DOKUZ EYLÜL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING
ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING PROGRAM
MASTER'S THESIS

COMMUNITY INTERPRETING NETWORK IN TURKEY: PERCEPTIONS ON (NON)PROFESSIONALIZATION AND BEYOND

Gamze GÜRLEYEN

Supervisor
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şeyda KINCAL

İZMİR- 2022

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis/non-thesis master's term project titled as "**Community Interpreting Network in Turkey: Perceptions on (Non)Professionalization and Beyond**." has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules andethical 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.

27/06/2022.

Gamze GÜRLEYEN

ABSTRACT

Master's Thesis

Community Interpreting Network in Turkey: Perceptions on (Non)Professionalization and Beyond

Gamze GÜRLEYEN

Dokuz Eylül University
Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of Translation and Interpreting
English Translation and Interpreting Program

The need for communication across the world leads the need for community interpreters to increase especially in governmental institutions, such as courts, hospitals, and immigration offices. Considering the cruciality of such settings in terms of the lives of the language deficient people, community interpreting is of high importance, and the profession requires the application of ethical principles for quality interpreting accordingly. Therefore, this study aims to analyze how the community interpreters from different subfields perceive the ethical principles, the conditions within the field and the actors involved in this process. It is presumed that there is a lack of professionalization in the field of community interpreting. In this sense, the perceptions of 12 community interpreters were analyzed through semi-structured in-depth interviews by adopting a phenomenological approach to understand how they perceive the phenomenon of ethical principles and professionalization. The interview questions consist of 5 parts as General Qualifications and Experiences, Role, Ethical Principles, Actors, and Institutionalization and Professionalization. Within the framework of Actor-Network Theory by Callon and Latour, these questions were used to map the network of community interpreting in Turkey and to define the actors within with the aim of understanding how the interpreters see the profession and the effect of other human and non-human actors. Through the data obtained from these interviews, it is aimed to demonstrate whether it is possible to speak of norms in

the field within the concept of professional norms by Chesterman. According to the findings, each sub-network has its own human and non-human actors that vary depending on their interests in the network. The lack of professionalization in Turkey leads the interpreters to adapt themselves to the expectations of the other actors causing their roles to change continuously and to turn into more active than necessary. As a result, the adoption of ethical principles also varies according to these expectations which shows that the actors through their expectations affect the perceptions, behaviors and roles of the community interpreters. It is concluded that the lack of an association in the field of community interpreting in Turkey causes the prevalence of other actors' expectations to exercise control over the behaviors of the community interpreters. This study is thought to contribute to the field in terms of understanding the perceptions of the community interpreters as the central actor, but the perceptions of the other actors need to be analyzed to understand and evaluate the network thoroughly as a whole.

Keywords: community interpreting, Actor-Network Theory, professional norms, ethical principles, professionalization.

ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Türkiye'de Toplum Çevirmenliği Ağı:

Meslekleş(eme)meye Yönelik Algılar ve Ötesi

Gamze GÜRLEYEN

Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Mütercim-Tercümanlık Anabilim Dalı

İngilizce Mütercim-Tercümanlık Yüksek Lisans Programı

Dünya genelinde yabancı insanların iletişim ihtiyacı özellikle mahkeme, hastane ve göçmenlik bürosu gibi kamu kurumlarındaki toplum çevirmeni ihtiyacını artırmaktadır. Dil eksikliği yaşayan kişinin hayatı açısından bu ortamların önemi düşünüldüğünde, toplum çevirmenliği mesleği büyük bir önem taşımakta ve bu doğrultuda da çeviri kalitesi açısından etik ilkelerin uygulanmasını gerektirmektedir. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma farklı alt dallardaki toplum çevirmenlerinin etik ilkeleri, alandaki koşulları ve sürece dahil olan aktörleri nasıl algıladıklarını incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanın temeli olarak Türkiye'de toplum çevirmenliği alanının meslekleşemediği varsayılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda da, etik ilkeler ve meslekleşme fenomenlerini nasıl algıladıklarını anlamak üzere fenomenolojik bir yaklaşım benimseyerek yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmelerle 12 toplum çevirmeninin algısı incelenmiştir. Görüşme soruları Genel Nitelikler ve Deneyim, Rol, Etik İlkeler, Aktörler, Kurumsallaşma ve Meslekleşme olmak üzere 5 kısımdan oluşmaktadır. Bu sorular, Callon ve Latour'un Aktör-Ağ Kuramı çerçevesinde hem Türkiye'deki toplum çevirmenliği ağının haritasını oluşturmak hem de çevirmenlerin mesleğe ve canlı-cansız aktörlere yönelik düşüncelerini anlamak amacıyla aktörleri tanımlamak üzere kullanılmıştır. Bu görüşmelerden elde edilen veriler ışığında bu çalışma, Chesterman'ın mesleki norm kavramıyla alanda normlardan söz etmenin mümkün olup olmadığını belirlemeyi de amaçlamaktadır. Bulgulara bakıldığında her bir alt ağın ağdaki çıkarlarına bağlı olarak değişen kendi canlı ve cansız aktörleri olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

Türkiye'deki meslekleşememe durumu çevirmenlerin kendilerini diğer aktörlerin beklentilerine göre şekillendirmesine ve rollerinin sürekli olarak değişip gereğinden daha fazla aktif olmasına yol açmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, etik ilkelerin benimsenmesi bu beklentilere göre şekillenmekte ve bu da aktörlerin beklentileriyle toplum çevirmenlerinin algılarını, davranışlarını ve rollerini etkilediğini göstermektedir. Türkiye'de toplum çevirmenliği alanında bir derneğin olmayışının, aktörlerin beklentilerinin toplum çevirmenlerinin davranışları üzerinde kontrol sahibi olmasına yol açtığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Bu çalışmanın, merkezi bir aktör olan çevirmenin algısını anlamaya yönelik bir katkı sağladığı düşünülmektedir, ancak ağı bir bütün olarak derinlemesine anlayıp değerlendirebilmek için diğer aktörlerin algılarının da incelenmesi gerekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: toplum çevirmenliği, Aktör-Ağ Kuramı, mesleki normlar, etik ilkeler, meslekleşme.

COMMUNITY INTERPRETING NETWORK IN TURKEY: PERCEPTIONS ON (NON)PROFESSIONALIZATION AND BEYOND

CONTENTS

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE ii

DECLARATION iii

ABSTRACT iv

ÖZET vi

CONTENTS viii

ABBREVIATIONS xii

LIST OF FIGURES xiii

LIST OF APPENDICES xiv

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER ONE

COMMUNITY INTERPRETING AS A PROFESSION

1.1. THE DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY INTERPRETING 6

1.1.1. Healthcare Interpreting 8

1.1.2. Legal Interpreting 10

1.1.3. Public Service Interpreting 11

1.1.4. Notary Public Interpreting 12

1.1.5. Emergency and Disaster Interpreting (ARC) 13

1.2. COMMUNITY INTERPRETING IN TURKEY 14

1.3. ETHICAL PRINCIPLES IN COMMUNITY INTERPRETING 16

1.3.1. Accuracy 16

1.3.2. Impartiality 16

1.3.3. Confidentiality 17

1.3.4. Professionalism 17

1.4. SUMMARY 17

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW FOR COMMUNITY INTERPRETING 19

2.1.1. Professionalization in Community Interpreting 21

2.1.2. Norms in Translation Studies 22

2.1.3. Norms in Interpreting Studies 25

2.1.4. Research on Community Interpreting in Turkey 27

2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY 31

2.2.1. Actor-Network Theory 31

2.2.2. Actor-Network in Translation & Interpreting Studies 34

2.2.3. Professional Norms 38

2.3. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK 41

2.3.1. Phenomenology as Methodological Approach 41

2.3.1.1. Phenomenology in Translation and Interpreting Studies 42

2.3.2. Data Collection Tools 44

2.3.2.1 Qualitative In-Depth Interviews 45

2.3.2.2. Interviews with Community Interpreters 46

2.3.2.3. Interview Questions 48

2.3.2.3.1. General Qualifications and Experiences 49

2.3.2.3.2. Actors 49
2.3.2.3.3. Roles 50
2.3.2.3.4 Ethical Principles 50
2.3.2.3.5. Institutionalization and Professionalization 51

2.4. SUMMARY 51

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS:

THE ROLES AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE INTERPRETERS

3.1. SETTINGS 52

3.2. PARTICIPANTS 53

3.2.1. Healthcare Interpreters 53

3.2.2. Court Interpreters 54

3.2.3. Public Service Interpreters 55

3.2. ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS 56

3.2.1. Role 56
3.2.1.1. Healthcare Interpreting 57
3.2.1.2. Court Interpreting 64
3.2.1.3. Public Service Interpreting 71
3.2.1.4. Summary 76

3.2.2. Ethical Principles 78
3.2.2.1. Healthcare Interpreters 78
3.2.2.2. Court Interpreting 85
3.2.2.3. Public Service Interpreting 93
3.2.2.4. Summary 96

3.2.3. Institutionalization and Professionalization 98
3.2.3.1. Healthcare Interpreting 98

3.2.3.2. Court Interpreting 104
3.2.3.3. Public Service Interpreting 111
3.2.3.4. Summary 115

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION OF ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY AND PROFESSIONAL NORMS IN COMMUNITY INTERPRETING

4.1. ANT IN HEALTHCARE INTERPRETING 118
4.1.1. Role 118
4.1.2. Ethical Principles 121
4.1.3. Institutionalization and Professionalization 123
4.1.4. Network of Healthcare Interpreting 125
4.2. ANT IN COURT INTERPRETING 126
4.2.1. Role 126
4.2.2. Ethical Principles 129
4.2.3. Institutionalization and Professionalization 131
4.2.4. Network of Court Interpreting 133
4.3. ANT IN PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETING 135
4.3.1. Role 136
4.3.2. Ethical Principles 138
4.3.3. Institutionalization and Professionalization 139
4.3.4. Network of Public Service Interpreting 141
4.4. DISCUSSION OF THE PROFESSIONAL NORMS IN COMMUNITY INTERPRETING 143
CONCLUSION 149

REFERENCES 162

APPENDICES

ABBREVIATIONS

ANT	Actor-Network Theory
ARC	Afette Rehber Çevirmen
ASAM	Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants
ENSPIT	European Network for Public Service Interpreting & Translation
IAPTI	International Association of Professional Translators and Interpreters
IMIA	International Medical Interpreters Association
KVKK	Kişisel Verileri Koruma Kanunu
LDP	Language Deficient Person
NAJIT	National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators
NCIHC	National Council on Interpreting in Health Care
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
SAR	Search and Rescue Team
YDS	Foreign Language Exam

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Subfields of Community Interpreting p. 2
Figure 2: Network of Healthcare Interpreting in Turkey p. 125
Figure 3: Network of Court Interpreting in Turkey p. 134
Figure 4: Network of Public Service Interpreting in Turkey p. 141

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Approval of the Ethical Committee of Dokuz Eylul University app. p. 1

Appendix 2: Consent Form of the Interviews app. p. 2

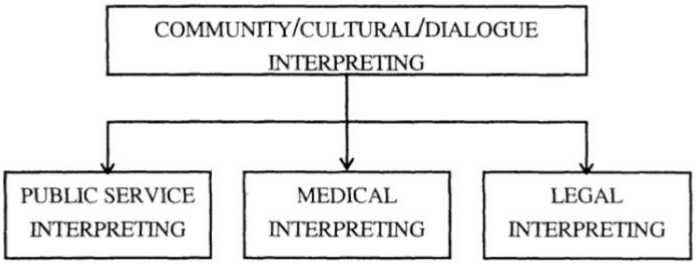
Appendix 3: Interview Questions for Community Interpreters app. p. 3

INTRODUCTION

Today, the world has been going through a process where more people are in circulation, moving from their countries to the others due to reasons such as education, work opportunities, marriage, wars, and natural disasters. These displacements can cause some requirements to maintain one's daily errands in another country one of which is definitely the communication. Nevertheless, the language barrier in official procedures, healthcare or legal issues can be overcome through the inclusion of an essential actor for healthy communication, that is the community interpreter. The profession of community interpreting, therefore, provides those who do not know the language in a society with access to services (Shlesinger, 2011, as cited in Bancroft 2015: 219). The profession of community interpreting is consequently of great importance for the lives of the people considering its settings including healthcare, court and asylum hearings. Although community interpreting was being done by lay people such as children, acquaintances or voluntary people who were untrained, now it has become a profession for a few decades (Wadensjö, 2001: 33).

On the other hand, community interpreting is studied by scholars academically for its practices, roles, standards, perceptions, etc. As a newly developing field in the Translation and Interpreting Studies, the practices and the definitions of community interpreting vary according to many factors such as the settings and the role adopted by the interpreter. According to Roda Roberts (1997: 8), community interpreting has many names other than itself including public service interpreting, dialogue interpreting, cultural interpreting and medical or court interpreting, ad hoc interpreting which shows that the main difference is that it is apart from the conference interpreting and the definitions such as medical or legal interpreting restrict the interpreters to a certain setting. On the other hand, Sylvia Kalina (2002) does not include court interpreting within community interpreting but defines community interpreting as the type of interpreting activity covering those other than conference interpreting naming it as non-conference interpreting (see Scholdager, 1998). Besides, the term community interpreting is generally used in the English-speaking countries, unlike the Great Britain which officially adopted "public service interpreting" concept (Pöchhacker, 1999). Nevertheless, Roda Roberts (1997) places public service interpreting under community interpreting as a subfield.

Figure 1: Subfields of Community Interpreting



Source: Roberts, 1997: 9

As there is not a consensus on the name of the profession, it can be claimed through these name variations of the field that the settings and the roles have an impact on the definitions and so do the definitions on the roles of the interpreters. In this study, the concept of "community interpreting" will be used, because one of the main aims of this profession is to make sure the people including immigrants (Tahir-Gürçağlar & Diriker, 2004), members of indigenous groups (Pöllabauer, 2013: 11), etc. who lack the language of the country that they are in are provided with the "full and equal access to public services (legal, health, education, local government and social services)".

Even though the profession has been alive for years before it was defined as a profession as such, community interpreting gained importance not more than 30 years ago as a research field. In the First International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health, and Social Service Settings in 1995, community interpreting was discussed for the first time, and it contributed to this field in terms of increased number of studies conducted (Pöchhacker, 1999: 125).

Later on, with the escalating numbers of the immigrants, expats and travelers around the world, countries such as the USA, Australia and Canada developed their community interpreting services and established organizations such as NAJIT, IMIA, NCIHC and IAPTI. This increasing mobility led the researchers to conduct more research in the field in order to define the profession and the roles besides other issues including role perceptions and role expectations, education and training and its relationship with culture and migration.

In Turkey, community interpreting as a profession is still in the developing phase unlike in the above-mentioned countries, considering the current laws, organizations, curricula of the universities and research. As the settings include hospitals, police offices, and courts where a lack of language and communication exists and serious consequences (Hale, 2007: 33) may arise, the interpreter is expected to be a professional accordingly. In order for the interpreters to do so, they need to be supported by trainings, laws, regulations and professional communities.

This study aims to examine the community interpreting network and its actors (human and non-human) playing a role in the perception of ethical principles of the community interpreters within the Actor-Network theory by and Bruno Latour (1996) in relation to professional and expectancy norms by Andrew Chesterman (1993).

In general, this study asks the following questions regarding the perceptions of the community interpreters:

1. How is the perception of community interpreters on ethical principles shaped under non-professionalization/non-institutionalization in Turkey?

Follow-up questions to be asked are as follows:

1. What/who are the actors effective in the perception and roles in the community interpreting network?

2. What is the position of the interpreters in this network? Does it vary according to the field?

3. How do the community interpreters define their and others' roles?

As the sociological perspective will be adopted with respect to the perception of ethical principles and the roles of the community interpreters, the notion of sociological approach towards translation studies will be adapted to interpreting studies in this research. Chesterman (2006: 12) divides the sociology of translation into three categories -the sociology of the products; the sociology of translators; the sociology of translating (the process). Therefore, the sociology of the interpreters to include other actors and the sociology of interpreting as affected by the actors will be the main concerns in this study. Since it is aimed to analyze the perspectives and the perceptions of the community interpreters on the ethical principles and professionalization of the field, the other actors are analyzed through the eyes of the interpreters. Within the scope of the study, with a qualitative approach, semi-structured

interviews were conducted with the community interpreters, who constitute the main actors of the network. It is thought that the interviews will help the interpreters question and realize their roles, if they have not so far, and gain self-recognition which is thought to be necessary for the recognition of the interpreters in the society (Ruano, 2017: 34). As a result, the interviews were carried out with 12 community interpreters from different settings in order both to reflect the current situation in the field in Turkey and to demonstrate the struggles that the interpreters experience in different settings. Their answers have been discussed within the framework of Actor-Network theory and with reference to Chesterman's concepts of professional norms and expectancy norms.

This study consists of four chapters in order to analyze the field of community interpreting in Turkey and to answer the abovementioned questions. Chapter One focuses on the general definition and practices of community interpreting both around the world and especially in Turkey. The definitions of the subfields of community interpreting and the generally accepted ethical principles are included as a basis for the study. Accordingly, the adopted roles by the interpreters and to what extent the principles are abided by will be examined.

In Chapter Two, the literature review, theoretical framework and methodological approach used in the study are presented. The studies conducted abroad and in Turkey on community interpreting, professionalism and perceptions are given in the literature review. As for the theoretical framework of the study, Actor-Network Theory by Latour and *professional norms* by Chesterman are used in the context of community interpreting within Interpreting Studies. Followed by these sections, phenomenology is presented as the methodological approach adopted to understand the perceptions of the community interpreters on their experiences in the field. As the data collection tool, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 12 community interpreters working in Turkey. Due to COVID-19, on-site observation could not be performed, but the statements of the interpreters through interviews were thought to be useful to understand their points of view.

Chapter Three is based on data analysis from the interviews with the interpreters. The demographic data of the interpreters and the information on the settings are given in this section. From the questions asked the interpreters under 4 main titles, Role, Ethical Principles, and Institutionalization and Professionalization,

except for the Previous Experiences and General Qualifications, and Actors which will be discussed in Chapter 4. The comments of the interpreters and their analysis provide us with an insight into how they define their roles, the field and the other actors.

From the analysis in Chapter 3, the network and the human and non-human actors within the network are discussed in ANT's concepts as mediator and intermediary in Chapter 4. The networks are mapped from the data obtained through the interviews, and how the mediator actors translate the process is analyzed in the phases of translation. The translation process as well as the translated roles of the actors help us understand how the participants are included in the network and make connections with each other. After the discussion of the concepts of ANT, the professional norms in the field of community interpreting are explained. The combination of ANT and the professional norms is thought to be helpful in understanding the roles of the actors and how they contribute to the network by setting norms. In the existence of non-professionalization, it is presumed that many actors can get involved in the network by affecting the behaviors and roles of the interpreters.

The Conclusion part will present the final evaluation by bringing the two concepts together. As a result, the profession of community interpreting in Turkey is examined through the perceptions of the interpreters as the central actors and the norms existing within the field.

CHAPTER ONE

COMMUNITY INTERPRETING AS A PROFESSION

1.1. THE DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY INTERPRETING

The action of interpreting is set apart from translation which has prevailed in the field more than interpreting, in terms of its aim to convey a meaning, rather than codeswitching, as interpreting is about conveying ideas, while codeswitching is about language (Seleskovitch, 1976: 94). Although the translation is not merely about codeswitching, the general research in the area mostly focuses on its linguistic aspects, even if its scope of research has been expanding. When compared with written translation, the act of oral translation in community interpreting additionally consists of good memory and communicational skills (Jacobsen, 2009).

Apart from conference interpreting, the field that is compared to community interpreting the most (see Corsellis, 2008), community interpreting is based on individuals rather than an institution (Bancroft et al., 2013: 95) in order to provide those in need the service in question to include them in the society. As the process of interpreting takes place verbally in a setting, the action consists of at least, and mostly, 3 persons and continues as suggested in Interpretation theory by Seleskovitch (1976: 97): “speaker's act of speech --> interpreter's understanding thereof as listener; ideas of the interpreter/speaker (identical to those of the original speaker) --> interpreter's act of speech”. From the description of this type of communication, it can be said that the interpreting process includes listening to, understanding and rendering the message by the speakers. However, the rendering part needs to be evaluated by the interpreter in accordance with the “socio-cultural background” of the parties “in community-based domains” to make sure that they understand each other (Pöchhacker, 2004: 57).

