter intervention affecting bond with parties in case of tension-6-10,11
Correction out of task limit-7-11, 8-6
Explanations affecting interpreting-7-12

Impossibility of conveying emotions-7-17

Interpreters not authorized to undertake initiatives-8-6

Conveying what is spoken as role of interpreter-9-7

Interpreter's job description requiring directing refugee expectations to officials-9-14

LACK OF AWARENESS TOWARDS INTERPRETING AND INTERPRETERS

Relative perception of interpreter status-1-7, 3-23

Relative respect of officials-1-21; 3-10,26; 4-48

Changing length of interpreting due to differences in languages-1-22

Officials not allowing interpreter to do own work-2-28,29; 5-13

Insignificance of interpreter-3-11

Undeserving interpreters-3-31, 4-52, 5-16

A bit superior to refugee-4-15

Lack of awareness of profession and its worthlessness in real life-4-18

Impossibility of interpreter knowing everything-4-19

Lack of awareness of interpreter's task and limit-4-19; 6-7; 7-8; 8-14; 9-16

Disrespect for profession-4-49,50

Officials interfering with interpreter's job-4-51

Professional status decrease-5-6,7

Officials ignoring interpreter-5-15

Lower status than lawyer-7-7

Need for awareness of respectability and importance of interpreting-7-18

Interpreters blamed for wrong interpreting-8-13

Doctors' language being difficult for interpreters-8-14

RECOGNITION OF INTERPRETER TASKS AND SKILLS TO SOME EXTENT

Not considered a low status profession due to need for interpreters-1-7

Awareness of need for interpreters by people-3-11

Deciding on interpreting method with official-3-25, 9-12

Exchange of opinions with official-3-28

Works with foreigners cannot be solved without interpreters-6-5

Not considered as a tool by officials-6-6

Everyone's separate job description-6-6

Being respected-6-6, 7-8, 8-14

Easing work of officials-7-8

Interpreting deemed important-8-5

Recognition of persuasive skills by officials-8-7

Shown as a model-8-8

Officials asking interpreter for opinions after interview-8-13

Equality among institution employees-8-14

Officials expressing benefits of interpreter-9-6

Receiving thanks after interpreting-9-6

Institutional staff's awareness of interpreters' job-9-16

NEED FOR IMPROVING INTERPRETERS

Interactive training with officials and interpreters-1-23

Follow-up trainings-1-23

Increase in interpreting trainings-2-30, 3-30

Need for a diploma/certificate-3-6,29,31

Training institutions for various branches of translation and interpreting-3-29

Improving interpreters-3-30, 4-53, 5-15

Interpreter training-4-53, 5-15, 6-16

Monitoring institution for interpreters-4-53

Serious trainings by professionals-4-53

Necessity of having interpreters watch films for learning cultural elements, traditions and customs-6-17

Necessity of interpreters living in foreign country for a while-6-17

Necessity professional opportunities for young people-8-15

Necessity of interpreting internship-9-17

Necessity of overseas education-9-17

TRAINING OFFICIALS

Interactive training with officials and interpreters-1-23

Trainings to increase their awareness towards the interpreter's tasks and boundaries-2-28,29; 5-15; 7-8; 8-14,15; 9-16

Trainings for officials to understand the value of the interpreter-3-28

Trainings to increase their awareness towards the interpreter's role-6-7

MAINTAINING *ILLUSIO*

Willingness to continue-2-30, 6-17

Prestigious job-6-4

Respect of institution officials-6-6

No desire for other jobs than interpreting-8-3

Recognition of skills by institution officials-8-7,8,14; 9-16

BROKEN *ILLUSIO*

Injustice in interpreter remuneration-3-11

Insignificance of interpreter-3-11

Skills as important as diploma-3-29

Interpreter as an individual-3-30

Interpreter not a slave or an apprentice-3-30

Equality between interpreter and official-3-30

Lack of awareness of profession and its worthlessness in real life-4-18

Previous idea of a more respected profession than teaching-4-18

Disappointment in real life-4-18

NGO interpreting not a satisfying profession-4-20

Disrespect for profession-4-49,50
NGO work as only source of income-4-55
Inequality in interpreter salary at institution-5-15,16
Necessity of making interpreters feel valuable-5-15
Necessity of assurance and motivation for interpreter improvement-5-16,17
Interpreters comparing themselves with other professional groups-5-16

UNSUSTAINABLE JOB

Doubt of continuity-1-24, 4-55, 5-17
Superiority of simultaneous interpreting-3-31
Desire to learn and use English in job-3-31
Desire to improve in other areas of translation and interpreting-3-31
Possibility of another position other with knowledge of two languages and cultures-3-32
Desire for having a translation agency as a certified translator-4-54, 7-13
Desire to do legal and literary translation-4-54
Desire for MA-4-55
Temporary job-7-12,19
Desire to continue in his own field of study (law)-7-19
Possibility of other areas for self-improvement in humanitarian aid institutions-9-17

Appendix 25: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Legal Field Interpreters as Interventionist Actors Against Restricted Authority” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes

ACTORS WITH RESTRICTED AUTHORITY

REDUCING REFUGEE EXPECTATIONS

Restricting refugee expectation of help-1-1¹⁵⁵; 4-38-39-40
Refugee efforts to engage in dialogue with interpreter-1-8
Refugees' potential expectations-5-52
Refugees' expectation that the interpreter will give the answer they want-5-59,60
Wrongness of helping refugees-5-60
Declining refugee demands-8-22
Directing refugee questions to officials-8-27
Declining unethical expectations of defendant lawyer-9-9
Blocking dialogues with refugees-10-9
Directing refugees to other authorities-10-9
Politely reminding refugees of interpreter's authority limit-10-9
Conveying refugee expectations to judge-10-16
Not meeting refugee expectations-10-16

AVOIDING DIALOGUES WITH REFUGEES

Pre-interview talk only to confirm understandability of dialects-1-8, 10-15
No pre-interview talk with refugees-2-9, 3-14, 8-27, 9-17
Pre-interview talk only in police units for basic information-4-41
Pre-interview talk affecting interpreting-4-41
Learning about the case in court-5-30,32; 6-14
No dialogue with relevant people after hearing-5-42
Pre- or post-interview dialogue isn't proper-5-57
Pre-interview in psychological sessions-7-4
No pre-interview talk in courthouse-7-28
Pre-interview talk in ÇİM, police station-7-28
No dialogue with refugees after the statement is taken down-7-28
Dialogues with refugees may prevent refugees from expressing themselves-8-27
Potential influence of pre-interview talk on interpreter role-8-27

RESTRICTED AGENCY IN THE COURTROOM

Invisibility-1-3, 8-27
Not answering refugee questions in front of judge-1-5

¹⁵⁵ The first number in “1-1” refers to the legal field interpreter (LFI-1) and the second number refers to the page number where the relevant code is located in the data set.

Not authorized to give opinions-2-5
Not capable of guiding refugees-2-11, 3-15
No initiative-3-6, 7-6
Incapacity in tense atmosphere-3-11
Not being able to give information to refugees-3-15
Distortion is beyond task boundary-5-60
Judge does not allow-6-6
Not being able to intervene at police station-7-7
No explanations after judge-7-8
Doubt about existence of interpreter role-9-4
Not authorized and not having right to undertake initiative-10-7
Being nothing in court-10-9
Guiding refugees means going beyond authority-10-9
No authority to give details to judge-10-18

SUPREMACY OF COURT AND OFFICIALS

Prevalence of what judge wants to ask-1-5
Knowing his place despite being a civil servant-1-9
Reporting erroneous expressions to judge-2-4
Courts not tolerating arrogance-4-10
Court board not approving interpreter's initiative-4-17
Respect for legal experts-4-11
Power of legal experts-4-12
Expressing concern for exceeding her limit-4-21
Officials using own method in handling errors-4-22
Concern for not showing lack of knowledge in front of judges/prosecutors-4-28
Stressful in front of prosecutors/judges-4-28
Informing officials about dialogues with refugees-4-29
Informing officials about dialect differences-4-35
Problem of putting self in judge's place-4-40
Informing judge/prosecutor of wrong statement-5-24
Informing judge of misunderstanding-5-26
Judges already understanding the case-5-26; 6-8,14
Notifying judge of refugee's unnecessary details-5-33
Respect for the judge-5-62
Judge does not allow-6-6,8,9
Judge's authority-6-10
Judge's instruction-6-10,17,19; 7-18; 9-16
Formal form of address to judge-6-11