Speaking of the community-based domains, the scope of community interpreting, in general, is defined as:

> *... citizens of a country who do not speak the majority/official language (including people with hearing impairment) as well as asylum-seekers, illegal or legal immigrants, victims of human traffickers, etc. can require community interpreting services in their contacts and dealings with courts, police stations,*

hospitals, immigration services, border patrols, schools, etc. (Tahir-Gürçağlar & Diriker, 2004: 74)

Although community interpreting as a profession is essential to ensure that the governmental institutions work efficiently with those who lack the language of the related country, the studies in the field are inadequate and the field has not received the attention that it deserves so far. Community interpreting gained recognition only back to the 1990s in the first international conference "Interpreters in the Community" in Canada (Pöchhacker, 1999:125), even though its history goes back to the 1970s when being used in Australia (Hale, 2007: 30).

According to Pöchhacker (1999: 126), the definition of community interpreting is "interpreting in institutional settings of a given society in which public service providers and individual clients do not speak the same language". These settings consist of "police and (non-courtroom) legal encounters, schools (parent-teacher conferences), public safety, employment interviews, and community agency services, as well as health and mental health care settings (Downing & Helms Tillery 1992:2). This type of interpreting, therefore, aims to make sure that the people who lack the knowledge of the language in a given society are integrated and their institutional needs are met by eliminating the problem occurring due to cultural and linguistic differences and that the language barrier is removed (Bancroft et al., 2015). Considering the globalization, convenience for traveling, living abroad and the refugee influx, the number of foreign population in different countries are increasing, especially in multicultural countries such as the USA, Australia and Canada where multilingualism and the multiculturalism are dominant for a long period of time and the profession of community interpreting is well-established (Duman, 2018: 7; Shuttleworth, 2014:23).

Different than other types of interpreting, community interpreting generally takes place impromptu and this entails the interpreters being aware of the requirements of the "social and institutional settings" (Hale, 2007: 9). Unlike conference interpreting, community interpreting requires more responsibility in terms of the cruciality of the lives of one of the interlocutors (i.e., patient, defendant, refugee) (ibid: 26). Therefore, the interpreters need to make sure that the interlocutors understand each other by eliminating the cultural constraints and that the ethical principles are met

in accordance with the restrictions of the settings (Garber, 2000: 17). Nevertheless, even within the community interpreting, some of the settings require different responsibilities and limit the behaviors of the interpreters, such as court interpreting.

Community interpreting is mostly compared with conference interpreting (Hale, 2007; Garber, 2000; Pöchhacker, 1999) due to their "mode of delivery, level of formality, status, participants and proxemics" (Hale, 2007:31), but even its subfields such as healthcare/medical interpreting, court interpreting, interpreting for refugees, etc. have their own properties to be discussed. Therefore, community interpreting cannot be restricted and limited to certain conditions and behaviors, unlike other types of interpreting contexts such as conferences and business meetings (Kurultay and Bulut, 2012: 79). One of the main issues to be discussed may be the divergency in the names of different community interpreting settings: healthcare & medical interpreting for interpreting at the hospitals; legal & court interpreting at the courtrooms; public service & community interpreting at the government agencies and escort interpreting (Mikkelson, 1999), liaison interpreting (Gentile et al., 1996) are the most common terms. Even if diversity sounds interesting, the diversity in the terminology of community interpreting causes divergence and a lack of unity. Therefore, the professional aspect of the profession is also affected, and the profession is barely recognized due to the conflict. The difference and complexity in the terminology also have an impact on the role of the interpreter as they do not always define themselves as community interpreters.

1.1.1. Healthcare Interpreting

As a subfield of community interpreting, healthcare (medical) interpreting is performed in settings such as hospitals and medical tourism centers. Even though the terms 'medical interpreting' and 'healthcare interpreting' can be used interchangeably, healthcare interpreting refers to a more comprehensive definition as it does not include only medical field, but also rehabilitation and mental health (Roat & Crezee, 2015: 237).

The interpreter is considered the only party that is able to follow each cross-linguistic discourse among other parties (Davidson, 2000: 380). However, it has been observed that the communication process between the healthcare provider and the

patient is not clear and effective enough due to the use of medical terminology by the healthcare providers and the socio-cultural differences, in which the healthcare interpreter becomes a part of the process and acts as an intermediary actor (Turan, 2018). Nonetheless, this profession has not always been performed by professional interpreters who have specialized in healthcare interpreting, but by *ad hoc* interpreters including the family members, acquaintances and hospital staff who claim that they know the language or are bilingual (Roat and Crezee, 2015: 238). Considering the psychological conditions, feeling of discomfort, and confidentiality between the doctor and the patient and lack of terminology in a serious setting, *ad hoc* interpreter may cause the examination and treatment process to fail. Therefore, professional healthcare interpreters are required in the field to abide by the ethical principles that every interpreter must be aware of. According to Duygu Duman (2018: 16), the responsibilities and duties of the healthcare interpreters as well as the moods of the parties are what set healthcare interpreting apart from other fields of community interpreting, as healthcare interpreting is a "contextually bound communication in two languages" and is performed under pressure (Angelelli, 2007: 63). On the other hand, it is most likely for a healthcare interpreter to perform dual-roles by undertaking other responsibilities other than interpreting (Roat and Crezee, 2015: 237). As the conditions of this setting affect all parties and when the cultural, linguistic and psychological factors are added, the responsibility of the interpreters increases, and the decision-making process becomes more difficult.

Additionally, these factors obviously have an impact on the role of the interpreter because the communicative context is one of the determinants for the role of the interpreter and therefore, s/he needs to be evaluated according to the context (Davidson, 2000: 401). The notion of context is therefore one of the essential factors in determining the role, understanding and strategies of the community interpreters. However, considering its socio-cultural characteristic, since community interpreting cannot be confined to certain borders, that is conditions, settings and the behaviors, moods and perspectives of the parties, the evaluation of norms is not easy to conduct and restrict to certain patterns, especially during the time of non-professionalization.

1.1.2. Legal Interpreting

Legal interpreting, as another mode of community interpreting, takes place not only in courts but also in "judiciary settings, from courts to tribunals and from police interviews to legal consultations" (Bancroft et al., 2013: 95; Lee, 2015: 186). The term 'legal interpreting' is used instead of 'court interpreting' considering its variations in the setting. According to Bancroft et al. (2013), legal interpreting many of which are performed outside the court takes place in settings such as immigration services, shelters, court hearings (Hale, 2004). As in community interpreting in general, the other party in legal interpreting includes people of minorities, immigrants and others who are unable to understand the language of another party with the aim of equal access to justice for everyone (Mikkelson, 2018: 471; González et al., 2012; Hertog and Bosch, 2001). Therefore, each party has the right to speak up for themselves freely, however equal opportunity is not always held, and this decision is more likely to be made by the court itself deciding to what extent the interpretation will be provided than the interpreter (Kadric, 2000). In court, the interpreter is considered a means of resolving the language issues for the court to unravel the hidden and the right to access to an interpreter is of less importance (ibid: 163).

Unlike the other settings of community interpreting, legal interpreting lay a burden on the interpreter in terms of the irrevocability of what is said (Hale, 2004; Zhiai, 2016) and therefore, the interpreter must not alter, add or omit anything during the process which actually depends on the demand by the institution, while there is also a fact that the communication between the parties may not be effective due to cultural and linguistic challenges (Lee, 2015: 195). The constraints, as well as the stress factor, directly and indirectly affect the role that the interpreters adopt and their behaviors during the process. The interpreter in legal/court interpreting is mostly expected to be passive during the process of interpreting and neither add or omit anything said (Hewitt, 1995: 38) but Angelelli (2004: 86) emphasizes that if the role of the interpreter is required to be passive (or *invisible*), then the interpreter cannot be seen as a maestro orchestrating the language, culture and the sociological factors. Open to question, the role of the court interpreters may change according to the requirements of the court staff. As a body of power, the courts have so far been the decision-maker in this process and stuck to their needs while sponsoring the trainings and certification

system of the court interpreters (Bancroft et al., 2013: 95). Considering the power of the courts, for example, the interpreters are assigned by the judges and the prosecutors in Turkey (Tahir-Gürçağlar & Diriker, 2004: 78) which obviously have an impact on the role and ethical principles adopted by the interpreters considering the hierarchy. The legal interpreters under the rule of the courts as employers, therefore, adopt roles (mostly passive) according to the expectations of the courts, not the plaintiff or the defendant. However, Kelly states the contrary:

> *The interpreter's awareness stems not only from his background as a person deeply involved in at least two cultures, but also from the dynamic role played during the courtroom procedures. When the interpreter's work goes on record, he is transmitting communication from all the active participants in the legal proceedings. (Kelly, 2000: 137)*

On the other hand, in her interview with the judges, they stated that the interpreters must not transfer the cultural differences to the court by interfering with the strategies of the legal interpreters (ibid: 138). The culture-transmitting role of the interpreters is ignored in this setting by the actor with the main power and the interpreters are subject to the directives of the court authorities. Questioning whether the interpreter is an aide to the court authority, Kadric (in Critical Link 2, 2000) states, as explained above, that the legal interpreter is a means to access the truth.

When compared with healthcare interpreting, the restrictions of the legal interpreting seem more binding even if their cruciality for the lives of the persons is more or less equal. Obviously, the healthcare interpreter has more freedom as a socio-cultural facilitator and mediator. It can be concluded that the authorities with higher power are more likely to put pressure on the interpreters and direct their behaviors which will eventually limit the scope of the interpreters' actions. The hierarchy constituted by the actors with higher authority directly affects the interpreting process. Therefore, the subjectivity of the other actors needs to be studied as much as the subjectivity of the interpreters.

1.1.3. Public Service Interpreting

The term 'public service interpreting' is generally used as a synonym for community interpreting as it removes the language barrier in an institutional and governmental setting in a society (Pöchhacker, 1999), yet Rillof Pascal and Buysse

Lieven (2015: 188) stress that it mostly consists of translation, rather than interpreting, according to European Network for Public Service Interpreting and Translation (ENPSIT).

Refugees, one of the involved parties in public service interpreting are those who are unable or unwilling to go back to their country due to fear of persecution due to various reasons (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1951 :3). As rights of this unprivileged group, the refugees are granted access to the courts, education, work, etc. according to the UN Convention (1951: 3). Two of the major obstacles against the access to governmental services for refugees are defined as the language and cultural differences especially in the healthcare settings (Williams, 2005: 37; Arslan, 2018: 83). Considering the traumatic and psychological conditions of the refugees and the asylum-seekers, this type of interpreting is one of the most sensitive settings to be cared of by both the interpreters and the social workers. Therefore, the interpreters in this field cannot be lay people or *ad hoc* interpreters but educated and certified professionals. The vulnerability of the refugees also has an impact on the roles of the interpreters.

1.1.4. Notary Public Interpreting

The interpreters working at notary publics are officially authorized persons who can translate documents or interpret between the authority and the person by presenting a certificate that validates language knowledge and taking an oath before the notary to make sure that the translation is correct (Pym et al., 2012: 25). Depending on the system of the related country, the procedures to become a sworn/certified interpreters and titles can change as follows:

1. Certified Translations certified by a notary stating that the translator swore and translated correctly but the translation stamped by the notary, as in Turkey, Hungary, Greece, Portugal etc.
2. Sworn or State Authorized Sworn Translators who are tested and qualified as authorized translators by the local or regional courts, ministries or translator's boards and produce legally valid translations without the intervention of the notary as in Austria, France and Germany.

3. Academically Authorized Sworn Translators have degree in translation and are recognized by the state based on their educational qualifications and five-year of experience as in Luxembourg, Romania and Spain (ibid: 26-28).

The Law on Notary Public no. 1512 and dated 1972 states that if the person in need of notary public service is visually or audially impaired or mute and unable to communicate in written or does not speak Turkish, then there must be a sworn interpreter at the notary public. This provision makes it the only law which states the use of interpreters somewhere rather than the court (Tahir-Gürçağlar and Diriker, 2004: 79).

1.1.5. Emergency and Disaster Interpreting (ARC)

As another subfield of community interpreting, different than other countries, ARC (Emergency and Disaster Interpreting) was formed due to the need for communication between the locals and the foreign search and rescue teams that came to help Turkey that underwent the 1999 Marmara and Bolu/Düzce earthquakes (Kurultay and Bulut, 2012). Right after the 1999 earthquake, a language barrier between the Search and Rescue Teams (SAR) from abroad and the local people occurred (ibid; Duman, 2018). In order to provide oral communication among these people, professors from the departments of Translation Studies and Foreign Language Training at Istanbul University, Turgay Kurultay and Alev Bulut considered this a professional responsibility and therefore started a training program to train voluntary interpreters for emergencies (Doğan and Kahraman, 2011: 63). Thanks to the trainings, approximately 300 people received 100-hour basic training and there were a hundred to be enrolled due to the time limitation (Doğan, 2012). Later on, in March 2001, a protocol was signed by Istanbul Governorship, Civil Defense Directorate and the Translation Association under the auspices of that ARC was created to maintain its non-governmental character (ibid: 64). After the works and scope of the ARC were expanded, its name changed from Interpreter-in-Aid-at-Disasters into Emergency and Disaster Interpreting in order to include emergencies and disasters in which the interpreter may need to help (ibid).

As a volunteer profession, there are more uncertainty and versatility because it has a more flexible structure in this type of interpreting, when considering the settings

of ARC which include areas beside the earthquake debris, aid area, administrative offices, and social areas (Kurultay and Bulut, 2012: 83, 85). Due to its various settings and the seriousness of the field, an emergency and disaster interpreter receives a training program by experts comprised of subjects such as "geophysical, geochemical, architectural, environmental, managerial, organizational, psychological, sociological aspects of a disaster case" (Doğan and Kahraman, 2011: 61).

> *These situations require a type professionalism for the sake of collective good through personal training and the implementation of ethical norms. It is prideworthy to say that ARC, in its tenth year, is now an organization bearing these qualities in itself (Doğan and Kahraman, 2011: 64).*

Considering the formation of ARC under a professional roof even at a time of emergency and with the condition of volunteering, it is obvious that it has constituted of its own characteristics with a solid base through both well-formed trainings and a sense of social and professional responsibility. The comprehensive training program enables the ARC interpreters to provide help to both the victims and the field workers which explains its name Guide Interpreters at Disasters, *Afette Rehber Çevirmen*, in Turkish. For example, the ARC interpreters took place in some local and institutional drills so that they can get experience which resulted in their collaboration with medical experts at the emergency department in Gulhane Military Medical Faculty (Doğan and Kahraman, 2011: 70). Under the light of this information, it can be clearly seen that the interpreters, regardless of their settings, need to collaborate so as to conduct their works efficiently and constitute their structure under a well-set base. This is only possible when there is an exchange of ideas and experiences among the professionals, as one may not see the one that the others see.

1.2. COMMUNITY INTERPRETING IN TURKEY

Community interpreting as a recognized profession in Turkey dates back to 1927 with the Civil Procedural Law, providing interpretation to the witnesses who speak no Turkish, regardless of being mute or deaf, and hindering the interpreters from taking place at civil courts (Tahir-Gürçağlar and Diriker, 2004: 78). After the amendment to the 1929 Criminal Procedural Law, limited access to court interpreting

services was enacted as mandatory at the final hearing but optional during the whole process according to the Article 252 (ibid: 77-78).

As mentioned above, ARC is one of the prominent initiatives in the field of community interpreting in Turkey. Consisted of a trilateral collaboration of government, university and civil society, it contributes to the field in terms of expanding the scope of the profession and presenting the urgent action skills of the professionals. Kahraman (2003: 31) defines the role of the interpreters in this field as "volunteer professional" because the interpreting service is given under tough conditions and with no materialistic expectations.

In general, apart from the initiatives given above, there is not a well-defined structure in the field of community interpreting in Turkey. Considering its high population of migrants, especially from Syria and expats across the world, it can be said that there is an apparent unawareness and non-institutionalization in community interpreting in Turkey despite the evident need for professional interpreters. These circumstances may lead the crucial conditions such as mistreatments, unfair accusations and misunderstandings during the interpreting process (Doğan, 2004: 2; Tahir-Gürçağlar and Diriker, 2004: 74; Diriker, 2015: 94).

On the other hand, there is no association or control mechanism either in the field of community interpreting or its subfields. Therefore, the roles of the interpreters and the ethical principles are not defined officially, and their working conditions cannot be investigated by the authorities. As a result of these lacks, the status of the community interpreters is low, and there is a gap regarding the recruitment of professional interpreters due to the low recruitment criteria in the field.

In conclusion, it would be wrong to expect the community interpreter to act in a well-defined and completely ethical manner under such uncertainties. Especially in the lack of official and enforced ethical principles, the interpreters are thought to behave according to the instructions of the employers, the expectations of the LDPs and their own conscience. Although the trained interpreters have mostly received courses on community interpreting or its subfields, there are many untrained interpreters in court, healthcare and public service interpreting settings. Therefore, whether they are aware of these principles, or to what extent they abide by them is a

matter of question. In this sense, it is believed that the untrained interpreters in this study will also provide us with their perceptions on ethical principles.

1.3. ETHICAL PRINCIPLES IN COMMUNITY INTERPRETING

Generally, the ethical principles, namely the code of conduct, in community interpreting are defined by associations (National Association of Judiciary Interpreters & Translators, 2002; National Council on Interpreting in Health Care., 2004) and scholars (García-Beyaert et al., 2015) in the developed countries as the accuracy, impartiality, confidentiality and professional conduct or development. Although other principles such as transparency, direct communication, professional boundaries, intercultural communication (García-Beyaert et al., 2015), refraining from personal involvement, developing awareness of cultures, respect (NCIHC, 2004) or limitations of practice, protocol and demeanor, accurate representation of credentials and impediments to compliance (NAJIT, 2002), are included in different codes of conducts, the essentials are considered as the accuracy, impartiality, confidentiality and professional development, which may include the others mentioned as sub-principles.

1.3.1. Accuracy

This principle covers the truthful, natural and undistorted rendition of the message in the target language without including personal judgments or guessing (NCIHC, 2004; NAJIT, 2002). It is therefore required that the interpreter should not make the others feel his/her presence and that additions or omissions are refrained. It is not the interpreter's duty to decide what is to be told or not, or to make suggestions. Besides, the interpreter is expected to convey what is said and heard directly, not the assumed meaning.

1.3.2. Impartiality

For this principle, the interpreter should remain neutral to all parties, without questioning the content or judging the parties (NAJIT, 2002; NCIHC, 2004). In

settings such as healthcare, court or public service, it is not the responsibility of the interpreter to criticize, push back or highlight the parties or the utterances. Free from any bias, the interpreter is expected to abstain from including personal judgments. It can also be said that the accuracy and impartiality complete each other in terms of rendering the message accurately without any interference. Although it may not be possible to become completely impartial, the interpreter can and should stay respectful and endeavor to be impartial (García-Beyaert et al., 2015: 15).

1.3.3. Confidentiality

This principle requires the interpreter to not disclose any information obtained during the process. However, healthcare professionals in healthcare interpreting (NCIHC, 2004), conditions that are illegal or to be disclosed in terms of law (García-Beyaert et al., 2015) or disclosure with authorization (NAJIT, 2002) are among the exceptions. Other than these situations, it is thought that confidentiality is a need in the interpreting process to provide the parties and especially the LDPs who are in tough conditions with trust so that they can explain themselves clearly and accurately. Otherwise, the LDP may not feel safe and share information that might be necessary.

1.3.4. Professionalism

For professionalism, it is expected the interpreter to improve the interpreting skills as well as knowledge (NAJIT, 2002). The interpreter adheres to the ethical principles and aims to conduct his/her work in the best manner (García-Beyaert et al., 2015: 27). The skills and knowledge of the interpreters, therefore, need constant development as the conditions and the requirements of the fields can change.

1.4. SUMMARY

According to Hale (2007), a few of the principles put definitions for the interpreter's role and most of them define "what the role of the interpreter is not". She also adds that the principles can contribute to the improvement of the practices of interpreters that are largely non-trained interpreters (ibid: 124). Chesterman (2001:

141) states that ethical behaviors are equal to behaving according to the expectancies and in line with norms. Behaving according to the norms provides trust between the parties (ibid: 142). Thus, in community interpreting, when the interpreter conforms to the ethical principles, the other parties can trust them more easily and healthy communication is ensured. However, the communication under different conditions can change and the interpreter is expected to make decisions based on these principles. Although Şener (2017) states that healthcare interpreting in Turkey lacks ethical principles, it can be applied to the other fields of community interpreting in Turkey.

As this study focuses on the adoption of ethical principles, the question here is how the trained and untrained interpreters abide by them under non-professionalization in Turkey. The perceptions of undefined ethical principles and the decision-making process as well as the strategies of the interpreters will be analyzed in the next sections. Whether these vary according to the settings or the trainings of the interpreters will also be handled to see if the untrained interpreters also perceive these principles as important and if so, how they acquire this perception.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW FOR COMMUNITY INTERPRETING

For the definition of community interpreting, the researchers and professionals use different terms. Keeping in mind that there is no consensus on the name of the community interpreting, the most common definitions can be defined as public service interpreting as mostly used in the U.K. (Townsley, 2007; Corsellis, 2008; Polat Ulaş, 2021); cultural interpreting and dialogue interpreting (Roberts, 1997; Tipton and Furmanek, 2016) according to the function and mode of the interpreter; medical interpreting (Davidson, 2000; Hale, 2007; Angelelli, 2014; Al-Farajat, 2018), hospital interpreting (Davidson, 2001) or healthcare interpreting (Öztürk, 2015; Şener, 2017), and court interpreting (Hale, 2004; Mikkelson, 2016; Mikkelson, 2018; Aral Duvan, 2021) or legal interpreting (Bancroft et al., 2013; Lee, 2015) according to the settings that the event takes place or to the scope of the interpreting. The profession of community interpreting is given names mostly according to the settings of the action and the modes used by the interpreters and these concepts are intertwined because in healthcare interpreting, for example, an interpreter mostly uses dialogue interpreting as there are mostly two participants other than the interpreter. However, in the light of this information, it would not be expected from the community interpreters to unite under a single roof when there is no certainty of terms and roles and to expect the interpreters to adopt behaviors appropriate and specific to the settings.

Sylvia Kalina (2015: 81) specifies that the requirements of the settings have an influence on the interpreter's behaviors and the way they act. Nevertheless, these requirements are not applicable while there is a lack of awareness by the interpreters and therefore, ethical principles must be determined for different settings to guide them throughout the process. Emphasizing the need for ethics, Kalina (ibid: 63, 81) suggests that there must be "setting-specific training" focusing on setting-related conditions and behaviors and that professional ethics need to address a great variety of conditions as

well as expectations. From this point of view, we can say that every setting needs its own professional codes of conduct because the participants, cultures, conditions, requirements, expectations and the interpreter's role change.

In another study focusing on the need for practical guidelines to help the interpreters tackle the cultural challenges and the role and perspective of community interpreters by Sophia Ra and Jemina Melinda Napier (2013: 55), it is shown that while there is a conflict of views on the role of the interpreter as cultural mediators, the role attributed to the community interpreters is generally to act as a facilitator. Nevertheless, as the settings change, the roles also change. On variable roles of the community interpreters according to the settings, Aída Martínez-Gómez (2016: 190) stresses that the interpreters in prison settings define their roles as mostly invisible, although they do not act so. In her study, the interpreters were found to be participating in the communication to achieve their communicative objectives. However, the institutions were determined to be effective in this process because they were considered a part of the collaboration in the period of information sharing where the "information is power" as well as an influencing factor for the behaviors of the interpreters. This study has shown that the role definitions are "unrealistic", and that the agency and the visibility concepts include "constant negotiation between the parties" in addition to the "societal, institutional and interpersonal constraints" (ibid: 190). Since the interpreting activity takes place interpersonally, it is not surprising that there are constraints among the actors. Similarly, Dilek Turan (2018) focuses on the asymmetrical structure of the doctor-patient relationship within the framework of power relations by analyzing the place and the role of the healthcare interpreter in this hierarchy. It was observed that the main factor causing the inequality among the participants is the medical terminology and the tendency of imposing power on others out of the field. The power conflicts can be observed even in this context where the lives of the patients matter. As a result, it is concluded that the healthcare interpreter must adopt the "clarifier" role to balance this asymmetrical relationship. This information directs us to the analysis of the actor-network concept and the need of understanding the roles and effects of the actors.

As mentioned above, the roles, as well as the perceptions of the interpreters, change as the context changes. However, another factor changing the role of the

interpreter is whether they are professional or nonprofessional. Considering there is not a sharp classification implying that all of the professional interpreters are aware of their functions and roles, the study by Aslı Polat Ulaş (2020) reflects the perception on the experiences of non-professional public service interpreters and their role (agency) in the process. The result of the study shows that the interpreters working at the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants displayed limited agency and they adopted "message transmitter" roles. In spite of being non-professionals, it was observed that they were aware of ethical principles and therefore they acted as invisible. These studies direct us to the question of whether it is important for the interpreter to be a professional who received the required education or training to provide service in a community and while working, how do they conduct the decision-making process and according to what? While deciding how to act or interpret, to what extent are the interpreters in community settings aware of ethical principles, how do they perform their roles and which actors affect them?

These studies from different fields of community interpreting reflect that the role definitions and the adopted roles vary from field to field, interpreter to interpreter (professional or non-professional) and background to background (education, experience, etc.). The interpreter-mediated research in the field is necessary to understand their perception on their roles and the roles of the other non-human actors in the network such as laws, regulations and ethical principles either by the employer institutions or the associations. The information to be obtained will undoubtfully reflect the interpreters as one of the main actors and provide insights into their inner world.

2.1.1. Professionalization in Community Interpreting

While researching on the roles and perceptions of the community interpreters, one must analyze the characteristics of the profession first. Stating that community interpreting differs from other types of interpreting such as conference or escort interpreting in that community interpreting services are provided to the residents of a community, Mikkelson (1996: 1) focuses on community interpreting as a profession in a developing process. Mikkelson claims that when the professionals come together

under professional organizations, the profession and the circumstances get developed and recognition is gained through "education, legislation and public relations".

In her book on Public Service Interpreting, Anne Corsellis (2008) gives emphasis to the training and the assessment of the interpreter as well as the practice and the development of the profession by claiming that the improvements and ideas in the field must be evolved over time and this progress consists of three levels: local/regional initiatives, individual countries and international collaborations. Mentioning how countries address the need for public service interpreting, Corsellis argues that there must be a national consistency in the assessment of skills and arrangements for the interpreters, users and employees. Corsellis asks whether the governments consider it a priority to establish necessary systems in order to provide qualified public service interpreters (ibid: 13). As another actor in the process, the governments need to conduct work so that the profession can be built on a solid basis.

The existing – as well as the non-existing – conditions make us ask how the norms are shaped in community interpreting where there is a lack of professionalization and standardization. Who are the control mechanisms and are the actors aware of the ethical principles as professionals? This study aims to answer these questions with reference to the concept of norms within the framework of actor-network, with an approach rarely used in interpreting studies.

2.1.2. Norms in Translation Studies

As a socially constructed profession, interpreting activity is affected by the expectations of parties. For example, mostly dominant in the field of healthcare interpreting, the expectations of the patients play a significant role as they are considered to be a source of finance by private hospitals (Şener and Kıncal, 2019: 215), and this perception leads the interpreters to meet the expectations of the hospital by satisfying the patients. Even though it can be seen as a win-win, it is the interpreter that directs the communication by adopting some strategies and affecting the process. The norms and the actors involved in the translation and interpreting process need to be analyzed to understand the strategies and decision-making process of the interpreters.

Anthony Pym (2014) formulated four principles for the translation history, the second of which will matter in this research: central object as the translators (*interpreter* in this study) and their social environments (ibid: ix). To be able to understand the interpreting process, one should first do research on the actors involved in it because interpreting is a social activity and there are actors playing in it. Pym suggests that the norms in translation can be analyzed by searching two materials which are the translations and the statements related to the translators' behaviors, and that "some of the best data will come from mixing primary and secondary material" (ibid: 112), that is the process and the product (primary) as well as the actors and the producers (secondary) in this research. According to Pym, the present is as important as the past (ibid: 113). Therefore, the comparison between the perceptions of the interpreters and those in the past could be of use to see the development/regression in the field.

As described by Chesterman (1993: 2), translation activity, interpreting in this study, is "a form of human behavior". The behavioral tendencies of interpreters are thought to be governed by norms (ibid:4; Shlesinger, 1995: 67). According to Toury (1980: 51 as cited in Chesterman 1993), the norms take place between the rules and idiosyncrasies. It is claimed that norms regulate the behaviors which will be of use of each party through the social order even though they may sometimes be considered as constraints (Chesterman, memes, 2016: 53-54). Because internalized behavioral constraints govern the choices of the interpreters in variable contexts, norms emphasize the progress in which the notion of interpreting has changed from a linguistic and technical approach to a broader one based on a perspective where it is a complex interactional and communicative act of interaction. even encompassing pragmatic and sociolinguistic factors (Garzone, 2002: 107). Chesterman divides the norms into two categories as expectancy norms and professional norms. The expectancy norms are shaped by the expectations of the readers, the LDPs in this sense, and they shape the professional norms (ibid).

Chesterman (1993: 3) also handles the professional norms under three categories as the relation norms in which the translator establishes a balance between the source and target text, the communication norms that the translator is expected to optimize the communication, and the ethical norms that the translator works ethically.

In this study, the ethical norms are analyzed through the perceptions of community interpreters on ethical principles. Since the expectancies of the LDPs are not analyzed in this study, only the perceptions of the interpreters about the ethical principles and the expectancies of the LDPs from their statements are given place.

In norms, the aim is to meet the quality standards which are closely connected with the sociocultural context. A normative behavior in this sense is therefore conducted in order not to be criticized in a norm-governed environment if not for approval. On the other hand, as Schäffner reminds us, Bartsch (1987, as cited in Schäffner, 1999) defines norms as "the social reality of correctness notions". Since these norms will set the stage for appropriate and applicable behaviors for the interpreters under different conditions, the sociological and behavioral aspects of the field from the perspective of the interpreters and the expectations of the participants need to be analyzed to direct and guide them. Since norms are "intersubjective in nature" and "multifaceted" (Toury, 2012: 65), they are the products of many actors including the users, interpreters and other actors (Garzone, 2002: 115). From this point of view, it can be observed that these 'environmental' actors as well as the expectations of the participants constitute the intersubjective characteristics of the community interpreting.

> *According to Toury, this process of negotiation is mainly carried out by means of what he calls "environmental feedback", "which acts as a kind of post factum product monitoring device, from users, but also from those who have commissioned the act of translating, and sometimes from the originator of the utterance to be translated as well […] The feedback that a translator receives is normative in essence" (Toury 1995: 248–249, emphasis in the original). However, apart from the interpreter and the recipient, there are other actors — clients, PCOs, initiators, interpreters themselves as members of the commissions that select novices on behalf of professional associations or in international institutions—who influence quality by acting as gatekeepers, preventing subjects not considered adequate from gaining access to the profession. In other words, sanctions are applied against those who do not conform with quality norms: they are not offered jobs, they are not admitted to professional associations, they are not selected for positions in international institutions.* (Garzone, 2002: 116-117)

From the statement of Toury (2012) and Garzone (2002), it can be inferred that the norms are identified by many actors around the network that constitute and have an effect on the interpreting process and the behaviors of the interpreter. The quality of the interpreter's performance is determined by 'environmental feedback' which

refers to the actors in the network. Since the actors may apply sanctions, it would not be wrong to say that the relationship between the actors, social entities, can constitute a hierarchy in the network and control the social order in the process. But how can we expect the interpreter to act appropriately when they are left alone in an environment full of expectations but with no guides or protection by laws and institutions?

Apart from the norms by Chesterman, Toury (2012: 287) claims that the translators "undergoing socialization also develop strategies for coping with specific types of problems that are likely to recur during actual translation". Except for its focus on translatorship, the study by Reine Meylaerts (2008: 91) also takes the concept of socialization of the translation studies as stating that "Human agents must still be accounted for not only as professionals but as socialized individuals". As these expressions can be considered valid for the interpreting profession, the socialization of this profession and the necessity of standardization play a significant role in the formation of the norms. Even though the interpreting process may go through different conditions that are hard to cope with due to its social nature with various actors, there must be guidelines to direct the behaviors of the interpreters and a control mechanism to impose sanctions when necessary.

2.1.3. Norms in Interpreting Studies

Norms are used more often in Translation Studies compared to Interpreting Studies. One of the earliest studies on interpreting norms by Shlesinger (1989: 112) focuses on whether the notion of norms in translation studies could be applied to interpreting studies and claims that those who had formal education in interpreting are more likely to be an effective factor for the "development, internalization and dissemination of professional norms". It cannot be expected from *ad hoc* or non-professionalized interpreters to establish a legal organization to gather under a single roof and conduct studies to develop the field both academically and professionally, even if some studies show that some of the non-professional community interpreters have ethical awareness (Polat Ulaş, 2020).

As a newly developing area, interpreting studies have been an attractive research subject for researchers. However, the interpreters as main actors and as a

community, and their strategies, as well as their perceptions, are not commonly studied areas yet. One of the pioneer researchers that investigates whether it is possible to adapt the translational norms into interpreting studies, Shlesinger (1989) focuses on the methodological difficulties while applying the norms to interpreting. In the study, the corpus with a narrow scope, unclear systemic parameters, and technical and legal difficulties are emphasized to be the restrictions in investigating the existence of the norms in interpreting studies. However, Brian Harris (1990) claims that it is possible to search for norms in interpreting and gives examples such as the interpreters speaking in the first person, the shifting interpreters in simultaneous interpreting, and the prevalence of interpretation into A language.

After it was questioned and proven whether the norms could be analyzed in interpreting, the number of studies on norms and interpreting increased. For example, by applying the initial and operational norms of Toury, Schjoldager (1995: 67) carried out an empirical study in simultaneous interpreting and translation fields. According to her, interpreting is a norm-governed activity because interpreters in fact "need norms to help them select appropriate solutions to the problems they meet".

Even though norms can help us understand the behavioral activities of the interpreters during the process, Daniel Gile (1998: 2) describes them as "a neglected factor in interpreting research". Gile (ibid: 3) suggests that the studies on norms can shed light on the characteristics of the profession such as the behaviors of the interpreters under pressure or according to the LDPs.

Combining the concepts of Bourdieu, Toury and Bernsteins, Inghilleri (2003) aims to discover the norms in the trainings and activities of the interpreters by proposing a theoretical framework for the analysis of interpreting as being norm-governed. The research shows that the interpreter is positioned at the center in a context, that is political asylum interviews in this study, where each participant is located by the web of relations among fields, habitus and norms (ibid: 261). Through the framework, it is claimed that the norms can derive from a number of sources within the related cultures.

Another norm study was conducted by Binhua Wang (2012: 199) for consecutive interpreting in press conferences in terms of the shifts through the paradigm of descriptive translation studies. Wang states that the interpreting studies

require both “the exploration of internal cognitive processing factors” and “the examination of external social and cultural factors” as the performance of the interpreter is affected by the combination of these factors. This statement proves that the external ‘actors’ need to be examined in order to understand the performance of the interpreters as social actors as well as to have an insight into their perceptions on the profession, principles and roles. Looking into the world that the interpreters live in can help the researchers and professionals understand how they are affected by actors and improve the conditions of the field.

Based on norms introduced by Toury and adapted by Inghilleri to interpreting studies, the master’s thesis of İmren Gökçe (2018) focuses on the norms in Sign Language Interpreting and Sign Language interpreter training in Turkey as well as their perceptions on their roles. In terms of ethics, it has been discovered in this study that only a few interpreters received information on the ethical principles from the association of SL interpreters. The attitudes of the participants were found to be variable and dependent on how close they are to the deaf. The closer their relationship is, the more they are likely to adopt a facilitator, that is an active role in the process. Non-standardization of interpreter training, inadequate legal frameworks, and the perspective on deaf people were found to be effective factors in the current conditions of SL and SLI.

2.1.4. Research on Community Interpreting in Turkey

In spite of being a country with a high immigrant, refugee and expat population, it is surprising that there is not a well-established professionalization and standardization in the field of community interpreting in Turkey. According to Tahir-Gürçağlar and Diriker (2004), the institutionalization and awareness of community interpreting in Turkey is very limited, and the current situation in Turkey is reflected by Diriker (2015: 94) as “awareness and institutionalization with regard to community interpreting … leaves much to be desired in Turkey”. For professionalization, works can be conducted on the macro and micro level regarding the community interpreting and its subfields to constitute a whole.

As a sub-field of community interpreting, Duygu Duman (2018) focuses on the subjectivity of the healthcare interpreter during the interpreting process and their decision-making mechanism while stuck between dilemmas. From a hermeneutical perspective, Duman analyzes the subjectivity of the community interpreters and its reflections on their professional performance accordingly and takes the responsibilities, backgrounds and decision-making skills of the interpreters into consideration inferring that the approaches adopted by the interpreters vary to a great extent which shows that there are no strictly abided norms in the field of healthcare interpreters. Stating that the attributions towards the principles vary according to the contexts of the related country, Duman emphasizes the need for a document on ethical principles so that the interpreters can be informed on the actual conditions and experiences.

Olcay Şener (2017: 108) gives emphasis on the lack of professional ethics and national standards for healthcare interpreting in Turkey related to their roles. In her thesis, as a result, it has been found that the roles adopted by the interpreters differ and there is a shift from invisible to a visible role (ibid: 111) which contradicts the codes of ethics causing a dilemma (ibid: 114). On the other hand, Şener reveals that the hospitals as employers pay attention only to the language knowledge of the interpreters, not to their academic background or previous experiences. Following this categorization come the classification of empathy, the knowledge of terminology and ethics, and it is inferred that there is no job description or limitation for healthcare interpreters as they adopt "guide" or "assistant" roles (ibid: 115). Considering they are not a member of an association, Şener argues that this might cause a violation of ethical principles (ibid: 116). As a result, the expectations and apathy of the hospitals and the burdens on the interpreters are beyond possibility and the "interventionalist" role of the interpreters may affect the quality of the interpretation and the lives of the patients, especially under the lack of professional ethics (ibid: 119). On the function of community interpreting under serious circumstances, Seda Koçlu (2019: 156) states that the concept of *ad hoc* interpreting by family members or acquaintances may cause mistakes during the interpretation and irrevocable consequences as a result, especially in healthcare setting. While making the function of interpreting impossible, this concept also harms the professionalization of community interpreting. According to

Koçlu, one of the most essential steps to be taken for this concept to disappear is professionalization and there is a need to increase applied courses of community interpreting at the universities (ibid: 157) because the basis of the professionalization comes from a well-formed education and training.

Since interpreters, especially in community interpreting, are considered social actors in an interpreting network, Aslı Polat Ulaş (2021) focuses on the issue of professional identity formation – including their educational and professional backgrounds, the network around the interpreters and the perceptions on public service interpreting as factors affecting the social identity of the public service interpreters. As presented in most research on community interpreting, Polat Ulaş (2021) shows the lack of education and training of the public service interpreters working in the field as well and that they work without background just because they know the language for which they are legally subject to provide any document for their knowledge (ibid: 405). Different than the ASAM (Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants) interpreters who are found to have higher educational levels, the legal interpreters are free to work in the field with no university degree (ibid: 405). In her study, it is also detected that the interpreters in healthcare and legal settings are more likely to adopt an interventionalist role during the process and their job is beyond interpreting and includes guidance and interventions (ibid: 407).

In order to reflect the existing conditions in healthcare interpreting in Turkey, Türkan Öztürk (2015) focuses on the challenges of interpreters within the context of medical tourism and institutional operation. It is found that the interpreters working in the field are mostly those who were born abroad and are natural bilingual interpreters without any training in interpreting but are aware of the importance of their work and the decision-making process. On the other hand, from the point of view of the hospitals, it is inferred that the satisfaction of the patients is a determinant of the quality of the interpreting service which is not an effective method to evaluate the performance of the interpreter even though the expectations of the participants matter and direct the course of events at some point. Especially in this field, it is observed that the performance expectancies for the interpreters include persuasive communication, being able to take initiative and psychological endurance as well as being a cultural mediator. Finally, Öztürk emphasizes the importance of and the need for a

collaboration between the government, sector and academia to determine standards and accreditation programs.