Expertise of officials-7-25

Judge noticing mistake-8-13

Directing refugee questions to officials-8-27

Judges interrupting refugee words-10-18

INTERVENTIONS

CORRECTIONS

Correcting mistakes-1-4

Correcting misunderstanding-3-7

Informing judge of misunderstanding-4-21, 5-26

Efforts to correct mistakes-6-6

Warning the clerk about an error-7-14

Objection to erroneous statement-7-26

Warning judges when they change messages while dictating to clerks-10-3

EXPLANATIONS

Effort to explain more than questions asked by judge-1-4

Answering refugee questions regarding court process-1-5

Explanation to judge in refugee's favor-1-5

Cultural explanation-3-12; 4-21,34; 6-10; 8-18

Explanation about a sensitive expression-4-21

Explanation to refugees about procedures-4-26, 9-14

Explanation about misunderstanding-5-26

Notifying judge of refugee's unnecessary details-5-33

Making explanations independently-5-56

Explaining to judge about the speech length-5-57

Explanation to judge about wrong statement-6-8

Making an explanation auxiliary to decision-6-10

Cultural explanations to judge-6-11,15

Explanations and guidance to sensitive groups-8-5

Explanations to hesitant refugees-8-7

Explanation to refugee during identification-8-12,21

Explaining legal procedures to refugee-8-13

Explaining procedures to newly-assigned judges-8-14

Cultural explanation on behalf of refugee-8-18

Explanation to judge about sensitive expressions-8-19

CHANGES IN MESSAGES

Expressing in a way refugee understands-1-4,6; 10-5,6

Interpreting the sense when facing dialect differences-2-8

Evaluating sensitive expressions according to crime-5-54

Expressing sensitive expressions implicitly-5-54, 9-15

Conveying the sense due to refugees' speaking at length-5-55

SUMMARY

Summary in settings like AGO, ÇİM-1-8

Omission of unnecessary information in relatively unimportant cases-4-36

Refugees' speaking at length-5-55

Summary due to judges' instructions-6-10,17,19; 9-16

GIVING ADVICE

Giving advice to refugees-3-6

Indicating the wrong to refugee-5-19

Encouraging refugees who can't express themselves-5-34, 35, 44, 45; 7-13,14

Statement of opinion in minor crime-5-55

Giving advice to children-7-7,11,15

Encouraging and giving advice-7-10,12,14,15

Advice to sensitive groups-8-5

Expressing opinions and giving advice-8-13

DIALOGUES WITH REFUGEES DURING INTERPRETING

Asking refugees in dialect differences-3-12

Asking refugee to explain an unknown expression-4-28

Having refugees repeat missing points-4-29

Asking refugees unclear cultural elements-4-33

Slowing down refugees to understand dialect differences-4-35

Asking the wrong statement to refugee again-5-24

Warning refugees about unnecessary details-5-33

Asking about unclear expressions-5-36

Stopping the long-talking refugee in first experiences-5-58

Having parties explain unclear expressions or express them in other words-7-9

Asking refugee about unclear words due to dialect difference-7-14

Having refugee explain unknown cultural issues-8-18

Stopping refugees or having them say in other words in dialect differences-8-19,20

Stopping refugees when they continue talking-10-15,18

REFLECTION OF EMOTIONS

Emotional affection-1-6, 7-10, 8-8

Identification with refugee-1-8

Facial expression when affected emotionally-2-7

Affected emotionally and establishing empathy in traumatic cases-3-11; 5-47,48,50; 8-8,17; 10-8,12

Emotionally affected in only child abuse cases-4-32

Need for empathy-5-65

Establishing empathy-6-9,10; 7-3,16,23; 10-8

Affected conscientiously-7-11,17

Showing emotional affection to refugee-10-12



Appendix 26: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Legal Field Interpreters’ Awareness Towards Court Ethics and Legal Responsibility” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes

COURT ETHICS

Word-for-word interpreting to be fair-3-4
Not sharing information outside-3-4,10
Fair to refugees-4-12
Maintaining impartiality-4-22; 5-45,58; 8-7,16
Importance of every detail for the case-4-28,36
Trying to be transparent-5-23
Going beyond limits is illegal-5-24
Fidelity to the oath-5-24, 6-8, 9-11
Expressing opinions damages impartiality-5-29
Taking sides leads to intransparency-5-45
Maintaining distance for the good of professional boundary-5-60
Guidance is contrary to impartiality and oath-6-8
Judge needs to feel impartiality-6-14
Intervention in a case is contrary to justice and citizenship-7-6
Importance of interpreter statement-8-19
Undertaking initiative isn't ethical-9-7
Changing messages means unfaithfulness to oath-9-11
Wrongness of adding comments, guiding parties and manipulating messages-9-18
Word-for-word interpreting to prevent injustice-10-6
Importance of interpreter's conveying everything-10-7
Principle of impartiality-10-11

LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY

Responsibility in job-1-3
Concern of being fair and self-protection-3-6
Word-for-for interpreting as a matter of conscience-4-18, 7-14
Concern of self-protection in sensitive judicial processes-4-40
Going beyond limits is a matter of conscience and courage-5-23
Interpreter statements affecting case-5-27
Expressing opinions damages impartiality-5-29
Expressing opinions brings responsibility-5-30
Risk of misunderstanding when meeting with refugee side after hearing-5-42
Impartiality as a matter of conscience and courage-5-45
Interpreter's mistake affecting many people-5-45

Interpreter statements creating expectations-5-60

Job with specific responsibilities-5-64

Risk of a future mistake-7-14

Risky job-8-23

Risk of causing judicial punishment-9-7

Risk of being punished as an interpreter-9-9

Not distorting refugee's statement is a matter of conscience-9-21

Risk of manipulations in messages-10-3

Risk of overshadowing the case-10-14



Appendix 27: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Leading Motives for the (Legal Field) Interpreters to Get into the Job” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes

MEETING NEEDS

Contribution through native language-1-1

Being useful to refugees-1-2

Interpreting to meet people's need-2-1

In response to people's exploitation-7-2

Aim of helping people who don't know the language-9-3

Out of necessity at the first stage-10-2

Shortage of practitioners-10-2

Aim of assistance-10-4

INCOME

Interpreting to earn money-3-2

Source of side income-7-2, 9-3, 10-2

PREJUDICE AGAINST MOTHER TONGUE

Aim of changing people's negative perspective towards mother tongue-5-12

Willingness due to prejudice against mother tongue-6-2,3

Opportunity to use mother tongue-6-2

Aim of being a voice of ethnic origin-6-3

Appendix 28: The Excel Column for the Theme “The (Legal Field) Interpreters’ Attitude Towards the Interpreting Profession” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes

VOLUNTEERING

Volunteer work-1-1,3; 5-66; 6-23

Volunteer work for people having difficulty-3-2

Economic dimension in the background-5-18

Not a job for money-5-21,43; 10-20

Work done without expectations-5-28

Can be practiced in social life-6-23

RESPONSE TO NEEDS

Hope of refugee who doesn't know the language-1-1

Interpreting to meet people's need-2-1

Necessity-5-9,19,21; 10-2

Response to needs of people who can't express their troubles-5-28

Response to needs of exploited people-7-2

Response to need in the courthouse-7-5

A means of helping people who don't know the language-9-3

Response to needs in public institutions-9-5

Shortage of practitioners-10-2

Assisting refugees as a necessity-10-4

REFUGEES' VOICE

Refugees' tongue-1-3,7,8,11

Viewed as person who expresses the problems of refugees-1-3

Opportunity to be a voice of ethnic origin-6-3

Voice of refugee-10-6,9

ESSENTIAL ROLE

Key role-3-5

Indispensable for court-5-5,22,23,44,62

Title of official expert-5-7, 8-9

Interpreter as an individual to whom everyone listening in court-5-15

Interpreter similar to a judge and a lawyer-5-19,20

Assistance in removing the blockage-5-21,23

Intermediary in the solution of issues-5-22

Interpreter statements affecting case-5-27

Interpreter as decision-maker-5-42

Essential as much as a clerk-5-44

Interpreter's mistake affecting many people-5-45

A partner in decisions made by judge-5-63

Effective as an interpreter at first hand-6-4
Making an explanation auxiliary to decision-6-10
Sworn interpreter of the state-7-4,13
Assistance to justice-7-8
Important role in fact-9-5
Easing the court's work-9-19
Potential of being more influential than judge-10-6
Holy and important job-10-6,7
No function of other professional groups and court without interpreter-10-20,21

LACK OF RECOGNITION

Undefined job-1-3
Interpreter identity not questioned in court-1-3
Low respect of judges-1-9, 10-17
Judges' bias against interpreter-1-10
Lack of naming-3-5
Not an appreciated job-3-5,18
Not recognized-3-9
Officials' low awareness of interpreting profession-3-17
Not respected by court personnel-4-15,41
No positive perspective in the society-5-20
Lack of awareness of the role and tasks of the interpreter-5-63, 8-23
Need to raise interpreters' awareness-5-63
Practitioners with low awareness-5-65
People's perception of interpreting as a temporary act-7-10
Need for awareness of the need for interpreter-7-25
Need for protection of interpreters' labor-7-25
Value changing according to board-9-6
Changing perspective of judges about interpreters-9-21
Need for change about awareness of interpreters-9-21
Low status in people's eyes-10-6
Perceived as an ordinary job-10-17
Not given importance by court board-10-17
Need for understanding importance of interpreting-10-18
Not receiving deserved value-10-21

RESPECTED

Relatively high respect of court personnel-1-9
Respect of officials-2-11
Being respected-3-16, 9-18
Feeling important-4-10
Respected and trusted by police officers-4-14,15
Respected by legal experts-4-15, 7-26, 8-8

Interpreter role recognized by officials-4-39, 8-21

Feeling valuable-5-3

Positive perspective of court staff-5-5

Viewed as court staff-5-5,9,22

Viewed as more valuable as an interpreter than lawyer's clerk-5-9

Prestigious job for court personnel-8-7

UNSATISFACTORY FINANCIAL RETURN

Low remuneration-1-1, 2-4, 3-17, 4-16; 5-4,20,66,67; 9-7; 10-7

Lack of financial and moral returns-1-10

Not getting sufficient return of own labor-4-17

Disproportionate remuneration to the work done-5-4

No return for the sacrifice-5-21,22,43

Unsatisfying job in terms of remuneration and career-5-66

No return for responsibility taken-10-7

NO STANDARDIZATION

No standardization in interpreting job-1-10

No standardization in interpreter assignments-1-10, 9-21

Not being given chance to perform the job-3-6

Limited work area-3-17,18,20

No systematic procedures-3-19

Oligopoly in assignments-4-49

Remuneration especially in police stations changing from city to city-9-7

UNQUALIFIED PRACTITIONERS

Unqualified people lowering the quality-4-16,47; 8-23; 9-5,18

Practitioners with low awareness-5-65

Need for eliminating unqualified practitioners-8-23

Losses in personal rights due to unqualified practitioners-8-23

Need for ostracizing practitioners going beyond limits-9-20

Unqualified people carrying out wrong interpreting-10-19

Need for qualified and tested practitioners-10-19

NEED FOR INTERPRETER TRAINING

Lack of vocational trainings-1-10; 2-12; 3-1,5,9,17; 5-64; 10-19

Insufficient vocational training-3-1,5,9,17

No opportunities for professional development-3-17,19

Need for interpreter training-4-46, 5-62

Need for short trainings and certificate-5-65

Need for government-supported training for interpreters-6-22

Need for training of practitioners instead of officials-7-24,25

Need for training of practitioners also working for adults-9-2

Need for professional courses-10-19

SHORTCOMING IN INTERPRETING PERFORMANCE

Difficulty in explaining the terms to refugee-1-6
Indirect speech-2-5, 3-9, 5-35, 6-11, 7-8, 10-10
Hesitation in sensitive expressions-2-7, 3-13, 9-15
Difficulty in dialect differences-2-8; 8-19,20
Interpreting the sense when having difficulty in dialect differences-2-8
Panic and worry in case of tension-3-8
Being guided by officials in sensitive expressions-3-9
Direct interpreting of sensitive expressions after training-3-14
Conveying sensitive expressions directly despite having difficulty-4-35
Guessing what refugees want to say and have them confirm it-5-16
Making inferences from refugees' discourse-5-25
Associating first-person interpreting to adding own opinions-5-35
Being inexperienced-6-6
Not being able to understand refugee-6-6,9
Doing wrong due to haste-6-7
Plan to use first-person pronouns-6-11,12
Not being able to use legal expressions-6-12
Difficulty in legal terms-6-12, 7-8
Plan to use legal expressions-6-12
Not being able to understand legal terms on the internet-6-12
Not being able to interpret sensitive expressions-6-16