Nesrin Conker (2017) also argues that there must be a collaboration between the organizations, associations and public institutions and the awareness of the public service employers for the interpreting services needs to be increased especially through in-service trainings. Similar to community interpreting, one of the key (f)actors in establishing a professional system in sign language interpreting is establishing professional organizations. As Şener (2017) does, Conker (2017: 114) argues that the perception that language knowledge is sufficient to work as an interpreter hinders the development of community interpreting and that all parties and actors therefore must collaborate to change the existing perceptions and situations. While doing so, the emergence of associations will undoubtfully change the social status of the interpreters. As Güldane Duygu Seymen and Aslı Selcen Aslan (2019: 380) state, when the area of translation is regarded as a "social field", the associations are one of the important determinants in the system. Seymen and Aslan put emphasis on the fact that the emergence of associations in Turkey started with the attempts of the academics and this proves the close relationship between education and professionalization (ibid: 387). As in actor-network theory, the researchers argue that as the translation is a social activity, it takes place in a social relations network (ibid: 388).

Emphasizing the interdisciplinary characteristic of the community interpreting in her thesis, Rüveyde Kübra Arslan (2018: 86-87) claims that interdisciplinary cooperation can pave the way for a functional community interpreting performance and therefore, there must be an exchange of views between the professionals of the related fields and the community interpreters. This interdisciplinary characteristic of the community interpreting also requires an action plan as different settings may need to collaborate for the needs of the other party and the parties need to become aware of the quality of the community interpreting so as not to cause a hindrance during the interpreting process (ibid: 88). Even though Arslan states that it would not be sufficient to arrange an institutional framework for the community interpreting only in the multicultural societies, she asserts the need for an arranged legal framework by all the institutions that consider any type of situation due to foreign language problems

because “instant” and “individual” decisions may hinder the aimed function in the institutional area (ibid: 89).

2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

This chapter provides information on the theoretical framework and the methodological approach of the current study. Firstly, the theoretical framework including the concept of Actor-Network by Bruno Latour (1996) will be used to analyze the actors after mapping the network of community interpreting. The Actor-Network theory will reflect the actors playing a role in the community interpreting profession and to what extent they affect the perception and behaviors of the interpreters. Later, the concept of norms -both professional and expectancy- by Chesterman (1993) will be adapted to the community interpreting field in order to reflect the current norms of the profession, that is the behaviors and expectancies of the actors, within the framework of professionalization. Since the norms are guiding -also governing- behavioral patterns, this concept will no doubt help us understand the strategies of the interpreters in settings where there is a lack of control and professionalization.

2.2.1. Actor-Network Theory

Actor-Network Theory has been put forward as a theoretical framework by Callon et al. (1986) but is mostly referred to Latour (1996). When introduced by Callon (1984), ANT was used to clarify the sociology of translation while analyzing how the power relationships between science and technology were structured. The power relations here are described as “a complex web of interrelations in which Society and Nature are intertwined” (ibid: 201). Callon defines ANT over the example of fishermen and scallops in St. Brieuc Bay to analyze how new social connections are developed progressively. In research in St. Brieuc Bay, Callon (1984) introduces four phases of translation within the framework of ANT and sociology of translation. The study explains the reasons behind the falling number of scallops in the area and the initiatives taken by three marine biologists through these phases. For the translation process to be initiated, a problem and actors sharing common interests are defined in

the problematization phase (Carrol, 2014: 125). In the mentioned research, the problematization phase begins with the researchers' works to become indispensable, that is obligatory passage point, by determining solutions to the problem and the actors to join (Callon: 1984). The focal actor determines the other actors (Aral Duvan, 2021). To achieve a certain objective, the researchers unite their forces with the fishermen and scallops as well as other researchers. Later on, the roles of the actors are defined and imposed in the interessement phase. In this case, the use of towlines in Japan was suggested by the researchers. However, while this suggestion could be of use for the scallops, it was not for the fishermen, and the problematization phase was rejected by them. After the actors are convinced to join in and accept those roles, that is when the scallops agree to be involved willingly through negotiations, then the enrolment phase is achieved. In the final stage, the mobilization phase, the focal actor becomes the representative of others, that is their spokesman. Through this process, the actors are displaced and regathered. The translation process goes on as follows: the scallops turned into larvae, the larvae into graphics. Therefore, they are displaced, that is they are mobilized (Callon, 1984; Aral Duvan, 2021). As a result of these connections, the social and natural bodies control their identities and requests in the network of relationships (Callon, 1984: 203). Therefore, the actors in a network can take active positions and manage each other.

ANT scholars consider that the actors in the network "weave the very fabric of society" (Luo, 2020: 9) and therefore, ANT is considered the "sociology of associations". ANT is also referred as "the sociology of translation" but the translation in this sense is to explain how relationships of power among the actors shape networks and reconstruct people and objects, and it is regarded as a process including the network activities of the actors (ibid: 9, 10). Callon (1984) explains translation through the same example above by stating that displacements occur in every stage of a process as a form of translation "But to translate is also to express in one's own language what others say and want, why they act in the way they do and how they associate with each other: it is to establish oneself as a spokesman".

In this sense, translation is a unified and unison process as Callon (1984) states, and it is a means for the progressive formation of both social and natural universes. It

is also expressed that only a few actors find the right to speak up for the other actors (ibid: 224).

What distinguishes ANT from other types of theories is that it involves non-human actors in addition to the human actors (Latour, 1996: 369). As long as an actant is engaged with an action, it is enough to call it an actor (ibid: 373). Nevertheless, ANT does not classify one actor or network as superior over another but according to how closely the ties are connected to each other (Latour, 1996: 371). On the other hand, Latour claims that ANT does not deal with "the study of social networks" but with "the very essence of societies and natures" (1996: 369). In this sense, ANT is considered a method that is about "a network-*tracing* activity" (ibid: 378; italics in original). Therefore, the black box where various actors are linked and cause social changes within the network can be opened up (Bilodeau & Potvin, 2016: 177) through ANT. With the aim of understanding the society, ANT traces the heterogenous networks and explains the unstable relations.

The heterogeneous characteristics of actors in ANT encompass the human and non-human actors. According to Law, these characteristics are at the center of the ANT and a means to assert that the societies "are all effects generated in patterned networks of diverse (not simply human) materials" (Law, 1992: 380). While other ANT authors claim that the knowledge is produced by or is an effect of a network of heterogeneous materials, Law claims that the knowledge is "the end product of a lot of hard work" comprising of many heterogenous pieces connected in a patterned network and the patterned network formed by these heterogeneous materials is what constitutes the social (ibid).

The social is composed of such actors called mediators and intermediaries. While intermediaries do not cause transformations but transfer the meaning in the process, a mediator is what transforms or translates "the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry" (Latour, 2005: 39). According to Latour, since inputs anticipate outputs, "nothing will be present in the effect that was not present in the cause" and unlike intermediaries, mediators can cause surprising actors to come up (ibid: 58-59).

In this study, the network of community interpreting in Turkey including its actors is analyzed within the scope of ANT in order to see how the actors influence each other and the perceptions of community interpreters on ethical principles.

Therefore, the network will be traced through actors, whether human or non-human but specifically from the eyes of the community interpreters. It will also reflect how the actors are displaced, translated, and transported and by which actors. Nevertheless, ANT has recently been studied by scholars in the field of Translation Studies, let alone Interpreting Studies. Therefore, it is aimed to define the actors in the subfields of community interpreting and to what extent they affect the perception of community interpreters in the presence of non-professionalization and thought to contribute to the field in terms of understanding the perceptions of the interpreters as well as the network of community interpreting.

2.2.2. Actor-Network in Translation & Interpreting Studies

In Translation Studies, the actors taking place in the translation process are analyzed and the translation network is mapped. Hélène Buzelin (2005) who is one of the first researchers to apply ANT to Translation Studies combines it with a Bourdieusian approach and states that the studies using ANT as a concept are rare in terms of examining the participants in the translation process. According to Buzelin (ibid: 214), the translator does not have to be a single person to perform the translation activity, but the scope of the risks taken by the agents related to the translation activity is not clearly reflected (ibid: 208). This claim supports the idea that the importance of the actors cannot be ignored in order to understand how the translation product is produced why and when as well as by whom.

Since ANT does not consider actors as fixed and stable entities, the actors within the network are dynamic and in motion (Kung: 2009; Duraner, 2015). Therefore, as the aim of ANT is to "follow the actors", one must analyze the network by tracing the actors encompassing it (Latour, 1996: 372; Buzelin, 2005: 198) considering that the actors may change, enter in or leave the network after they are done. It is their interests and duty of actors that make them stay in the network leading it to be dynamic (Duraner, 2015: 23).

Focusing on the actors in the translation network, Julie McDonough (2007) states that the formal and informal networks have a role in the translation profession by classifying the translation network into four categories as profession-oriented,

practice-oriented, education-oriented and research-oriented. In this research, it is concluded that the translation networks vary in terms of structure as influenced by many variables (ibid: 799). By defining the character of these networks, one can understand how the actors in the network are getting organized (ibid: 793). Considering that the actors change in the networks, it is obvious that every network has its own characteristics shaped by its participants and the networks need to be analyzed within their own contexts.

Based on a specific context, Szu-Wen Cindy Kung (2009) emphasizes the importance of the roles adopted by social agents within the context of Taiwanese novels in the USA after the 1980s. Combining ANT and Bourdieusian approach into Translation Studies, Kung defines the networks led by the translators as well as subventions networks and shows the important roles of these networks in the dissemination of a less known literature in a manner complying with the expectations of the target culture. Kung defines the actors taking place in the promotion of Taiwanese literature in the USA through a case study and the translation activity turns out to be born out of social causation (ibid: 131). In this study, good connections among the actors and monetary support besides cooperation are found to be effective in accomplishing the aim of the network (ibid: 135).

As another study combining ANT and Bourdieusian approach in Translation Studies has been conducted by Raila Hekkanen (2009). Questioning the applicability of these theories in a certain case, the translation of Finnish literary prose into English and their reception by the British society, and which actors affect the translation strategies and process, Hekkanen also emphasizes the role of the actors both structurally and financially (ibid: 2). However, in the sense of ANT, it is the interests, that is *translation*, that push the actors to convince the others to act in a certain way so as to translate their interests into new interests related to the others regardless of the actors being human or non-human (ibid: 11). From this point of view, ANT approach distinguishes itself from Bourdieusian approach as Bourdieu generally focuses on subjective human and institutional actors with their habitus which ANT ignores (ibid: 12). Therefore, ANT gives an insight into a broader context in a field, or network, by taking all the effective factors into consideration including non-human agents as long as they have connections in the network.

Even if ANT and Bourdieusian approach have unconformities, they are used as two common theoretical frameworks in Translation Studies by researchers. Within the scope of these approaches, one can analyze a field/network at both macro- and micro-levels. Esmaeil Haddadian Moghaddam (2012) also applies these two approaches to translation network in Iran and defines three networks in a publishing house as translator-led network, the publisher-led network, and the academic-publisher network. According to his observations in the academic-publisher network which takes place between the other two networks, "consecrated" human actors in the network may show resistance towards the new actors but they can enter when collaborating with other actors (ibid: 47). This observation proves that when the interests of the actors in a network cohere, they can cooperate and share new groups of interests. However, in the study of Moghaddam, it is concluded that the new actors in the academic-publisher network show self-effacement to some extent to get into the network. Therefore, as mentioned previously, the characteristics of the networks vary, and the actors need to share common interests to take their own places in the network.

The interest in the sense of ANT is considered a means for enrollment. The actors attempt to convince each other by sharing their interests and the interests are transformed (Callon and Law, 1982: 622). On the interest, Callon and Law claim that the interest is used in the social world by actors to determine their position by saying that:

> *[Actors] are trying to impose order on a part of the social world. They are trying to build a version of social structure. On this view interests (and other categories such as desires, motives and wishes) are not to be seen as background factors to be imputed by the analyst. Rather they are attempts to define (and, most importantly, to enforce) the institutions, groups or organizations that exist from time to time in the social world (Callon and Law, 1982: 623)*

The interests are consequently used by actors to consolidate their positions in the network and while analyzing these actors and interests, it is important for the researcher to reflect them objectively without interfering. On the other hand, it needs to be remembered that the interests are shifting due to "programmatic organization of both knowledge and social actors" (Callon, 1980: 211). As a consequence of this shift, it is possible that the actors either stay in or leave the network depending on their common interests. This proves the dynamic and unstable structure of the actor-network

system. Unlike other sociological approaches, ANT does not generalize the society but traces the associations. Latour (2005: 5) defines the approach as *social of associations* and the social life as heterogeneous. Therefore, the theory aims to understand the society by accepting its instability and tracing its complex connections (Aral Duvan, 2021: 55). While doing so, ANT includes the non-human actors as well because of its heterogeneous characteristics (Law, 1992: 2). The networks are heterogenous and ordered and "the social is nothing other than patterned networks of heterogeneous materials" (ibid). As mentioned above, there is no superiority of one actor over another regardless of being human or non-human.

Additionally, it can be inferred from ANT that the dynamic characteristic of the network leads the actors to be affected by each other. That is why actors are sometimes called (f)actors in this study. For example, in the network of interpreters, the laws regarding the field affect the interpreter and the employer. Later, their roles and behaviors affect the LDP but the expectations of the LDP also affect the behaviors of the interpreter. As a result, a complex map of the network emerges including the human and non-human actors. It would not be wrong to say that the network of connections is not circular but intricate.

In interpreting studies, the non-human actors can be the interpreting equipment (Aral Duvan, 2021: 56), the legislations or laws regarding the profession of interpreting and education while the interpreters, organizations, employers and the LDPs are among the human actors. In order for the non-human actors to be referred as influencing actors in the network, their roles and functions need to change during interaction with other actors (Luo, 2020; Aral Duvan, 2021).

Since the research using ANT approach in Translation and Interpreting Studies is weak, what the actors are and how they have an influence on each other are not well-known in the field. As mentioned above, most ANT research is related to Translation Studies and the studies conducted in Interpreting Studies are very rare. Mehtap Aral Duvan (2021) did her doctoral research on the court interpreting service provided for the refugees in Turkey with the aim of defining the actors and the network of court interpreting and analyzing whether the actors have an influence on the perceptions of court interpreters related to their position and duty. In order to define the network and examine the perceptions of the interpreters, Aral Duvan conducted case studies in trials

in Kayseri and Antalya while also having interviews with court interpreters and refugees and open-ended questionnaires with judges and officers. Additionally, written documents such as notes on the trial observations and regulations were also included in the data. The results of the study show that there exist temporary networks differing in every case and that the court interpreters have small networks in order to protect themselves due to the lack of procedures. It has been found that the perceptions of the court interpreters on their positions and duties are influenced by the code's definition of the profession and the pre-interpreting communication between the actors.

2.2.3. Professional Norms

Norms can be regarded as a research area in order to understand both the generally accepted interpretation methods and the proper behaviors of interpretation (Wang, 2012: 199). Norms have been developing the theory of translation since the 1970s, but they were not studied in interpreting studies until the 1980s. After building on Toury's norms theory, Chesterman (1993: 1, 4) classifies the norms in translation studies (later to be developed) as *professional norms* (*production norms* in Toury) which is for translation process and *expectancy norms* (*product norms* in Toury) for the translation product. Unlike general laws in translation studies, normative laws rely on the "translation behavior of a subset of [competent professional] translators … who establish the norms" and these normative laws are "norm-directed strategies which are observed to be used by professionals". As a guide for the professionals, these norms save time and effort while facilitating the understanding of the relations and behaviors in order to take action easily (Chesterman, 2016: 53).

The expectancy norms may be affected by the "economic or ideological factors, power relations within and between cultures and the like" (Chesterman, 2016: 62). As the expectancy norms focus on the product and the expectations of the receiver, it can be said that there are more than one "appropriate" or "acceptable" ways of translations (Chesterman, 2016: 62). When applied to interpreting studies, specifically to the community interpreting, the interpretations as a result of the strategies and methods by the interpreters, therefore, may vary. In this study, whether the decision of the interpreter is acceptable or appropriate will not be discussed, rather, it will be analyzed based on the factors and actors during the interpreting process.

After being considered a process that is formed by human behaviors, the translation activity was started to be searched through a descriptive perspective (Chesterman, 1993: 2). According to Toury (2012: 10), laws (*norms* in Chesterman, 1993) presuppose the regular behaviors besides "the controllability of function, process and product". Emphasizing the interaction among the translation activity, norms and the behaviors of the translators, Toury (2000: 198) addresses the issue of acquired norms in socio-cultural settings. He also stresses that the socio-cultural constraints can be defined as *rules* (more objective constraints) and *idiosyncrasies* (more subjective constraints) between which lie the *norms*, the stronger, the more rule-like; the weaker, the more idiosyncratic. However, Toury claims that as the *status* changes in a society, the validity of the norms may interchange roles (ibid: 199). In a society, the norms are acquired through socialization and bear positive and negative meanings as well as actual or potential (ibid: 199).

> *Norms are the key concept and focal point in any attempt to account for the social relevance of activities, because their existence, and the wide range of situations they apply to (with the conformity this implies), are the main factors ensuring the establishment and retention of social order (ibid: 199).*

From this point of view, it can be said that the norms have an effect on the order of the society and regulate the behaviors displayed by the actors. In order to maintain this social order, one must abide by these norms or else may be imposed sanctions accordingly. Every community has its own social order and the knowledge on convenient behaviors, and norms exist in the form of this knowledge (Schäffner, 1999: 1) and these norms can only gain recognition through their social presence (Chesterman, 2016: 52). Applying the concept of norms to linguistics, Bartsch (1987, as cited in Hagland, 1988) classifies norms as product (*linguistic norms* in his sense), to define the proper form of correct product, and production, to decide the methods and strategies to produce a correct product. On the other hand, Chesterman (2016: 53) classifies norms under three categories: social, ethical and technical (*product* and *production norms* by Toury) and claims that the translation theory needs all of them. Social norms are those related to the behavioral aspect of the process as guiding actors, while ethical norms have to do with objective descriptions of these norms in society (ibid: 53).

Chesterman (2016) claims that the expectancy norms shape the professional norms: the reader and the expectations determine the translation process. However, as interpreting activity is a short-term process in which quick decision-making skills are needed, I believe that the expectations and the interpreting skills as well as the competency of the interpreter feed each other; and moreover, the professional norms affect the expectancy norms, that is the product. For example, under a serious and stressful situation, the strategies that the interpreter applies will impact the result and what is to be said. In another circumstance, for instance, when a refugee has gone through a trauma, the interpreter will probably follow a facilitator strategy and do more than interpreting. Therefore, these are interacting and have an influence on each other.

In Interpreting Studies, community interpreting in this sense, the norms can be regulated by the ethical principles as set out by associations, governments or authorities such as courts, hospitals, etc. The actors including the interpreter, the person in need and the authorized person, the authority itself as well as the laws and regulations shape these principles and direct the behaviors of the actors. With that being said, these principles vary and are performed according to the setting and the expectations of the parties, in addition to the application of the principles according to the professionality, awareness and *idiosyncrasy* of the interpreter.

Under the circumstances where there are no regulated ethical principles, the factors affecting the interpreting process, such as education, awareness, employers, etc. need to be examined to gain an insight into the perspective and the ethical principles perception of the interpreter. Therefore, while analyzing the profession through the concept of norms, the modeling process of these norms will also be analyzed through the concept of actor-network by Latour (1996).

Actor-Network Theory (ANT) differs from other theories on sociology and the society in terms of its focus on non-human actors as well as human actors (Latour, 1996: 369). In ANT, modern societies are considered fibrous, not multi-layered (ibid: 370). In this fibrous network, one of the most common misunderstandings is the thought that the actors are individual actors but in ANT, "it implies *no* special motivation of *human individual* actors, nor of humans in general" (ibid: 373). The actors here are considered "the source of an action" (ibid). Therefore, in my study, the

actors can include the laws, written ethical principles, trainings and the sanctions, if any, as affecting (f)actors for the behaviors of the community interpreters.

For the methodological framework of this study, a qualitative research method through semi-structured interviews will be used to understand and define the perspectives of the community interpreters in detail with regard to the professionalization (non-professionalization) and the ethical principles by determining and describing the actors and mapping the network. In order to perform interviews with the community interpreters, I will get in touch with interpreters working at hospitals, NGOs and migration offices where there are many people who are in need of communication due to the language barrier. Because the institutions may not incline towards interviewing so as not to explicate their marketing intentions, they will be analyzed through the interpreters' perspectives. While doing so, as the main party of this study, the interpreters will provide the actors and information on them. Therefore, how they see the sector and their profession including other participants will be presented.

2.3. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This section explains the methodological approach used in this qualitative study to obtain data from community interpreters in Turkey. As the data-collection method for this study, the definition of semi-structured in-depth interviews will be explained and information

2.3.1. Phenomenology as Methodological Approach

As a qualitative study in social sciences, this study aims to describe the characteristics of the community interpreting profession in Turkey and reflect the perceptions of community interpreters on ethical principles and professionalization through a phenomenological approach. A phenomenological approach is used as a research method to determine a phenomenon by analyzing the perceptions of the actors in a context (Lester, 1999). The researcher applying this method collects data from the participants who have experience with the relevant phenomenon and puts a holistic

description that defines the essence of the experiences of all participants and comprises of "what" and "how" they have experienced (Moustakas, 1994: 81).

The phenomenon in this sense is formed by the object of human experience (van Manen, 1990). According to Husserl, the reality of the object is an essential part of one's consciousness for that object and the reality cannot be divided into subjects and objects (Creswell, 2013: 78). It can be said that the objects can be analyzed through one's conscious on it, that is, their thoughts on their experiences. The complex character of this approach leads the researcher to use different approaches for different objects in the relevant field to obtain more reliable results. For the structure of a phenomenological study, the researcher can make use of forms to organize the obtained data. These forms may include thematical, analytical, exemplificative, or existential forms or the researcher may invent an approach (ibid). In order to reflect the lived experiences and thoughts of the participants in this study, it is preferred to elaborate on the data thematically so that the data could be examined under different yet interrelating sections. This form enables us to understand and make connections for the issue in question more systematically.

As the nature of the qualitative research, the theory is obtained as an outcome of the research (Bryman, 2012) which will be collected and produced from the experiences and perceptions of the participants in this study.

2.3.1.1. Phenomenology in Translation and Interpreting Studies

Even though there are not many studies applying phenomenology in general as a research method in Translation and Interpreting Studies, Nabi Fatahi et al. (2005) use phenomenography which originates from phenomenology (Cibangu and Hepworth, 2016), and analyze the process of interpreting in the Swedish healthcare system through the perceptions of the interpreters in focus-group interviews in the city of Göteborg. They thematized the interview questions under headings such as the interpreter's role, lack of time, cultural issues, etc., and conducted interviews with interpreters who were previously refugees or immigrants, but also received academic or vocational training. The study concludes that interpreters face many problems

during their work and other participants in the interpreting process including healthcare professionals must be aware of the importance of interpreters' role.

On the other hand, Duygu Duman (2018) used hermeneutical phenomenology as a methodological framework in her doctoral thesis on healthcare interpreting and subjectivity. She states that the phenomenological approach is close to hermeneutics in terms of its epistemological acceptances and that the phenomenological approach is also referred as hermeneutic phenomenological analysis in the literature since it benefits from hermeneutics in the analysis of the data (ibid: 41).

Since this approach is based on the perceptions, senses and experiences of the participants, this study has been designed to describe what the participants share commonly pertinent to a phenomenon (Creswell, 2007: 58). Accordingly, it is aimed to describe the self-perceptions of the participants on ethical principles and their profession with the intention of uncovering norms, if any. The reflection of self-perceptions will allow us to get an insight into the understanding of the participants since perception is the main source of knowledge (Moustakas, 1994: 47). We experience things as we perceive them. Therefore, the main aim of phenomenology is to describe these experiences, rather than explain them (Moustakas, 1994: 52). However, it is also a process of interpretation where "the meaning of the lived experiences" is interpreted by the researcher (Creswell, 2007: 59).

This approach helps us to conduct research on a phenomenon that is not completely unfamiliar but the meaning of which we struggle to understand (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2011: 72). The phenomenon in this study is handled as "perceptions of non-professionalism in community interpreting" in Turkey because considering that there is a lack of institutions and/or associations functioning effectively for the development of this profession and laws that both protect the rights of the interpreters and define their duties, it can be said that community interpreters have not been able to professionalize and perform their jobs within a certain framework. The development of the profession depends on prerequisites (Romantšik & Karu, 2014: 354) and the lack of those prerequisites leads to non-professionalization.

On the other hand, due to the limitations of this study and COVID-19 issues, making field observations to observe the behaviors and strategies of community interpreters could not be possible. However, as the main topic of this study is to

understand how the interpreters see themselves within the community interpreting network and what they think of this profession mainly as regards non-professionalization, phenomenological approach is considered more convenient instead of ethnography and case study. Besides, since this study aims to answer the questions regarding how community interpreters behave, see their roles and what they understand of ethical principles, etc., phenomenology is deemed useful as it seeks to answer what and how questions pertinent to the experiences of participants (Neubauer et al., 2019).

2.3.2. Data Collection Tools

In this type of research, the data to be interpreted is obtained through qualitative methods which leads the study to be inductive (ibid: 1; Hale and Napier, 2013: 83). Therefore, interviewing with the participants which is used often in phenomenological studies (Creswell, 2007: 61) is deemed applicable as the main data-collection method in this study in order to understand the perceptions of the community interpreters with respect to non-professionalization and their roles, and to observe the existing norms in the field. As considered main actors of community interpreting in this study, the interviews were conducted only with the interpreters to reflect their understanding of the profession through phenomenology which deals with "the perspective of the individual" (Lester, 1999: 1). While doing so, it is assumed that in-depth interviews will allow us to understand their points of view more clearly.

> *[In-depth interviews] are the only way to collect data where it is important to set the perspectives heard within the context of personal history or experience; where delicate or complex issues need to be explored at a detailed level, or where it is important to relate different issues to individual personal circumstances. (Lewis, 2003: 58)*

Due to the nature of the scope and participants of the study, it is believed that the interviewees can share their experiences and thoughts on community interpreting more explicitly through in-depth and semi-structured interviews. Additionally, semi-structured interviews will be effective for this study since the conversation between the parties can change according to the answers of the interviewee with the help of previously determined questions (Fiona Fylan, 2005). Thanks to qualitative interviews, it is possible to realize the perspective of the participants and their motives

behind certain behaviors (Corbetta, 2003: 264). Another reason for this type of interview is that surveys may not reflect the perspectives of the interpreters properly, rather they aim to collect superficial information from more participants. Consequently, semi-structured interview questions are complemented with open-ended questions so that the interviewees can provide more in-depth information on their job, employers, roles, status, etc.

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, current laws, ethical principles of community interpreting associations, the ongoing efforts by the Vocational Qualifications Authority and recruitment criteria for community interpreters will be analyzed as secondary data. Through detailed descriptions of the related requirements and comparisons between the conditions in various countries and in Turkey, the aim is to reveal the current situation as regards requirements and limitations in this field in Turkey.

2.3.2.1 Qualitative In-Depth Interviews

According to Legard et al. (2003), there are key features to be considered for in-depth interviews. Firstly, the researcher brings a predetermined structure together with flexibility. Therefore, the researcher finds the opportunity to change the course of the conversation to raise spontaneous questions regarding the topic. Secondly, the conversation between the researcher and the participant is interactive which means that the conversation is produced by the questions of the interviewer and the answers of the interviewee. This question-answer method shapes the material produced during the process. Legard et al. (2003) define the third key as asking follow-up questions to discover and deeply understand the reasons and thoughts of the interviewee behind that answer. As the fourth key of this method, interviewees are allowed to make suggestions and offer solutions for the issue. The last key suggests that these interviews are conducted face-to-face by emphasizing the importance of physical interaction.

In accordance with the research objectives of the present study, after the questions were prepared and organized, the consent form including these questions was submitted to the Ethical Committee of Dokuz Eylul University. Upon approval, I got in touch with the community interpreters from different subfields whom I

contacted and informed them about the content of the interview. I first read the consent form to the interviewees and after they approved their consent to voluntarily participate in the research, I started to record their voices to be transcribed and analyzed after the interviews.

Within the scope of the interviews of this study, the interviewees were asked thematized questions for the analysis of the results properly. These questions were followed by spontaneous questions produced with the help of the interviewee's answers because the participants were from different fields of community interpreting and their perceptions, roles and strategies were more likely to vary accordingly. Due to this variability, they were asked more questions relevant to their answers on an issue in order to have a deep insight into their thoughts and experiences, which constitutes the fourth key. Nevertheless, as a constraint of this study, the interviews could not be conducted face-to-face because of the COVID-19 situation and the high workload and time constraints of the interpreters. However, I believe that the negative effect of having interviews online or over the phone was compensated by the eagerness of the participants to share their experiences and the possibility to ask more follow-up questions to enhance the quality and credibility of the answers.

2.3.2.2. Interviews with Community Interpreters

For the data collection process of the research, I conducted interviews with 12 community interpreters from different subfields such as healthcare, court and NGOs. The diversity of the fields, I believe, provides us with different perspectives of community interpreting and enables us to see how similar or different the strategies, roles and behaviors of the interpreters are based on the context and setting they are involved.

The interviewees were reached through personal and professional contacts. The acquaintances who provided the contact with the interpreters to be included in the present study also shared the content of the research with their colleagues either in their message groups that they created as a network to pass job opportunities to each other or by directing them to me. Even though I got in touch with all the connections, a few of them did not reply back in spite of accepting the interview requests. The

interviews were conducted voluntarily, and the consent form was read to the participants before the interview. After their consent was obtained, I started to ask questions about general qualifications, previous experiences, actors, roles, ethical principles, institutionalization and professionalization respectively (see Appendix 3). In addition to the predetermined questions, follow-up questions were also asked to understand them in a broader sense.

With the intention of increasing the number of participants so as to enhance the credibility and reliability of the findings, I searched for community interpreters on LinkedIn, a network and a job website. I could obtain no results in Turkish when titles such as "toplum çevirmeni" (community interpreter), "toplum çevirmenliği" (community interpreting), "mahkeme çevirmeni" (court interpreter), "sağlık çevirmeni" (healthcare interpreter) were searched. However, when I searched for "court interpreter", only two results appeared, one of which included "public service interpreter" in English as well. This might be considered as a lack of consensus on the terminology in the field because people working as community interpreters do not define themselves as 'community interpreters', especially in Turkey. Through this small-scale research, it was found that these interpreters define themselves only as an interpreter (*Tercüman* in Turkish) and state their institutions as follows: Interpreter at X Institution (*X Kurumunda Tercüman*). Therefore, interpreter (*tercüman*) as keyword and the names of the institutions were used to reach out to these interpreters.

In the selection of the interpreters for interviews, I did not limit my research to certain titles considering the workload and job definitions of the interpreters. The research conducted on community interpreters in Turkey shows that the interpreters do not only interpret but also undertake many other responsibilities including accounting, marketing and translating under different titles including International Patient Representative, Corporate Communication Executive, and Marketing Manager (Şener, 2017: 74). Besides, it is aimed to see if there is a difference in the perception of ethical principles and roles depending on the subfields of community interpreting.

In addition to titles, I did not limit the language pairs only to English-Turkish because Turkey has an enormous number of immigrants, refugees and expats and there is a huge language need to conduct their daily lives and official proceedings. Therefore, I included interpreters working in German, Arabic, Russian, Bulgarian and

English considering the nationalities of the immigrant and expat population of Turkey. The diversity in language will give an insight into the strategies and decisions of the interpreters during the interpreting process (Şener, 2017: 57).

On the other hand, the academic background of the interpreter does not constitute a criterion for this study either because it is observed that there are many interpreters with BA degrees from other departments or no degree at all. Hale and Napier (2013: 90) state that if one will use three participants in a research, one interpreter with a formal education in interpreting, one with no training and one interpreting student. This method is believed to provide the researcher with the necessary information to analyze different aspects of a selected community.

Based on this perspective, I did not limit the interpreters to trained interpreters to be able to see what the trained and untrained interpreters understand of ethical principles and the profession. There are many bilingual Arabic interpreters, for example, working actively in the field due to the increasing demand on Arabic as a result of the refugee influx in Turkey (Aral Duvan, 2021). Considering that court interpreters are required only to present their primary school diploma and language certificate, it has become easier to reach out to Arabic interpreters due to their increased numbers.

Generally, the limitations of the selection criteria are not that narrow because of the current situations and the characteristics of the profession in Turkey. Similarly, the recruitment criteria of the employers do not necessarily include a university diploma from the departments of Translation and Interpreting and language knowledge is considered enough to be an interpreter.

2.3.2.3. Interview Questions

The questions for the interviews were previously formed according to what is required and what is lacking in the profession and professionals after the literature review (see Duraner, 2015; Şener, 2017; Aral Duvan, 2021). The questions were thematized under 5 categories as General Qualifications and Previous Experiences, Actors, Roles, Ethical Principles, and Institutionalization and Professionalization (see Appendix 3).

Among 29 questions in total, some of them were omitted while more follow-up questions were asked according to the course of the conversations. Considering that the fields, experiences and perceptions of the interpreters are different, the questions were shaped, adapted or changed upon their answers.

Through these questions, the perceptions of the community interpreters were analyzed. It is believed that the questions contributed to the awareness of the interpreters on ethical principles and their roles in the process since they were given a chance to think about and criticize them.

2.3.2.3.1. General Qualifications and Experiences

This section consists of questions about the language pairs that the interpreters use, their level of education, their fields of work in community interpreting, their motives for this field and experiences as well as their wages.

It was aimed to obtain demographic data for the classification of the interpreters into certain groups and to provide a basis for their perceptions and actions. For example, whether their level of education has an effect on their behaviors or perceptions on this profession, or the rate of their wage influence their motives for being a community interpreter.

2.3.2.3.2. Actors

This category aims to determine the actors in the subfields of community interpreting so as to map the network of these fields. The questions in this category focus on the most effective actors in community interpreting, whether there are non-human actors influencing their profession or whether they are aware of these actors or if they think that their rights are protected.

Through these questions, their awareness and whom or what they think has an effect on the conditions and current situation of the profession were analyzed. It was also aimed to make them realize that there are many actors in this field affecting the interpreting process in positive or negative ways.

2.3.2.3.3. Roles

The questions in this section ask whether the interpreters know their job definitions, rights and responsibilities, if mentioned before, and whether they do other works except for interpreting such as accounting, escorting, translating documents, etc. The interviewees were expected to define their roles as active or passive and what they understand of being active or passive.

It is no doubt that their adopting active or passive roles is related to their interpreting strategies. Therefore, questions related to strategies such as speaking in the first-person and whether they interfere in the process of communication by adding, omitting or explaining what is said were asked.

2.3.2.3.4 Ethical Principles

The above-mentioned questions are related to the interpreters' perception on ethical principles. This connection between the two sections is thought to feed our understanding of the relationship between the roles and actions of the interpreters as well as to make us realize if there is an inconsistency between their statements regarding role perceptions and actual behaviors.

It is also possible through these questions to analyze whether they know about these principles even if they are not officially enforced in all fields of community interpreting, to what extent they apply to ethics, and how they behave under tough conditions. It was also asked whether they were asked for violation of ethical principles under certain conditions which directs us to the actors and their effects on the behaviors of the interpreters. Accordingly, interconnections can be uncovered among different aspects which need to be considered while we seek to understand the behind-the-scenes process of community interpreting.

2.3.2.3.5. Institutionalization and Professionalization

In this section, it is asked whether the interpreters are affected by the lack of professionalization and association in Turkey. It is aimed to determine if they are aware of such lacks and to what extent they are affected.

Besides, it is also asked the interpreters if they have any suggestions for the improvements and developments in the field. They are asked about the actors to conduct such improvements such as government, employers, associations, etc.

2.4. SUMMARY

This chapter presented the literature review, theoretical framework and methodological approach of the study. The literature review section covered the studies focusing on the community interpreting, the roles, perceptions and behaviors of the interpreters and the norms within the field. As background details, the research conducted in the area shows how different aspects of the profession can be handled and helps us understand the characteristics of each subfield.

As for the theoretical framework, ANT by Latour was explained in general and in terms of how it would be adapted to Interpreting Studies in this study. Followed by ANT, the concept of professional norms by Chesterman was detailed in the studies conducted mainly in the Translation Studies. Its adaption to the Interpreting Studies was also evaluated in this section.

Phenomenology as the methodological approach of the study and its contribution to understanding the perceptions and experiences of the community interpreters was explained with examples from Interpreting Studies. The semi-structured in-depth interviews and the characteristics of the questions asked to the interpreters were detailed as a basis.

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS:

THE ROLES AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE INTERPRETERS

This chapter consists of the analysis of the interviews and the secondary data. The first part analyzes the perceptions of the community interpreters on professionalization and ethical principles under related topics. Through interviews, it is aimed to map the network of community interpreting in Turkey in order to determine the actors' roles within the scope of non-professionalization. The comments of the interpreters will provide information on the characteristics of different subfields of community interpreting as well as their actors participating in the relevant settings.

3.1. SETTINGS

As previously mentioned, community interpreting covers areas such as hospitals, courts, police offices, immigration offices, etc. where there are people who do not speak the dominant/official language in that country. Considering that this study also aims to find out if there are differences among the perceptions of community interpreters from various subfields, the settings are not limited to a certain one. The settings in this study are included as hospitals, courts, notaries, and non-governmental organizations. It must be noted that these settings are intertwined and for instance, court interpreters can work at police offices from where they are called at first.

In this study, the settings that the community interpreters work in are as follows in general:

- Hospitals (comprised of especially one private hospital, one private eye hospital and one private dental health clinic)
- Non-governmental organizations
- Courts and police offices
- Notaries

3.2. PARTICIPANTS

Eleven community interpreters from different subfields of community interpreting were included in this study. Their perceptions on roles, work definitions, ethical principles and actors were obtained through semi-structured in-depth interviews after their consent was received. It is believed that their perceptions on these issues affect their strategies and behaviors as well as their perspectives on their profession while also being affected by the conditions and actors in the field.

Even though the interpreters at hospitals and non-governmental organizations work full-time, the interpreters at courts and notaries work upon demand. They are called for by the officials when needed and take the job if they are available or pass the job to another interpreter that they know. The frequency of demands and calls depends on many factors, including but not limited to, the prevalence of the foreign language, the region and the number of interpreters in that region.

The demographic information about the interpreters is explained according to their fields to provide all the related data together and analyze accordingly.

3.2.1. Healthcare Interpreters

Among 12 interpreters, 3 are health interpreters. Their demographic and work experience information is as follows:

Interpreter 1 (I1) is a female healthcare interpreter working full-time at a private dental clinic. She interprets between Turkish and English, has an undergraduate degree in Translation and Interpreting and 1.5 years of experience in the field of healthcare interpreting.

Interpreter 2 (I2) is a female healthcare interpreter at a private hospital working for 2.5 years. She received her undergraduate degree from the department of Translation and Interpreting and Turkish-English. She is a full-time employee and works in shifts for 10 hours as 08.00 a.m.-p.m. or 08.00 p.m.-a.m. However, she states that she works from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. every day because she is the only interpreter except for the private interpreters of the patients.

Interpreter 3 (I3) is a female healthcare interpreter at a private hospital specialized in ophthalmology. She graduated from the department of English Translation and Interpreting in 2019 and has been working between Turkish and English as a full-time employee at this hospital for 11 months.

All these healthcare interpreters – working full-time as the only interpreters in that specific institution in their language combination (ENG-TUR) – have their bachelor's degree from the Translation and Interpreting Departments of Turkish universities.

3.2.2. Court Interpreters

Among 12 interpreters, 6 are court and certified interpreters. Their demographic and work experience information is as follows:

Interpreter 4 (I4) is a female court interpreter who graduated from German Translation and Interpreting and interprets between Turkish and German. Besides her BA, she has received her MA and been doing her Ph.D. in the field of Translation and Interpreting Studies. She has been working in the interpreting field for almost 7 years other than her healthcare interpreting experience in Germany.

Interpreter 5 (I5) is a female court interpreter in languages Turkish and German with a BA degree in German Translation and Interpreting. Besides courts, she works at consulates and governmental institutions.

Interpreter 6 (I6) is a male court interpreter between Arabic and Turkish. Even though he is Turkish, Arabic is his mother tongue. He has learned Turkish at school and university. He has a degree in Theology as well as Public Relations. He works as an interpreter at courts, prosecution offices, police offices, directorate of land registry and weddings. Even though he has no degree in Translation and Interpreting, he participated in a certificate program on interpreting for children.