UNNECESSITY OF COMPREHENSIVE TRAININGS

Finding short training sufficient-4-2, 9-2
No need for training of officials working with interpreters-4-46; 7-22,25; 9-19
Training with a seminar is sufficient-5-65
Need for seminars for practitioners-7-25

NEED FOR TRAINING FOR OFFICIALS

Absence of training for those working with interpreters-1-10
Need for training of court staff-5-62,63; 10-18
Need for training of officials-6-21
Need for judges' understanding how to approach refugee through interpreter-10-18

PROFESSIONALIZATION REQUIREMENTS

Need for interpreter specialization-7-25
Need for oral examination-8-24
Need for control mechanism-8-24, 9-20
Need for creating professional and stable interpreter positions like other professional groups-10-20

WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE

Desire to continue despite unfavorable conditions-1-10, 2-12, 10-19
Willingness to continue as long as needed-1-11, 9-20
Willingness to continue the job-8-24

UNWILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE

Job opportunity at a state office-2-12
Disappointment-3-3,5,20; 5-67
Professional investment as loss of time and money-3-3
Doubt in continuing the job-3-18
Higher career goal-4-47
Plan to be a lawyer-5-2
Job to be sustained for a certain period of time-5-65
Plan to continue in trade-7-26
Willingness to practice literary translation-8-24
Unsustainable job due to refugees learning Turkish-8-26



Appendix 29: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Healthcare Interpreters as Active Actors in the Work Setting” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes

ADDITIONAL TASKS

Guiding patients to different units-1-31¹⁵⁶; 2-7,10; 3-5; 4-7; 10-7
Performing more tasks than specified in job description-1-44
Accompanying patients between various units-1-44
Giving service to also Turkish patients-1-46
Other tasks such as assisting doctors-2-7
Registration procedures for patients-3-5
Guiding and extra tasks apart from interpreting-3-11
Guiding patients about general matters (driver's licence, medical report)-7-6
Learning to organize patients-7-9
Warning patients who go to wrong units-8-6

RELATIONSHIPS WITH REFUGEES OUT OF INTERPRETING

PRE-INTERVIEW DIALOGUE

Collecting information from patients before doctor interviews-1-32; 4-6,14; 7-12; 9-15
Conveying collected information to doctor during interviews-1-32, 2-9
Confirming forgotten information with patients-1-32
Mostly no simultaneous interpreting-1-33
Developed method quickens procedures and enables parties to reach their targets-1-34
Searching for unknown terms while learning about patient stories beforehand-1-35
Getting information about patient's illness during registration procedures-3-10
Preparation before entering in doctor's room for unknown terms and expressions-4-7
Pre-interview dialogue with patients if there is enough time and collecting basic information from them-6-22
Asking doctors' routine questions to patients beforehand-7-12
Collecting information from patients before doctor interviews if there is enough time-8-10

EXPLANATIONS

Explaining their mistakes and medical procedures to patients after interviews-1-28
Explanations to patients after interpreting-1-31
Giving explanations to anxious patients independently-1-31
Explanations to patients and persuading them apart from interpreting-1-44
Searching for names and content of illnesses and explaining them to patients-4-2,9
Explanations to patients when they ask additional questions-6-21
Explanations to patients about routine procedures until a certain period-6-21

¹⁵⁶ The first number in “1-31” refers to the healthcare interpreter (HI-1) and the second number refers to the page number where the relevant code is located in the data set.

Only giving patients general information about how to carry out medical procedures in hospital-6-23
Explaining patients why interpreter can't deal with procedures apart from those in doctor's room-6-24

Explanations to patients about general procedures and use of medication-8-4

Providing patients with information forgotten by doctors-8-4

Sometimes repeating information to patients many times after leaving doctor's room although interpreter doesn't have to do so-10-6

Conveying details regarding use of medication expressed by doctors-10-7

Showing patients who don't know how to use medication by drawing on paper-10-19

RECOMMENDATIONS AND ADVICE

Directing patients to another institution for clear results-5-7

Recommendations to patients about consulting to specialist doctors-5-8

Giving advice but leaving last decision to patients-6-5

Reminding patients to give necessary information in doctor's room-6-22

Giving advice to patients independently of doctors-8-5

Warning patients who go to wrong units-8-6

Referring patients to another doctor when gender is a problem due to cultural codes-9-13

Advice to patients regarding diet-10-8

Repeating dietitian's recommendations to patient and warning patient about the subject-10-9

INTERVENTIONS DURING INTERPRETING

EXPLANATIONS

Further explanation to patient who doesn't understand-1-19

Explaining sensitive expressions not understood by patients-1-42

More explanatory interpreting to patients-2-14

Repeating information to some patients-2-14

Explaining illnesses to doctors based on patients' accounts-4-13

Explaining illnesses to doctor by showing the medication to doctor-4-13

Explaining to the doctor what exactly the problem is on behalf of timid female patients who can't express themselves-5-7

Informing doctor on patients' unnecessary details when doctor asks about them-6-3

Explanations to doctors about misunderstandings due to their limited knowledge of Arabic-6-6

Trying to help by giving examples for unclear statements-9-8

Trying to understand what patient means by asking questions and telling doctor in that way in cases where patient can't explain-9-9