Interpret 7 (I7) is a male court interpreter from German to Turkish who has BA and MA degrees in Translation and Interpreting and is a lecturer in this field at a university. Having around 30 years of experience in court interpreting, he interprets at courts, police offices, hospitals and governmental institutions.

Interpreter 8 (I8) is a female court interpreter in Bulgarian, Russian, English, Ukrainian and Turkish. She received her BA in Translation and Interpreting and works at courts and governmental institutions.

Interpreter 9 (I9) is a male court interpreter in Russian, English and Turkish. Even though he has received his BA in English-Russian Translation and Interpreting in Belarus, he works in Turkey at courts, notaries and governmental institutions such as prosecution offices and gendarmeries. He has been interpreting at community settings for about a year.

In this setting, 3 interpreters are female and 3 are male. The language pairs of these interpreters vary but mostly consist of German, Arabic and Russian. Even though 5 of them received Translation and Interpreting education at university, one interpreter has a BA degree in Theology.

3.2.3. Public Service Interpreters

Among 12 interpreters, 3 are public service interpreters. Their demographic and work experience information is as follows:

Interpreter 10 (I10) is a male public service interpreter working at a community center of an NGO for refugees. He is an Arabic-Turkish certified interpreter with a BA degree in Civil Engineering and receiving his MA degree in Construction Management. He speaks Arabic and Turkish as his native languages due to dual citizenship. He has experience also in healthcare interpreting.

Interpreter 11 (I11) is a male public service interpreter working at the same community center of the NGO, at the department of mental health. He has a BA degree in Islamology and an MA degree in Islamic History. He works between Arabic, Turkish and English. His duration of experience is about 2.5 years including interpreting at courts as a court interpreter and notaries as a certified interpreter. He has been working at the NGO for 9 months.

Interpreter 12 (I12) is a female, Arabic-Turkish public service interpreter who works at the migration department of a social assistance and solidarity foundation, as the only interpreter. She received her BA in Arabic Language and Literature and has an experience of 4 months in the field.

The educational backgrounds of these public service interpreters are different compared to the other interpreters whose background information was provided above.

3.2. ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

This section analyzes and discusses the perceptions of the community interpreters on their profession, roles, actors, ethics and institutionalization according to their comments during the interviews. It is aimed to give justification for their behaviors and actions as well as their thoughts by putting them on a solid base after uncovering and rendering behind-the-scenes of the profession.

While doing so, the actors in their fields will also be shaped and it is believed that mapping of the network with actors will contribute to the understanding of their actions and thoughts. Both human and non-human actors will be determined according to the comments of these interpreters to understand how they affect and in return are affected by the interpreting process.

In 4.4. Discussion of The Professional Norms in Community Interpreting, their behaviors and perceptions will be evaluated to determine if it is possible to talk about norms in the field and to what extent the actors are involved in the formation of the norms, if any. The results to be obtained will reflect the status of the actors, their level of influence on each other and on the interpreting process depending on the settings.

3.2.1. Role

In Turkey, community interpreting as a profession has long been neglected considering that there is no standardization in wages and qualifications of the interpreters which can cause the employment of non-professional interpreters. These lacks in the profession can be observed but must be overcome especially in the fields such as healthcare and court interpreting where the lives of the LDPs depend on the interpreting process. However, these lacks do not only affect the LDPs but also the interpreters, their roles and strategies during the process. Besides, actors such as LDPs, doctors or healthcare providers and employers also play a significant role in the tasks, strategies and behaviors of the interpreter. Through the interactions between such

actors, the interpreter can change his/her role depending on the context. Bahadır (2017: 127) claims that there are three roles adopted by the interpreter as an observer, a participant or as an agent of change. These roles are thought to vary and shaped by the actors and the roles of the interpreter change within the network of community interpreting in this study.

This section focuses on the job definitions and workloads of the interpreters, whether they play an active or passive role and which strategies they adopt during the interpreting process.

3.2.1.1. Healthcare Interpreting

The first question about the roles of the interpreters focuses on whether they have been informed about their job definitions, rights and responsibilities after being employed. All three of the healthcare interpreters state that they have responsibilities other than interpreting which consist of dealing with and arranging agreements with other healthcare institutions, treatment plans, health tourism procedures when necessary, private health insurance, invoices of the patients, providing communication with the Ministry of Health, waking the patient up after surgery, etc. Interpreter 1 states her duties as:

> *Well, I had to deal with more irrelevant things in my previous institution, but I have a clearer job definition in my current institution. But of course, I am not here only with my interpreter identity. In the International Patients Department, I interpret in every setting after the patient arrive, but before they arrive, I have found myself in an environment where I have much more responsibilities such as agreements with healthcare institutions abroad, treatment plans of the patients, consent forms for patients, forms to be distributed, process of notification to the Ministry of Health. (Interpreter 10)*

> "Şöyle, daha önceki kurumumda daha alakasız şeylerle de uğraşabiliyordum ama şu anda olduğum kurumda iş tanımım daha net. Ama tabii ki sadece çevirmen kimliğimle burada değilim. Uluslararası hasta biriminde hem hasta geldiğinden itibarenki tüm ortamlarda çeviri yapıyorum, ama onlar gelmeden önce de yurtdışındaki sağlık kuruluşlarıyla anlaşma aşamaları, hastaların tedavi planları, hastalara açıklanacak onamlar, verilecek kağıtlar, Sağlık Bakanlığı'na bildirim süreci gibi daha çok sorumluluğun olduğu bir alanda bulmuş oldum aslında kendimi."

The intense workload of healthcare interpreters can be observed in the statements of Interpreter 2 as well:

> *My job definition covers the duties of an interpreter. The interpreter interprets between the patient and the healthcare provider, translates the medical reports of the patient into English, escorts them during their appointments. However, my job is also about private insurances, receiving provisions, invoicing, conducting the health tourism organization. I am in every field, from the transfer of the patient to the money to be paid, from invoicing to the institution, to accompanying the patient in the field and to waking her up in the operating room. (Interpreter 2)*
>
> "Görev tanımımda bir tercümanın yapacağı işler var. Hastayla sağlık personeli arasında tercümeyi sağlar. Hastanın medikal raporlarını İngilizceye tercüme eder. Hastanın randevularında eşlik eder vb. Ama benim yaptığım iş aynı zamanda özel sigortalar gibi, provizyon almak, fatura kesmek, sağlık turizmi ayağında organizasyonu sağlamak. Hastanın transferinden, ödenecek parasından, kuruma kesilecek faturadan, alandaki hastaya eşlik etmek, ameliyathanede uyandırılmasına kadar her alanda ben varım."

As Interpreter 1 says, they adopt new 'identities' other than interpreter to conduct their duties that do not actually belong to them. This obviously makes it harder for the interpreters to adopt their own 'interpreter identities'. Their statements show that they have many other responsibilities which cannot actually be done by someone who is not an expert on it such as invoicing or waking the patient up after surgery. They are assuming the duties of an accountant and even a healthcare provider without any training. The healthcare interpreters here are expected to be multitaskers, which does not correspond with their actual duties. Interpreter 3 states her subtask as:

> *As I am the authorized person for health tourism of the hospital, I additionally deal with all documents of foreign patients. This includes patients who do not speak or do not need to speak foreign language, Turkish patients who reside in Germany or abroad or foreign patients who reside in Turkey. Therefore, my duty is not always to speak directly English but also help the Turkish-speaking patients with their documents. (Interpreter 3)*
>
> "Hastanenin sağlık turizm yetkilisi ben olduğum için ekstradan yabancı hastaların gereken tüm evraklarıyla da ben ilgileniyorum. Bunun içerisine yabancı dil konuşmayan ya da konuşmaya ihtiyacı olmayan, Almanya'da yaşayan Türkler gibi ya da yurtdışında ikamet eden Türkler gibi ya da Türkiye'de yaşayan yabancılar gibi hastalar dahil oluyor. Dolayısıyla işim her zaman birebir İngilizce konuşmak değil, zaman zaman Türkçe konuşan hastalara evrak işlerinde eşlik etmek ve yardımcı olmak oluyor."

It can be inferred that the healthcare interpreters do not get in touch only with foreign patients but also with Turkish patients from abroad. This can be due to the fact that they may not know about the healthcare system in Turkey or because they are

considered foreign because they do not reside in Turkey. Nevertheless, it is clear that these interpreters are busy with many other tasks so that the patients do not struggle with official procedures.

In general, the interpreters are assigned duties to make sure the patients are satisfied with the service that the hospitals provide, to help the other healthcare providers during the treatment process and to conduct official procedures such as notification to the Ministry of Health.

> *There happen to be extras which spontaneously occur and are done so as not to aggrieve anyone or for the sake of running the business. In the simplest term, you are the doctor's office, s/he prints out a prescription and it is printed from a printer somewhere else, so you go and get it to ensure the fast workflow. A translation that I do not have to do, that does not belong to the hospital, it is my patient's, s/he needs it. But I do it. There happen to be works that I have to do only to make the process easier. (Interpreter 2)*
>
> "Çok spontane gelişen ve kimseyi mağdur etmemek adına veya işin yürümesi adına yapılan ekstra şeyler oluyor. En basitinden, doktorun ofisindesiniz, o bir reçeteyi yazdırıyor ve orada başka bir yerdeki yazıcıdan çıkıyor, onu gidip alıyorsunuz. O an iş hızlı olsun, yürüsün. Yapmak zorunda olmadığım bir çeviri, hastaneye ait olmayan bir çeviri, benim hastam, ona gerekli. Ama bunu yapıyorum. Tamamen süreci kolaylaştırmak adına yapmak durumunda olduğum şeyler oluyor."

Even though the healthcare interpreters strive to meet the expectations of the patients and the healthcare providers, it can be observed that the treatment of the employers and other actors to the healthcare interpreters does not meet the expectations of the interpreters. This deduction can be supported by the expression of Interpreter 3:

> *[…] I feel really uncomfortable to do things that are not in my job definition such as escorting the patients, providing support for other colleagues. I do not want to feel like a stewardess in this institution. Besides, I do not have a desk and a computer where I can do my duties and organize the form that I have to. Therefore, the fact that I do not have a stable place tires me out more and makes feel worthless. (Interpreter 3)*
>
> "[…] hastalara eşlik etmek, diğer arkadaşlara destek vermek gibi görev tanımımda hiç olmayan, hiç yer almayan şeyleri yapmaktan oldukça rahatsızlık duyuyorum. Kendimi karşılama hostesi gibi hissetmek istemiyorum bu kurumda. Bir de hastanede kurum içerisinde bu yapmam gereken görevleri yaptığım, düzenlemem gereken formları düzenlediğim bir masam ve kullanabileceğim bir bilgisayarım bulunmuyor. Dolayısıyla sabit bir yerimin olmaması beni ekstra yoruyor ve değersiz hissettiriyor."

Considering all these comments, it can be said that the status of the interpreters as well as their roles and workloads are affected by the external parties. The worth given to the interpreters in terms of status is not in direct proportion to their workloads.

Two of the healthcare interpreters, Interpreter 1 and Interpreter 3, define their roles as a bridge while Interpreter 2 sees herself as a communication facilitator. Even under different roles, they emphasize that they adopt active roles during interpreting. The communication facilitator role is described by the Interpreter 2 as:

> *I see myself as communication facilitator. Because I seek to find the balance between the two parties. The doctors do not always show an approach to patients as they should or the patients do not always speak to the doctor as they should. I find the balance and make them agree. Therefore, I consider myself mediator. (Interpreter 2)*
>
> "Ben kendimi iletişimi kolaylaştıran olarak görüyorum. Çünkü iki taraf arasındaki dengeyi bulmaya çalışıyorum. Her zaman doktorlar hastaya yaklaşması gerektiği gibi yaklaşmıyor veya hastalar bir doktora konuşması gerektiği şekilde konuşmuyor. Ben arayı buluyorum, anlaşmalarını sağlıyorum. Bu şekilde aracı olduğumu düşünüyorum."

As can be understood from the statement above, the interpreter aims to find a common ground so that the parties can reach a settlement and understand each other correctly. The interpreter sees herself as a mediator and responsible for providing healthy communication between the parties. Another responsibility taken during interpreting is the ability of empathy as described by Interpreter 3:

> *I totally play a role as bridge and also get in touch personally by using my communication skills. I do not only interpret but also interpret by empathizing. We face with a patient and have to explain things to them in a way that they can understand. Not everyone is from England and speaks English perfectly. We make explanations either by using basic English or different words or sometimes images. I mostly play a bridge role. (Interpreter 3)*
>
> "Tamamen köprü görevi görüyorum, aynı zamanda iletişim becerilerimi kullanarak birebir iletişime de geçiyorum. Yalnızca çeviri değil, aynı zamanda empati de yaparak çeviri yapmaya çalışıyorum. Karşınızdaki kişi bir hasta ve o kişilere bazı şeyleri birazcık daha onların anlayacağı şekilde anlatmak durumunda kalıyoruz. Herkes İngiltere'den gelmiyor ve mükemmel İngilizce konuşmuyor. Onların da anlayacağı şekilde gerek basit İngilizce ile gerekse farklı kelimelerle veya zaman zaman görsellerle destekleyerek anlatıyoruz. En çok köprü görevi görüyorum."

It can be deduced from these statements that the conditions of the patients and the environment, actors in general, make the interpreter adopt roles accordingly. The

interpreters here make sure that the patients understand what is said even when the parties fail to explain what needs to be said. They do not make word-to-word interpretations but ensure that the communication between the parties is conducted in a healthy way so that the patient is not mistreated. The satisfaction of the patient is considered the main factor here and varies according to how the communication is provided.

The changing conditions affect also the strategies adopted by the interpreters. When asked whether they are speaking in the first person or third person as "S/he says …", the answers were mostly about speaking in the third person. The reason behind this is explained by Interpreter 3 as:

> *[…] I speak in the third person more. I prefer interpreting as "Doctor said that/Doctor mentioned that". Because the patient is in communication with me, I do not want them to think about things as my suggestions. I do not want to be misunderstood especially about the treatment. (Interpreter 3)*
>
> "[…] üçüncü ağızdan çeviriyorum daha çok. "Doktor bunu söyledi/Doktor bundan bahsetti" şeklinde çevirmeyi daha çok tercih ediyorum. Çünkü beni muhatap alan hasta, zaman zaman benim önerdiğim şeyleri düşünmesini istemiyorum. Özellikle tedaviyle ilgili yanlış anlaşılmak istemem."

These statements show that the choice of language use is mostly determined by the interpreters themselves so as not to be misunderstood. The trust that the patients feel for the interpreters leads them to directly speak to the interpreter herself/himself so that they can be understood by the interpreter correctly.

> *They already have a bias against Turkey and the first channel that they come across with, that they get in touch with tries to overcome this bias and they start to speak more neutrally when they get in touch with us but since we are the first person that they trust, as we say, they trust and want to talk to us first. Under this circumstance, the interpreting process goes as "S/he said ...". (Interpreter 1)*
>
> "Zaten Türkiye'ye karşı genel bir önyargı oluyor ve bunu ilk önce geldikleri, ilk iletişim kurdukları kanal aşmaya çalışıyor ve daha sonra bizlerle iletişime geçtiklerinde daha normal konuşmaya başlıyorlar ama ilk güvendikleri kişi biz olduğumuz için yine dediğimiz gibi, her şekilde ilk önce bize güvenip bize anlatmak istiyorlar. Durum böyle olunca da bize yönelik, biz de karşı tarafa "… bu şekilde dedi" şeklinde dönüyor çeviri süreci."

The feeling of trust of the patient toward the interpreters may arise due to the fact that the interpreters are the only people speaking in their language. Besides, their biases can be eliminated by the interpreters according to the communication skills of

the interpreter. It can be inferred that the patients address themselves directly to the interpreters due to trust. Since the interpreters aim not to cause misunderstandings, they prefer to speak in the third person.

One of the other factors affecting the language use of the interpreters is the language used by the doctors. The comment of Interpreter 2 supports this claim by saying:

> *[…] people can get confused when seeing me as the first person there. Sometimes the patients ask me "You?". I think it is therefore necessary to make explanation beforehand. As the doctors explain the epicrisis as "S/he has …", I interpret so. "She has pain for 3 years, cannot sleep at night.". I interpret this way because they use this language among their colleagues. So, I decide it myself. (Interpreter 2)*
>
> "[…] insanlar beni orada birinci kişiye koyduklarında kafaları karışabiliyor. Hastaların bana "Sen mi?" diye sordukları oluyor bazen. Önceden açıklama yapmak bu yüzden gerekli oluyor sanırım. Hocalar daha çok onların epikrizinde şöyleymiş böyleymiş diye anlattıkları için ben onu öyle anlatıyorum. 3 yıldır ağrısı varmış, geceleri uyuyamıyormuş. Bu dilde anlatıyorum çünkü o dili kullanıyor kendisi hekim arkadaşları arasında. Yani aslında kendim karar veriyorum."

In order to eliminate the confusion between the parties, the interpreters prefer speaking in the third person. This can also be due to the fact that people do not know much about the role and status of the interpreters. From this point of view, it can be concluded that the lack of awareness of the parties has an effect on the language and consequently the strategies used by the interpreters. As Interpreter 2 states, pre-explanation to the parties, like a briefing can be useful before starting interpreting.

Another factor affecting the language choice of the interpreters is explained by Interpreter 1 "It depends on the conditions, the case and the treatment or the manner or the attitude of the patient, whether the setting is aggressive, tense, normal or exciting." which supports the idea that the conditions of the setting is also an effective factor on the strategies of the interpreters as they interpret as if they are those making the speech – i.e., the speaker.

The questions regarding the strategies of the interpreters are followed by whether they add, omit or explain expressions by interfering in the conversation due to cultural differences or complexity of the terminology. Since the patient cannot have the same level of knowledge as the healthcare professional, there may occur power

imbalances (Corsellis, 2008: 29). Interpreter 1 answers the relevant question by mentioning the complex language used by the doctor as:

> *Yes, we come across with these especially in technical issues. Because the doctor cannot see it from a narrower aspect since they know the issue, so they see it in a much wider aspect. S/he explains this or that in a technical way and the patient understands nothing. If we go to a doctor in Turkey and s/he uses that many technical terms, we do not understand either. Therefore, it is too important to know these treatments by studying its background and to pronounce the words correctly. I transfer what I understand from the doctor in the most appropriate way by straining it through my own filter. (Interpreter 1)*

> "Evet, özellikle teknik konuda böyle durumlara çok rastlıyoruz. Çünkü doktor tabii ki bildiği için daha dar bir açıdan bakamıyor yani çok fazla geniş açıdan bakıyor. Onu açıklıyor, bunu açıklıyor, teknik açıklıyor ve hasta zaten hiçbir şey anlamıyor. Biz de Türkiye'de bir doktora gitsek o kadar teknik terim konuşsa Türkçede, biz de anlamayız. O yüzden arka planını çalışıp bu tedavileri bilmek, kelimeleri doğru düzgün telaffuz edebilmek çok önemli. Ben de doktordan anladığımı en uygun şekilde süzgecimden geçirerek hastaya o şekilde iletiyorum."

It can be seen that the interpreter aims to transfer the message to the patient in a much more comprehensible way so that s/he can understand what is said correctly. However, adopting a doctor role during the treatment process may hinder the course of treatment and cause misunderstanding. No matter how much information the interpreters learn from the doctors, leading the patient in a doctor role may cause problems that might threaten the condition of the patient.

Within the knowledge of the doctor, Interpreter 3 provides information to him/her if she makes an explanation or adds during the conversation by stating as "Yes, I do. Sometimes, I make additions to what the doctor has said, and I know basically and make an explanation. But I certainly give information to the doctor about my explanations as "For your information, I said this, too.". This strategy adopted by the interpreter can prevent misunderstandings, but it is not the interpreter's duty to act as a healthcare professional and give additional information to the patient. It would not be surprising that the patients see the interpreters as the first person to directly speak to if the interpreters set their own roles aside and play different roles. This can cause misunderstanding of the status and the roles that an interpreter should have and place them in a different position than their actual position.

Even so, it can be said that the user expectations, that is the expectations of the patients, take the lion's share and the interpreters consider them as priorities:

When I first started in this sector, I was trying to provide communication technically by interpreting everything word by word according to the courses that we took, but such conversation is not comprehensible. It seems complex to the patient, and it is not easy for every patient, for everyone to arrive in a country against which you have biases and to sit on that chair at the dentist. They feel that stress, too. It creates a much more stressful environment. Thus, you take care of them as if they are babies, so to speak. We need to interpret in the simplest and most comprehensible way. (Interpreter 1)

"[…] ilk başladığımda bu sektöre tabii ki öğrendiğimiz dersler gereği her şeyi kelimesi kelimesinde anında çalışıp çevirip teknik bir şekilde iletişim sağlamaya çalışıyordum ama bu şekilde bir iletişim anlaşılır olmuyor. Hastaya komplike geliyor ve zaten yabancı bir ülkeye gelmenin, önyargıları olduğu bir ülkeye gelmenin ve dişçide, o koltuğa oturmak her hasta, her kişi için kolay değil. Zaten bunun da stresi var. Ekstra bir stres ortamı yaratıyor. O yüzden onlara biraz bebek gibi bakıyorsunuz aslında tabiri caizse. En basit, en anlaşılır şekilde anlatmamız gerekiyor."

From these statements, it will not be surprising to say that one of the most important issues that the interpreters take into consideration during the interpretation is considered the comprehensibility of what is said especially by the patients because it is about health and the patients are under stress due to the treatment process. The behaviors of the interpreters are also affected by this stress factor and therefore, they empathize with patients and treat them since they are sensitive and in need of help. Considering that the patients struggle with understanding the complexity of terminology and the pain perception of the doctors, the interpreters think that they are responsible for alleviating the severity of the language for the patient (Angelelli, 2004: 128).

3.2.1.2. Court Interpreting

When it comes to the job definition of the court interpreters, it is observed that they know about their duties but have not been informed about their rights and responsibilities before being employed. They are loaded with many additional tasks even if they are not responsible for them:

They expect a lot while translating. [They] expect you to translate that given file, [to know about] all those procedures abroad related to that translation, actually all clerks load their own duties on you. You are expected to do the works which must be done by them. For example, there is a file ordered for abroad, you translate it and make 3 copies of it. If there are 30 pages, you make 90-page copy

of it. You pay for them yourself. If they want, they pay for it; if they not, they don't. […] They say, "You should have put them in order, how will we do that?". All instructions are on the internet. At the top, there will be this detailed form, below that will be this, below this will be that and so on. All clerks have to do them, but they load it on you. […] I mean they want the translator to do all the job but don't want to pay for it. (Interpreter 5)

"Çok şey bekleniyor çeviri yaparken. O verdikleri dosyayı çevirmenizi, bu çeviriyle ilgili yurtdışına yönelik bütün o işlemlerin nasıl olacağını, aslında tüm katipler kendi işlerini de size yüklüyor. Onların yapması gereken iş de sizden bekleniyor. Mesela yurtdışı talimatlı bir dosya var, çeviriyorsunuz, bunun 3'er nüsha fotokopisini çektiriyorsunuz. Yani mesela 30 sayfa bir şeyse, 90 sayfa çeviri fotokopisi yaptırıyorsunuz. Bunların hep ücretlerini kendiniz karşılıyorsunuz. Bunları sonra isterlerse ödüyorlar, istemezlerse ödemiyorlar. […] Diyor ki, bunu sıraya koymanız lazımdı bunu nasıl sıraya koyacağız. Bütün onların internette, şeyleri var, talimatları var. İşte en üstte şu detaylı açıklamalı form olacak, onun altında şu olacak, bunun altında bu olacak falan gibi. Onları bütün katiplerin yapması gerekiyor, ama onları da size yüklüyorlar. […] Yani her şeyi tercüman yapsın istiyorlar ama hiç para vermesinler istiyorlar."

The statements of Interpreter 5 show that the interpreters are forced to undertake duties for which they are not actually responsible. They have to pay for the additional costs before they receive their fees, and they may even be unable to receive the cost of the additional items. Even though it is clearly stated in the paragraph 5 of the Article 324 of the Law of Criminal Procedure (Ceza Muhakemesi Kanunu, 2004) that the costs of the interpreter are covered by the National Treasury, it is stated that the costs are either paid after a long time or not even paid. These unfair treatments against them clearly reflect the low status of the interpreters. Interpreter 5 also made a comment on doing others' unrelated duties as:

We have a form called 184. These are rogatory texts, texts that provide the legal collaboration. For example, there is a case here, case on property, and has many creditors etc. One of them resides in Germany, abroad. Therefore, the texts are translated into German to send the notice. […] Sometimes the case has been heard here and the statement of the person will be taken. We demand this from the court in Germany. They take and send the statement; we translate it here and the process goes on. The trial goes on according to that statement. […] I do not have any idea about who prepares the form 184. Why? Because the clerk demands it from us. It is not translation. It is about preparing a document. Is it too hard? No. Because we know the necessary information for that form from the other documents that they have given to us. We know it because we are expert on it now. […] but I do not understand who should prepare this form. Because it is not the duty of the translator. Because it is not a translation. You prepare the Turkish document here. It is a 4-page document to be filled out by either the clerks or the advocates. But I guess it is mostly done by the translators. […] Except for that, unfortunately you only know the day, date and the hour of the trial in interpreting. You do not even know the matter in dispute, so you do not have time

to create a glossary. It is totally a complex process. […] There is unfortunately a lack of detailed job definition there. (Interpreter 4)

"[…] Başımızda bir 184 formu denilen bir şey var. İstinabe metinleri, adli iş birliğini sağlayan metinler bunlar. İşte örneğin burada görülen bir dava, işte mal davası, bir sürü alacaklısı var vesaire. Aralarından bir tanesi Almanya'da ikamet ediyor, yurtdışında ikamet ediyor. Sonra bu nedenle, kişiye tebligat yapılabilmesi için evraklar Almancaya çevriliyor. […] Bazen şey oluyor, burada görülmüş başlamış bir dava, kişinin ifadesi alınacak. Biz bunu Almanya'daki adliyelerden talep ediyoruz. Onlar ifadeyi alıyor, gönderiyorlar, biz burada tercüme ediyoruz ve buradan o süreç devam ediyor. O ifade tutanağı üzerinden yargılama devam ediyor. […] 184 formunu normalde kimin oluşturması gerektiği konusunda fikrim yok. Neden? Çünkü katipler bunu bizden talep ediyorlar. Çeviri değil bu. Bu tamamıyla bir belgeyi oluşturmak. Çok mu zor? Değil. Çünkü bize vermiş oldukları diğer evraklarda o formda gelmesi gereken bilgilerin hangileri olduğunu biz biliyoruz. Bilebiliyoruz artık çünkü o konuda uzmanlaşmışız. […] ama kimin oluşturması gerektiği konusunu çözmüş değilim. Çünkü bence bu çevirmenin işi değil. Çünkü bu bir çeviri işi değil. Yani o Türkçe metni oluşturuyorsunuz burada. Bu ya katipler tarafından yapılıyor ya da tarafların avukatları tarafından doldurulması gereken 4 sayfalık bir evrak. Ama galiba çoğunlukla onu çevirmenler yapıyor. […] Ama onun haricinde sözlü çeviride ne yazık ki sadece duruşma gününü, tarihini, saatini öğreniyorsunuz. Davanın konusunu bile öğrenemiyorsunuz ki bununla ilgili bir terimce oluşturacak süreciniz olamayabiliyor. Orası tamamen muğlak bir süreç. […] Orada ne yazık ki ayrıntılı bir görev tanımı eksik kalıyor bence."

According to the comments of Interpreter 4, other court personnel also do not know about the distribution of the tasks, and they give their responsibility to the interpreters. It would not be wrong to say that the interpreters do these so that the process can go on. On the other hand, they are not provided with adequate information on the case and the trials which can negatively affect their performance during the interpretation. Interpreter 4 compares the difference between Turkey and Germany as:

For instance, the situation in Germany is not like here. The interpreter in Germany can say to the judge or the prosecutor "Can we give a break? I need to make a glossary of this. I need to do research." and the trial is adjourned, or s/he can interrupt by saying "You have talked too fast" and take a break. So they can direct them. I guess we mostly adapt to the setting due to the respect to the judge and the prosecutor. I mean, we adapt to the people around us rather than them adapting to us. (Interpreter 4)

"Mesela Almanya'daki uygulama böyle değil. Almanya'daki çevirmen hakime, savcıya şey diyebiliyor "Ara verebilir miyiz? Benim bunun bir terimcesini çıkarmam lazım. Bir araştırma yapmam lazım." ve duruşmaya ara veriliyor ya da "Çok hızlı konuştunuz" deyip araya girebiliyor. Yani onları yönlendirebiliyor. Biz de biraz hakime, savcıya duyulan saygı sebebiyle biraz daha biz kendimiz galiba ortama çok daha uyum sağlıyoruz. Yani çevremizdekiler o çeviri koşulu uyum sağlamaktansa biz onlara adapte olmaya çalışıyoruz galiba."

The differences between the roles of the interpreters show that the Turkish interpreters may be more likely to restrict themselves due to the hierarchy in the setting, but this also affects the interpreting process and the status of the interpreter. On the other hand, Interpreter 6 states that he can ask for permission to look up the dictionary if there is a word unknown to them. Nevertheless, the perspectives of the other participants towards the interpreters here are the main factors that have a big role in the tasks of the interpreters. The heavy and irrelevant workload of the community interpreters can prevent them from doing their actual job which leads to unclear job definitions in the sector.

For the role definitions of the interpreters, they refer to themselves as active in the court interpreting. Even if the court interpreters are not expected to be active during the interpreting process, they refer to this activeness as the fact that there is an essential need for interpreters in courts as Interpreter 4 explains:

> *In terms of human rights, there is a very clear statement in the European Convention on Human Rights as those who do not understand the language of the judgment. We are one of the countries that abide by this convention. They need interpreters to understand and listen to the people who do not understand the language of judgment or who cannot express themselves in Turkish. The trial cannot continue unless there is an interpreter. The rights of the people cannot be stated, and the person cannot be judged in the trial. Therefore, I think it is something much more important than a bridge. The aim there is not to recognize the cultures or the differences. If there is not an interpreter there, the judgment cannot go on, the rights of the people cannot be protected, or the judge cannot decide who is guilty or not. Thus, I do not know how to define, but the bridge role of the interpreter seems to be at a lower level. I think the interpreter is at a more dominant and more important point here. (Interpreter 4)*

> "İnsan hakları bağlamında değerlendirdiğimizde Avrupa İnsan Hakları Sözleşmesinde yargılama dilini anlamayan gibi şeklinde orada çok açık bir ifade var. Biz de bu sözleşmeye uyan ülkelerden biriyiz. Şimdi şu açıdan bakıyorum, eğer o duruşmada yargılama dilini anlamayan ya da kendisini Türkçe ifade edemeyen kişilerin anlaşılabilmesi için, dinlenebilmesi için çevirmene muhtaçlar. Çevirmen olmadan o duruşma ilerlemez. O duruşmada kişilerin hakları bildirilemez, duruşmada kişi yargılanamaz. Dolayısıyla bence köprüden çok daha önemli bir şey. Yani orada amaç kültürleri, ne bileyim, farklılıkları tanımak değil. Orada çevirmen olmazsa o yargılama devam edemeyecek, insanların hakları korunamayacak ya da işte orada suçlu-suçsuz, hakim buna ilişkin bir kanaat getiremeyecek. Dolayısıyla, bilmiyorum nasıl tanımlarız, ama bence köprü vazifesi dediğimizde, artık çevirmenin köprü vazifesi görmesi biraz daha düşük bir seviye gibi geliyor bana. Burada biraz daha baskın, biraz daha önemli bir noktada bence."

The interpreter here explains that there is a crucial role that the interpreter plays in the judgment process and otherwise, the judge cannot decide whether the person is guilty or not. From this point of view, it can be said that the interpreter is aware of her role and her responsibilities since it is about a person's life.

When asked whether they interpret by speaking in first-person or third-person, the interpreters answered that they interpreted mostly by speaking in first-person. Interpreter 9 refers to this strategy as:

> *I always interpret using first-person language. Generally, the judges want this in any case. Because when it is recorded, it must be from the first person, firsthand. Especially in prosecutor's office, I always use first-person because of the voice record. However, if they speak any libelous, any abusive words, then I have to use third-person language as "S/he said …". (Interpreter 9)*

> Birinci ağızdan yapıyorum ben her zaman. Genellikle zaten atıyorum hakimler zaten illa bunu istiyor. Çünkü orada direkt fezlekeye girdiği zaman birinci şahıstan, birinci addan olması gerekiyor. Özellikle savcılıkta mesela, ses kaydı da olduğu için zaten hep birinci ağızdan yapıyorum. Fakat herhangi bir işte hakaretli, herhangi bir küfürlü kötü bir kelime söylerlerse bu durumda mecbur üçüncü şahsa geçmek durumunda kalıyorum, işte "Şöyle şöyle dedi" demek zorunda kalıyorum.

What is affecting the strategy of the interpreter here is the content of the language that the LDP uses. Similar to Interpreter 3, Interpreter 9 restricts himself from being misunderstood in front of the parties. Therefore, it can be said that the stressful conditions in court interpreting have a major role in the behaviors of the parties as well as the strategies of the interpreters. Interpreter 4 mentions her experience as:

> *I have experienced this. But the hearing wasn't commenced yet. The person pushed the chair out of anger due to coming to the courtroom etc. and said some things in German himself but the judge could observe him there. What he wanted to detect there was actually the level of the swear. Because he will impose sanctions accordingly. So, he immediately asked, "Dear Interpreter, what did s/he say?". I interpreted. We told him back then. (Interpreter 4)*

> Yaşadım bu durumu. Ama o zaman daha duruşma celse açılmamıştı. Kişi duruşma salonuna gelmiş olmanın verdiği bir sinirden hem sandalyeyi itti kaktı bilmem ne, orada Almanca bir şeyler söyleniyor kendi kendince ama orada hakim zaten onu gözlemleyebiliyor. Sadece orada tespit etmek istediği şey o küfrün derecesi aslında. Çünkü ona göre bir yaptırım uygulayacak. Dolayısıyla bana hemen "Çevirmen Hanım ne dedi?" diye sordu. Ben de söyledim. O an söyledik ona.

The point here is that the interpreters may come across with awkward situations but since they are expected to be impartial while interpreting, they do not exaggerate or be shy about what has been said. Besides, the judge himself is also aware that the interpreter would not say such a thing and it is the utterance of the LDP. Interpreter 6 also mentions his strategy of interpreting in first-person language as:

> *[W]hether in court, police stations or other departments, we answer the questions while interpreting. We do not add anything to the interpretation. We ask the questions that the judge wants to ask the defendant or the victim as if the judge asks, and we interpret the answer in his/her words on behalf of him/her as if the victim or the defendant has said so, like "I didn't do it, I didn't go, I didn't see", rather than "S/he said that". (Interpreter 6)*

> "[M]ahkeme olsun, karakollarda olsun, diğer birimlerde olsun, tercüme yaparken biz sorulan soruyu biz cevaplandırırız. Kendimiz bir şey katmayız tercümeye. Hakimin sanığa veya mağdura yönlendirmek istediği soruları biz hakim sormuş gibi sorarız, aldığımız cevabı da mağdur veya sanık kendisi söylemiş gibi, böyle söyledi değil de, işte ben yapmadım, ben gitmedim, ben görmedim şeklinde onun adıyla onun ağzıyla söyleriz."

Even though the interpreters claim that they are active in courts, they are not expected to interfere in the conversation and interpret the way they perceive. As two of the most important issues in ethics and roles in the court interpreting, accuracy and completeness (Judicial Council of California, 2013) constitute the main requirements during the trial. Therefore, it is not generally expected from the interpreters to add, omit or make additional explanations. When asked whether they make additions, omissions or explanations, they mostly answered that they do not make such interventions.

> *I never make omissions, never. I think it is very unethical. I do not make omissions in either language. I do not omit anything the judge says against the defendant, nor omit anything the defendant says against the judge. Even details we underestimate can be a matter of cipher. For instance, s/he saw a red car, and if I do not interpret it as red or that s/he saw a car, then there occurs a loss of information. The judgment will not be fair. (Interpreter 4)*

> "Çıkarma asla, asla. Bunun çok etik dışı bir davranış olduğunu düşünüyorum. Her iki yöne de çıkarma yapmam. Ne hakimin söylediği bir şeyi sanığa karşı ne de sanığın söylediği bir şeyi hakime karşı. Hatta ve hatta bizim bazen önemsiz gördüğümüz ayrıntılar aslında bir şifre meselesi olabilir. Örneğin bir kırmızı araba görmüştür, ben onun kırmızı olduğunu çevirmezsem ya da araba gördüğünü de çevirmezsem o zaman orada bir bilgi kaybı oluşacak. Yargılama adil bir şekilde gerçekleştirilemeyecek."

According to Interpreter 4, the interpretation must be accurate and complete so as not to cause any misjudgment. The awareness of the interpreter for the cruciality of their roles can be observed from these statements. On the other hand, the interpreters prefer to keep themselves in the background unless a misunderstanding occurs, or they come across with a difference between the cultures or the systems. Misunderstanding and the lack of knowledge on some issues are the key points for the interpreters to interfere in the conversation.

> *For example, there are conditions that Turkish law is unfamiliar with but peculiar to Germany. There are some issues in German law that are not parallel or symmetrical with Turkish law. […] You have to explain it, too. For example, I said, "There is no such thing as probation there". There is something called Bewährung which is to be under custody. This system does not exist in Turkey. […] I mean, we have to explain what it is and its conditions to the judge or the person who has asked the question when it is mentioned. There are some points which we make additions from our general knowledge except for the things that the person tells. (Interpreter 7)*

> "Mesela bazı zaman Türk hukukunun bilmediği yani bazı Almanya'ya özgü durumlar var. Alman hukukunda Türk hukukuyla paralel olmayan, simetrik olmayan diyelim daha doğrusu, simetrik olmayan yerler var. […] Onu da açıklamak zorunda kalıyorsunuz. Mesela "Orada bizdeki denetimli serbestlik gibi bir şey yok" dedim, Bewährung diye bir şey var, gözetim altında olmak. […] Mesela bu sistem Türkiye'de yok. […] Mesela böyle bir şeyden bahsettiği zaman bunun ne olduğunu, bunun şartlarını oradaki hakime veya soruyu soran kişiye anlatmak durumunda kalıyoruz. Bu kişinin anlattığı şeylerin haricinde bizim kendi genel kültürümüzde eklediğimiz noktalar oluyor evet."

As previously mentioned above, Interpreter 7 adopts an active role in court interpreting. From the explanation above, it can be said that the active role of this interpreter comes into existence, and they have a say in the communication when there is a possibility of confusion or misunderstanding due to systematical or cultural differences. Even so, the interference or including their own statements in the conversation is not something that is commonly preferred by the interpreters.

> *I do not [make additions, omissions or explanations] unless I have to. According to my understanding, I make sure that the parties feel like I am not there. I interpret directly from the first-person. That is always my ultimate goal. I think that they must feel as if they are talking to each other, as if I interpret like a ghost, like a program. I generally aim to do so, but if I have to, if there is a misunderstanding due to cultural differences as you have said, I clearly interrupt and explain. I inform both parties so as not to cause any misunderstanding. For example, there is a Russian citizen, s/he can ask "What did you say?", and I explain it as "I explained that…". (Interpreter 9)*

> “Çok zorunda kalmadığım sürece yapmıyorum. Tamamen ben, bu kendi yorumlamam, ben orada hiç yokmuşum gibi tarafların hissetmesini sağlıyorum. Direkt birinci ağızdan bahsediyorum. Yani benim her zaman nihai hedefim odur. Onlar sanki ikisi kendi arasında konuşuyormuş gibi, ben orada bir hayalet gibi sadece işte program gibi ben orada çevirdiğimi farz etmelerini kendimce düşünüyorum. Genelde de yapmaya çalışıyorum ama çok zorda kalırsam, hani herhangi bir yanlış anlaşılma olursa dediğiniz gibi kültürel farktan dolayı, o zaman mecbur kalıp hani çok net bir şekilde durdurup izah edip öyle devam ediyorum. Bunu da iki tarafa da söylüyorum, hani yanlış anlaşılma olmaması için. Atıyorum Rus bir vatandaş oluyor, "Ne dedin?" diye sorabiliyor bana, ben de izah ediyorum, "Böyle böyle" işte, "izah ettim" diyorum.”