DEALING WITH MISSTATEMENTS

Warning understanding patients about their misstatements-1-27

Correcting mistakes by asking patients-1-27, 9-9

Asking unclear statements repeatedly-1-27

Calling patient's attention in case of misinformation and asking them additional questions for clear information-4-6

Confirming the information meant by the patient in case of misinformation-5-7

Conveying to the doctor what patients say and mean-5-7

Interpreting by correcting misstatements-6-4, 8-5

Informing doctor and patients about corrections-6-4, 8-5

Doctors confirming corrections-6-4

Correction upon doctor's objection-10-8

Confirming the information corrected by doctor by repeating it to patient-10-8

MODIFICATIONS AND OMISSIONS IN MESSAGES

Not interpreting doctors' and patients' reactions towards each other-1-25

Interpreting medical language to patient in a way he/she understands-1-26

Not interpreting patients' abusive statements to doctors-1-29, 2-8

Using closest equivalences for unknown terms and expressions -1-35

Conveying sensitive expressions in other words-1-42

Conveying sensitive expressions politely-1-42

Softening some of doctors' expressions-1-43

Using religious expressions for conservative patients-1-43

Informing doctor on patient's abusive statement without indicating content upon doctor's insistence-2-8

Softening sensitive expressions-2-13

Using medical terms and brief interpreting to doctors-2-14

More explanatory interpreting to patients-2-14

Detailed interpreting or summary according to doctors' demands-3-9; 10-11,14

Conveying information not given by patient in doctor's room-4-7

Conveying medical expressions through public language-4-10

Difficulty in sensitive/abusive expressions and conveying them indirectly-4-12

Not interpreting unnecessary details given by patients-4-13

Direct interpreting doesn't always provide full equivalence of what is said-4-18, 5-12

Conveying to the doctor what patients say and mean-5-7

Summary or detailed interpreting according to the nature of illness-5-12

Informing doctor on patients' unnecessary details when doctor asks about them-6-3

Interpreting according to parties' explanations for unknown expressions-6-8

Keeping quiet for expressions she can't explain and telling doctor that she doesn't know-6-13

Additions to what is said by parties-6-20

Explaining medical terms in other words when having difficulty-8-6

Trying to understand what patient means by asking questions and telling doctor in that way in cases where patient can't explain-9-9

Not conveying unnecessary details given by patients with doctor's approval-9-14

Not conveying unnecessary details expressed by patient-10-11

Conveying bad news to patients by accustoming them upon doctor's instruction to do so-10-12

Appendix 30: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Healthcare Interpreters Acting Under Challenging Working Conditions” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes

GENDER-RELATED ISSUES

Female refugees less understanding and faster communication with male refugees-1-41
Sensitivity of female patients
Giving service to male patients more easily-4-11
Difficulty in sensitive/abusive expressions and conveying them indirectly-4-12
Turning his back while interpreting due to hesitant female patients-4-18
Explaining to the doctor what exactly the problem is on behalf of timid female patients who can't express themselves-5-7
Timid against female patients in early experiences-5-11
Obtaining more details from female patients-5-11
Timid against male patients-6-17
Fast and loud interpreting to female patients-6-19
Interpreting sensitive expressions calmly to male patients and male doctors due to being ashamed-6-19
Difficulty in interpreting issues related to gynaecological diseases-7-10
Hesitations in issues related to gynaecological diseases and sometimes calling the female interpreter-7-10
Having to ask the husbands who speak on behalf of their hesitant wives to go out-7-10
Being called by female interpreter to give service to male patients-7-11
Sometimes calling the female interpreter for female patients-9-12
Being stuck in a difficult situation and sometimes asking a female staff member from another unit to deal with the patient-9-12
Referring patients to another doctor when gender is a problem due to cultural codes-9-13
Calling the female interpreter for female patients who can't express sensitive expressions-9-14
Male patients giving up treatment due to lack of male interpreter-10-13
Telling hesitant male patients that she is also nurse and persuading them-10-13

SHORTAGE OF INTERPRETERS AND INCREASED WORKLOAD

Falling short of serving the large number of patients-1-24
Quick interpreting for more than one person in a single call-1-25
Not being able to give explanations to everyone-1-31
Having to collect information from patients beforehand-1-32, 9-15
Rush in the hospital-1-38
Loss of rights and complaints from administration-1-45
Little dialogue with doctors and collecting information from patients beforehand-2-9
Giving a hand in polyclinics although working in emergency unit-2-10
Searching for names of illnesses and explaining them to patients-4-2

Need for speed during interpreting-4-3

Not always being able to convey emotions-4-14

Not being able to have pre-interview dialogue when several patients wait together-6-22

Not being able to deal with every patient in detail-6-23

Not being able to deal with procedures apart from those in doctor's room-6-24

Falling short of service and being scolded by doctors-7-2

Not being able to respond to patients' additional questions-7-8

Not always being able to collect information before doctor interviews-8-10

Sometimes having difficulty in medical terms-9-10

Inability to give service to some patients-10-17

BIAS TOWARDS REFUGEES

Being in-between due to society's reaction towards refugees-1-23

Reactions to Syrians-1-30

Turkish patients' reactions to Syrians-1-34

Demoralization-1-37

People's misunderstanding and reactions while interpreter enters into doctor's room with patients-4-17

People's prejudice against interpreter due to being a Syrian in early experience-6-2

Patients complaining to interpreter since some doctors don't want to examine Syrian patients-7-7

Discriminatory attitude of some doctors and hospital staff towards interpreter due to ethnic origin-9-16

TENSE ATMOSPHERE

Not interpreting patients' reactions and swearwords to doctors due to risk of losing job-1-26

Explaining their mistakes and medical procedures to patients after interviews-1-28

Not interpreting patients' abusive statements to doctors-1-29,30

Mostly trying to calm down patients-1-30

Not responding to reactions of doctors who don't know that he is Syrian-1-30

Explaining the situation in response to reactions of staff lower than doctors-1-30

No willingness to do interpreting and decrease in performance-1-38

Offering someone who speaks Arabic to interpret instead of himself-1-38

Self-defence in case of wrongful act of biased doctors-1-45

Undertaking initiative not to give rise to tense atmosphere-2-8

Not conveying abusive statements of patients to doctors-2-8

Informing doctor on patient's abusive statement without indicating content upon doctor's insistence-2-8

Calming patients down in tense atmosphere-2-9, 8-5

Reminding patients that they need to be respectful-6-3, 8-6

Intervention in tense atmosphere only when witnessing the situation-6-5

Response to rude patient by reminding her role boundary-6-15

Being stuck in a difficult situation and warning them when some patients display disrespectful behavior-7-11

Calming parties in tense atmosphere and trying to eliminate misunderstanding-9-10

Interpreter has to calm parties-9-10

Telling patients that they need to wait for their turn-10-16

REFUGEES' PROBLEMATIC EXPECTATIONS

Patients speaking at length and doctors' lack of time-1-33

Expectations of patients for solutions-1-44

Patients expectations of quick treatment-2-9

Need for speed during interpreting since doctor and patient speak at the same time-4-3

Patients who aren't convinced of medical examination-4-7

Expectations of patients not to wait for their turn-4-15, 5-15

Explanations to refugees who don't want to wait for their turn-5-8

Refugees' insensible demands about medical treatment-5-13

Expectations of patients regarding medical procedures apart from interpreting-6-23

Interrupting patients speaking at length-7-12

Refugees' expectations of assistance even out of hospital-7-13

Having problems during interpreting due to hasty doctors-7-15

Refugees' doubtful attitude towards medical procedures-8-10

Refugees' expectations of accompaniment to other institutions-9-15

Expectations of patients from interpreter to repeat what doctors say-10-6

Requests of patients for not waiting and expectations from interpreter to ask doctor on their behalf-10-16

Appendix 31: The Excel Column for the Theme “The Leading Motives for the (Healthcare) Interpreters to Get into the Job” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes

THE NEED TO MAKE A LIVING

Interpreting job due to lack of diploma in another area-1-7

No job opportunity in the studied field-4-1,3

Aim of earning livelihood-8-2

THE DESIRE TO GENERATE INCOME DURING STUDENTSHIP PERIOD

Starting healthcare interpreting so that both uni education and interpreting job can go together-2-3

Aim of working during studentship-7-1

THE CONFIDENCE DEVELOPED THROUGH PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE

Opportunity to perform the job he knows-5-2

Job that he can succeed-9-4

Appendix 32: The Excel Column for the Theme “The (Healthcare) Interpreters’ Attitude Towards the Interpreting Profession” and Relevant Subthemes with Codes

ESTABLISHING COMMUNICATION

Interpreter as an individual establishing communication-2-5,17; 8-3; 9-7

Interpreter as an individual establishing communication and dialogue-4-5

Interpreting like uniting two mountains-5-4

Intermediary connecting two people-5-4

Transferring everything to a person who doesn't understand anything-10-5

HELPING PEOPLE

Interpreter as an individual helping people-2-5

Helping people-7-3

Both practicing a job and helping people-9-20

Humanitarian job-10-5

CRITICAL JOB

Interpreter like a doctor-1-19

Human life is at stake in medical interpreting-1-19,20

Need for zero mistake in medical interpreting-4-18

Wrong expression of interpreter leads to wrong diagnosis-6-2

Job not everyone can do-6-2

Big responsibility-6-5

Healthcare interpreting is the most difficult and sensitive-7-2,6

Risk in healthcare interpreting-7-5

Responsibility in healthcare interpreting-7-9

Healthcare interpreting is risky-8-3

Risk of misinformation-9-9

ESSENTIAL ROLE

Interpreter superior to a doctor-1-21

Doctor can't do his/her job without interpreter-1-21

Interpreter as an individual facilitating job of doctors and saving time for them-4-5, 5-14

Those who don't speak a foreign language can only understand expressions clearly through interpreting-5-5

Officials can't do job without interpreter-5-5

Doctors being dependent on interpreters-5-14

Interpreter's job is also beneficial for hospital staff-6-26

Must in situations when doctor and patient can't communicate-9-7,8

Interpreting for refugees is a necessity-9-8

Valuable job in fact since interpreter transfers everything to a person who doesn't understand anything-10-5

LACK OF RECOGNITION

General perception that knowing languages is sufficient for interpreting-1-19,22

Low value attached to interpreters-1-22,45

Viewed as a job anyone can do-1-22, 6-2

Interpreters aren't given importance due to the society's reaction towards refugees-1-23

Undervalued and despised by refugees-1-39, 10-19

Appreciation of interpreter changing from person to person-1-43

Secretary work in institutions with low number of refugee patients-1-44

Putting the blame on interpreter who is intermediary-1-44

Disrespect of arrogant and uneducated people based on personal or ethnic reasons-1-44

Title of interpreter yet wider range of tasks under the name of patient guide in contract-1-46

Patients not perceiving the interpreter's role sufficiently-4-14

Not the same attitude of every doctor towards interpreter-4-15

Hospital staff not acknowledging the interpreter-4-16

Need for more systematic procedures related to interpreters-4-16

Need for explanations from upper units about interpreters' job descriptions-4-17,18

Unseen tool-5-7

Refugees not understanding interpreter's job due to lack of language knowledge-5-13

Interpreting is new to refugees and they aren't aware of interpreting job-5-13

Disrespect of officials-5-15

Subject to fait accompli in return for low income-5-18

Not respected at first by hospital staff-6-25

Misevaluation of hospital staff regarding interpreters-6-25

Scolded by Turkish people and doctors-7-2

Some doctors' doubtful attitude towards interpreters-7-7

Important job yet its importance isn't understood-8-3

Discriminatory attitude of some doctors and hospital staff towards interpreter due to ethnic origin-9-16

Low-status job in people's eyes like nursing-10-5

Patient's doubt about interpreter's length of speech and bringing another interpreter-10-16

RELATIVELY HIGHER RECOGNITION

More respect of those having experience of working with interpreters and understanding its importance-1-44

Respect of doctors and nurses in general-1-45

Respect of hospital staff and being preferred by them-2-15

Doctor recognizing interpreter's role and viewing it as a mentor system-5-14

Being viewed as a public official with high status and outlook-5-16

Doctor's acknowledging interpreter's job and valuing it-6-26, 7-3

Some doctors' awareness towards interpreter's job and not keeping interpreter waiting-7-13

Being trusted and called by police units due to training received-7-16

Respect of some doctors understood through their behavior-8-11

Respectful staff communicating with interpreter and expressing their thanks-9-17

Doctors' satisfaction with interpreter-10-16

PROFESSIONAL DEFICIENCIES

TRAINING NEEDS

Need for further language education and examination for practitioners-1-45

Need for more graduates of interpreting departments-2-16

Need for longer in-service training-3-2

Need for more trainings for interpreters-6-26

Need for more detailed and more frequent trainings especially on medical terminology-10-18

UNQUALIFIED PRACTITIONERS

Untrained practitioners-1-23, 6-7

Unqualified and incapable practitioners in project-1-45; 5-15,17

Job opportunity for those with little knowledge of languages who can't practice main profession-1-45

Skilled interpreters preferring jobs with better income-1-45,46

Educated individuals performing their own professions-1-45

Low criteria for interpreting job in project-5-17

Practitioners recruited through influential contacts in project-5-17

NEED FOR INCREASING NUMBER OF INTERPRETERS

Need for increasing the number of interpreters-1-45, 2-10, 7-2, 8-13

TRAINING OFFICIALS

Need for training officials on humanitarian issues-1-45

Need for training staff out of doctors-4-15

Need for raising awareness of officers working by doctors-5-15

Need for trainings for practitioners-6-7

Need for orientation training for hospital staff when interpreters start to work with them-6-25

Need for raising awareness of hospital staff towards interpreter's job-6-26

Need for training doctors on interpreters' job procedures-7-14, 8-12, 9-18

MAINTAINING ILLUSIO

Continuous salary, long-term project, possibility of other alternatives after project as sources of satisfaction-1-22

Not paying attention to income sometimes-1-22

Enjoying every kind of translation and interpreting-1-22

Embracing and loving his job-1-43

Love of job-2-4, 4-5

Job satisfaction-3-12, 4-16

Loving job and desire to continue-6-26, 9-20

One needs to love interpreting job to perform it-6-26

Viewing interpreting as his profession-9-20

BROKEN ILLUSIO

Job in project is not interpreting but killing time-5-3

Not getting the return of labor-5-5

Hoplessness about interpreting job in project-5-9

No self-improvement in interpreting job in project-5-10

Naming himself as an officer rather than as an interpreter-5-15

Labor to become interpreter isn't worth-5-16

Disproportion between possessed knowledge of languages and job status-5-16

Losing patience in job-7-2

Taking a dislike towards job-7-2

Nice job but sometimes not making up to people-7-4

Regretful about job-8-13

NO SUSTAINABILITY

Continuing job only due to psychological comfort and settled life with family-1-45

Not many job opportunities in PSI-1-46

Temporary job-1-46

No job guarantee in project-4-17

Improving English may bring other job opportunities-4-17

There may be no need for interpreters due to refugees turning back or learning Turkish-4-18

Job without a guaranteed position-5-17,18

Need for a stable interpreter position-6-7

Concern for job continuity-6-26

Not a job that can be practiced constantly-7-17

Interpreting could be practiced for 2 years more if conditions were better-8-13

WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE

Willingness to continue-3,4,6,9

UNWILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE

Desire to continue and improve himself in simultaneous interpreting-1-46

Desire to do trade-1-46, 5-18

Desire to learn other languages and continue interpreting-2-5

Desire to start education at open education faculty to both improve in job and continue education-2-5

Desire to be a sworn translator and to do translations in the father's company-2-15,16

No desire to continue in interpreting-5-18, 8-13, 10-18

Desire to continue until graduation-7-17

Desire to practice own job-7-17, 8-13, 10-18

Desire to study and practice nursing in Turkey-10-3,4,18