The main goal of the interpreters here is to make sure that the parties do not feel their presence and that the conversation continues without their interruption. Interpreter 9 claimed that he did a voiceover in a sense. It can be concluded that there is a shift between the roles of the interpreters depending on the conditions and that they do not adopt only one role. Nevertheless, these actions depend on their decisions on whether they must interrupt the conversation if not on the directives of the judges. It must be remembered that the court interpreters also need to have knowledge on the law systems, terminology and cultural differences just like any other subfields of community interpreting.

3.2.1.3. Public Service Interpreting

With more general but also complex job definitions, all three of the public service interpreters working at NGOs state that they have additional duties besides interpreting. Interpreter 11 explains his job definitions as:

> *Due to slow bureaucracy, I was informed about my job definition a bit late. My job definition is especially to both translate and interpret as well as to do the tasks given by the manager since we also work as a fieldworker. This is such a general definition. My colleagues need to be authorized to drive the institution's cars. They do not give them to everyone with a driver's license. They only give particular people. One of my colleagues who is an interpreter may have to work as a driver. S/he runs errands when there is no need for his/her interpreting. We are 5 people in the department and share the tasks so that they are not loaded on one person. These are mostly done upon consent. I track the budget of my department except for my own duty. There is a complex system where the purchase requests are opened, and I track the previous purchases. So, even if my job definition is to translate and interpret, I conduct duties other than these. (Interpreter 11)*

"Yasal süreçlerin biraz yavaş işlemesinden dolayı görev tanımının bana teslim edilmesi biraz geç oldu. Benim görev tanımım hem yazılı hem sözlü çeviri yapmak başta olmak üzere aynı zamanda saha elemanı olarak da çalıştığımız için görev tanımım yönetici tarafından verilen görevleri yerine getirmek. Çok genel bir ifade bu. Benim çalışma arkadaşlarımdan kurum araçlarını kullanabilmek için bir yetki almak gerekiyor. Öyle ehliyeti olan herkese vermiyorlar. Belirli kişilere veriyorlar sadece. Bir tercüman arkadaşım icabında bir şoför gibi çalışmak zorunda kalabiliyor. Kendisinin tercümanlık desteğine ihtiyaç duyulmadığı zamanlarda getir götür işi yapabiliyor. Çalıştığım birimde de, 5 kişiyiz birimde, bu kişiler arasında görev paylaşımı yapılıyor, tek bir kişiye yüklenmesin diye. Bunlar çoğunlukla rıza üzerine. Kendi yaptığım iş haricinde de mesela bulunduğum birimin bütçe takibini ben yapıyorum. Satın alma taleplerinin açıldığı bir sistem var karışık bir sistem, önceki satın almaların takibini ben yapıyorum. Yani görev tanımım direkt olarak yazılı ve sözlü çeviridir olsa da bunun dışında da işler yapıyorum."

The interpreter here is expected to perform other duties such as accounting but also running errands depending on their qualifications. They are given very general job definitions which is comprised of "doing what is told to be done". This definition not only lacks the rights and responsibilities of the interpreters but also includes working under someone who has nothing to do with interpreting. However, the tasks are given by obtaining consent if it is not their duty.

In a similar vein, Interpreter 12 who works alone as an interpreter at her institution adds that:

[T]hey stated all in the contract. My duty is to do whatever my manager says. Except for the counter that is at the entrance, I do not sit there. Otherwise, I can go investigatiosn, interpret at the counter but I cannot sit there and do work in the system. However, I can do whatever the manager says. […] The job definition is open-ended. For example, I shouldn't have known about that system, but I do. In the afternoon, I always do works on the system. (Interpreter 12)

[S]özleşmede hepsini belirttiler. Görevlerim işte başımdaki kişinin, müdür beyi kastediyorlar, o ne söylerse yapabileceğim. Sadece, bizim bankomuz var ya içeri girdiğinizde, o bankolarda sadece oturmuyorum. Onun haricinde incelemeye çıkabilirim, bankoda gelene tercümanlık yaparım, sadece oturup orada sistemden iş yapamam. Ama müdür bey ne söylerse onu yapabilirim. […] Ucu açık bir tanım. En basitinden benim o sistemi bilmemem gerekiyor ama ben o sistemi biliyorum. Öğleden sonra oturup hep bu sistemde çalışıyorum.

According to the statements of Interpreter 11 and Interpreter 12, it can be said that the public service interpreters are loaded with duties which are out of their profession in this field. They are expected to know or learn about other additional systems or tasks that need to be conducted. These duties are loaded on them within the contract by statements such as "doing whatever is said".

When it comes to the rights of these interpreters, they are obviously not defined as much as their responsibilities. Except for Interpreter 10 who claims that the general rights of every employee within the institution are protected, Interpreter 11 and Interpreter 12 state that their rights are not protected. To give example, Interpreter 11 mentions that people think interpreting requires no special qualifications:

> *Actually, I do not think so. I do not think that the rights of the employees in many professions are not generally protected. It is not that interpreting is a perfect position, but it is not appreciated. The point of view of the interpreters, partly because the people working in this field are like this, is that this guy knows a language and does this job because he knows it. They think that it does not require a specific qualification. This is mostly, for example, due to the fact that there are people in this position who are from Southeastern Anatolia or migrated from Syria and interpret as much as required. (Interpreter 11)*
>
> "Açıkçası çok düşünmüyorum. Genel itibariyle çoğu meslek grubunda da çalışanların haklarının korunduğunu çok düşünmüyorum. Tercümanlık müthiş bir pozisyondur kesinlikle hiç kıymet görmüyor değil. Genel olarak tercümanların bakış açısı, biraz da alanda çalışanların da böyle olması nedeniyle, ya bu adam dil biliyor, dil bildiği için yapıyor. Özel bir yeterlilik yok gözüyle bakılıyor. Bunun da sebebi çoğunlukla, örnek olarak söylüyorum, Güneydoğu Anadolu'dan gelme ya da Suriye'den göçme arasında gerektiği kadar tercüme yapabildiği için bu pozisyonda bulunan kişiler olduğundan dolayı böyle bir genelleme yapılıyor."

It is emphasized here that there are many people working as interpreters but outside the field which affects the point of view of the others toward professional interpreters. Interpreter 11 also adds that many of his interpreter friends are studying Civil Engineering, Medicine, etc. but working as an interpreter. He claims that the positions are full of people who do this job because they know the language rather than people who received a degree in interpreting. The reason behind this point of view of the people is reflected that these people occupy so much space in the field that the professional interpreters who received education in interpreting cannot find the chance to be employed as interpreters. Even though Interpreter 11 did not receive his degree from the Department of Translation and Interpreting, he is well aware that the profession is not appreciated the way it deserves.

The lack of worth for the profession is also observed for the interpreters as well in the field. Interpreter 12 explicates that there is pressure for them to do additional tasks:

No, my rights are not protected. Even though the profession I need to perform is this job, I do not only interpret. It is not fair that those who are doing the same job as I do are paid more than me although they do not know a foreign language. When I say this, the company says, "We can pay this much". I say, "But I have another duty", and they say, "Then do not" but I had been forced to learn that system since the beginning. (Interpreter 12)

"Hayır, haklarım korunmuyor. Hakkım sadece yapmam gereken meslek bu olmasına rağmen sadece tercümanlık yapmıyorum. Çünkü dili olmadığı halde benimle aynı işi yapanlar benden fazla maaş aldıkları için bu bir haksızlık sonuçta bana. Bunu söylediğim zaman da işte "Biz bu kadar maaş verebiliyoruz" diyor şirket bana. "Ama ben başka iş de yapıyorum" diyorum, "Yapmayın o zaman" deyip geçiyorlar ama ben ilk işe başladığımdan beri o sistemi öğrenmem bana zorlandı yani."

From this statement, it would not be wrong to say that the interpreter is treated in a threatening way if she rejects the requests of her employer. She claims that she is doing this job to gain experience because nobody wants to employ someone who has no experience. Therefore, she has to work under these conditions and do the jobs that are actually not her responsibility. Considering the tough conditions that they are faced with in community interpreting in terms of both the employers and the immigrants, it can be said that they are loaded with duties more than they can do.

In addition to their job definitions as well as rights and responsibilities, the interpreters were asked about the roles that they adopted while interpreting. When asked about how they define their roles in interpreting, Interpreter 10 and Interpreter 12 define their roles as active, while Interpreter 11 states that he mostly has a role closer to passive. Interpreter 10 claims that he has a very crucial role as a community interpreter. He also adds that he must convey both the words and the emotions so that he can convince the parties. The interpreter here adopts an active role by undertaking an additional mission to persuade someone.

Nevertheless, Interpreter 11 who works at the same institution states that an interpreter must adopt a less active role and not interfere in the conversation too much. He also adds that the roles may change depending on the department and the conditions:

I will explain in two different ways: The thing that the interpreter needs to do in the mental health department is definitely to transfer what is to be interpreted without altering anything. There should not be any altering or intervention in this triangle so that the process goes on in a healthy way. However, I mostly do this job by consulting my colleague if I must warn my colleague or say something about a thing that has taken my attention. But in other departments, I think that I

have to say a few more words depending on the conditions of the conversation. I think that interpreting needs to be conducted without altering anything but informing the colleague if some things should be added. The interpreter is not only an information transmitter, but also an intermediator. S/he transforms and transfers. While doing so, s/he has to be in a position where s/he knows how the parties will understand or from what they will refrain, interprets accordingly or warns the colleague about this. I think that the interpreter should not intervene too much but be closer to a passive role. (Interpreter 11)

"İki farklı şekilde söyleyeyim. Ruh sağlığı biriminde tercümanın yapması gereken şey kesinlikle ama kesinlikle çevrilmesi gereken şeyi hiçbir şekilde değiştirmeden karşı tarafa aktarmak. Bu üçgen içerisinde değiştirme veya müdahale etmek yok sürecin sağlıklı bir şekilde işleyebilmesi için. Ama çalışma arkadaşımı uyarmamda, dikkatimi çeken bir şey üzerine bir şey söylemem gerektiği durumlarda kendisine danışarak daha çok bu işi yapıyorum. Ama diğer birimlerde ise bir iki kelime fazla söyleme, konuşmanın durumuna bağlı olarak yapmam gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Tercümanlığın mümkün olduğunda hiçbir şeyi değiştirmeden, bir şey eklenecekse çalışma arkadaşına bunu ifade ederek bu süreci yürütmek gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Tercüman tek başına bir bilgi aktarıcı değildir, aracıdır aynı zamanda. Dönüştürür, onun karşılığında aktarır. Aynı zamanda bunu yaparken de karşısındakinin nasıl anlayacağını ya da neyden çekineceğini bilen ve bununla alakalı olarak buna göre çevirebilen ya da çalışma arkadaşını bu konuda uyarabilen bir pozisyonda olması gerekiyor. Bence çevirmenin çok fazla müdahil olmaması, biraz daha pasife yakın olması gerektiğini düşünüyorum."

It is clear that there is a difference in the points of view of the interpreters in terms of role definitions. While Interpreter 10 is adopting a more active role in the process by aiming to convey the feelings to be able to act persuasively, Interpreter 11 thinks that an interpreter must not be that active so that the communication can be conducted healthily. Even though he thinks that alterations or interventions can affect the process, he finds it useful to make additions when necessary, depending on the conditions.

Stating that she adopts an active role, Interpreter 12 modifies what is said so that the LDP can understand the conversation. According to her comment, she considers the differences and the perspectives of the parties and for example, asks how much the LDP spends on food in a week or a month even though the professional has asked how much the LDP spends in a month. Therefore, she multiplies the amount and interprets it that way. It can be said for Interpreter 12 that she adopts a communication facilitator role and aims to cause no misunderstandings or complexity. Considering that Interpreter 12 does tasks other than interpreting, it is not surprising for her to adopt a role as if she is a social worker.

For the question of whether they use direct or indirect language, Interpreter 10 and Interpreter 12 state that they use direct language and transfer the message the way it has been said, while Interpreter 11 states that he interprets indirectly.

3.2.1.4. Summary

In conclusion, in healthcare interpreting, court interpreting and public service interpreting, well-defined job descriptions have not been observed. Their rights and responsibilities are not clearly stated but they assume duties that are beyond their profession. This overload leads them to adopt new identities other than their roles as interpreters. Within these identities, healthcare interpreters are not considered "interpreters" but assigned to work under titles such as International Patient Expert. The interpreters from all fields in this study are expected to act as if they are accountants or experts for private health insurance, or to undertake the duties of the clerks, attorneys or social workers. Stuffing all these roles in the term "interpreter", the parties expect the interpreters to be multitaskers. These expectations cause the interpreting profession to gain a lower status, even though the interpreters have a major role in the process considering the cruciality of the conditions in healthcare, court and public service interpreting. From these facts, it can be said that the roles of the interpreters are affected mostly by external factors and defined by their co-workers and the higher decision-making bodies in their institution/ organization.

In healthcare interpreting, the interpreters generally adopt a communication facilitator role even if they state that they provide a bridge between the parties. This can be observed in their comments that they resolve the encountered problems, that they use indirect language to not be misunderstood and that they transfer the message by transmitting it through their own filter to make sure the LDP understands it correctly. Here the most determinant factor for these behaviors of the interpreters is comprehensibility. They also feel empathy for the patients considering the tough conditions that they are in. Besides, since they are the only ones who know the language of the LDPs, they are trusted during the process and the LDPs feel like they are the healthcare providers.

Unlike healthcare interpreters, court interpreters mostly adopt a passive role unless there is a misunderstanding. Since any tiny information is important during the trial, they abstain from making omissions, which also turns their role into active considering the important role of the interpreters. In case there is a misunderstanding, they feel the need to make explanations to the judge or the LDP due to cultural and systematical differences. However, it has been stated that they are informed about the trial just before it starts, and they have no time to get prepared for terminology etc. They are also not provided with additional information about the subjects of the trials. On the other hand, it is observed that court interpreters are more likely to use first-person language. This is partly due to the fact that the judges are aware that the interpreters do not use abusive language in front of them as professionals and that the interpreters do not want the parties to feel their existence in the courtroom. Nevertheless, the hierarchy between the parties makes the interpreters feel like they are restricted in a sense. For their strategies during the trials, the interpreters state that they do not aim to make additions, alterations or omissions for the sake of both impartiality, accuracy and completeness. Omissions are mostly avoided because the judge is responsible for the decisions, not the interpreters.

For the public service interpreters, it has been inferred that they have lower status when compared to healthcare and court interpreters. It is imposed on them that the interpreting in their field requires no special qualifications and anyone who knows the language can interpret. It has been emphasized that the low status of the profession in the sector result from the prevalence of the interpreters who have no degree in Translation and Interpreting but claim that they know the language. Besides, the low status of the interpreters causes them to be overloaded with other duties and their job definitions are so general that they have to do whatever they are told to.

The next section focuses on the ethical principles which are actually not specified in community interpreting field in Turkey, which might have an effect on the roles that the interpreters adopt in their profession.

3.2.2. Ethical Principles

This section aims to reveal how the non-existence of official ethical principles affects the behaviors of the interpreters as well as to what extent the interpreters are aware of these principles.

3.2.2.1. Healthcare Interpreters

The interpreters were asked 9 questions in general besides the additional questions. First, they were asked about to what extent they were aware of these principles which are generally confidentiality, accuracy, impartiality, respect, professionalism and professional development, and how they obtained this awareness, for example from their institutions, through education, etc.

All three interpreters state that they have obtained this awareness through education. Interpreter 2 emphasizes the importance of education by excluding her institution:

> *Yes, I am aware of them. I learned them from my department, not from the institution actually. I learned them at the university. Because I wrote a paper on the role of the healthcare interpreter. I learned them through this paper and other courses, through the information from both my professors and courses. (Interpreter 2)*
>
> "Evet bilincindeyim. Kurumdan değil aslında, ben bölümümden öğrendim. Üniversitede öğrendim etik ilkeleri. Çünkü kendim de sağlık çevirmeninin rolü isimli bir paper yazmıştım. Aslında onunla birlikte ve diğer derslerle, hocalarımdan duyduğum gördüğüm hem de dersteki bilgilendirmelerle öğrendim."

According to this statement, the importance of education, as well as the courses on community interpreting, can be observed. The research the interpreter did on the roles of the healthcare interpreters led her to know about the field more and to discover her interest in this field. In addition to education, Interpreter 1 emphasizes the importance of experience in internalizing these principles:

> *Actually, I think that our university education was given in a very correct and appropriate way. Because when I first started to work in this sector, I started interpreting by doing what my institution said as the employer. But later, you start to know the patient, the patient profile. You put yourself in [patient's] shoes,*

> *in the employer's shoes. After that, you start to act with the feeling that you must be completely impartial and interpret that way. […] you aim to be more clear and really impartial between the two parties. (Interpreter 1)*

> "Aslında üniversite eğitimimizin bu konuda çok doğru ve düzgün verildiğini düşünüyorum. Çünkü sektöre ilk başladığımda kurumum işveren olduğu için biraz onların dediklerini yaparak başlıyorsunuz aslında çeviri sürecine. Ama daha sonrasında hastayı tanıyorsunuz, hasta profilini tanıyorsunuz. Kendinizi onların yerine koyuyorsunuz, işverenin yerine koyuyorsunuz. Böyle olunca ortada tamamen tarafsız olmanız gerektiğini daha çok hissederek davranmaya ve çeviriyi o şekilde yapmaya başlıyorsunuz. […] daha net ve ikisi arasında gerçekten tarafsız olmaya çalışmaya çalışıyorsunuz."

It can be said from this comment that the interpreter has shaped her role after she has gained experience in the field and known about the parties in the interpreting process. At first, she started to shape her behaviors according to the instructions and expectations of the employer, but later on, she adopted a completely impartial role in order to treat both parties equally. However, since ethical principles do not only exist in our professions but also in our daily lives and Interpreter 3 states that she has a combination of both education, experience, and personal value judgments:

> *I am aware of these ethical principles thanks to the education I received in university, my personal education, and my own value judgments. I aim to abide by them as much as I can. This is a promise that I gave to myself when I started to work as an interpreter. I follow them as much as I can. (Interpreter 3)*

> "Üniversitede aldığım eğitim, biraz da kişisel eğitim ve kendi değer yargılarım sebebiyle bu etik değerlerin farkındayım. Elimden geldiğince kendilerine uymaya çalışıyorum. Kendime vermiş olduğum bir söz zaten tercüman olarak çalışmaya başladığımda. Elimden geldiğince etik ilkeleri takip ediyorum."

According to Interpreter 3, ethical principles are something that exists within the individual himself/herself through their own value judgments. She also thinks that the institution that she works for has nothing to do with her adoption of these principles. None of these interpreters define their institutions as effective in their adoption of these principles. Later, for the question of to what extent they apply these principles while working and whether it depends on the conditions to follow these principles, Interpreter 1 states that she resigned from her previous institution because they did not abide by these principles:

> *I had an interview with another institution after my first institution and before my current institution and it was a testing period for me and then I started to work. Of course, it was a very short period, because the only reason why I took a dislike*

to that place and I got away from there, that is why I was affected negatively, was that they absolutely did not follow my ethical rules. Because, when the patient sits on that chair, they were seeing the patient as a source of money. They were joking beside the patient, and I thought about how it is disturbing the patient and how I would have felt if I had been in his/her shoes. So, I felt very disturbed because of this and the interpreting process was not taken seriously and left there and started to work at my current institution. Therefore, it is a very sensitive issue for me. (Interpreter 1)

"[Ş]u anda çalıştığım kurumla ilk başladığım kurum arasında başka bir kurumla görüşme sürecimiz olmuştu ve kendi açımdan deneme süreci olan bir iş görüşmesiydi ve işe başladım. Tabii ki çok kısa sürdü çünkü oradan soğumamın ve uzaklaşmamın yani benim kötü bir şekilde etkilenmemin tek sebebi etik kurallarıma kesinlikle uymamasıydı. Çünkü hasta koltuktayken onu sadece bir para aracı olarak görüp hastanın yanında zaten anlamadığı için espriler, şakalar, kendi aralarında ve hastayı bu durumun ne kadar huzursuz ettiğini ve kendim onun yerinde olsaydım nasıl hissedeceğimi düşündüğüm için bunların, yani çeviri sürecinin ciddiye alınmadığı ve bu şekilde davranıldığı için çok huzursuz oldum ve o işimden ayrılıp şu anki kurumuma geçtim. O yüzden benim için çok hassas bir konu."

Interpreter 1 considers these ethical principles essential for the profession and whether the institution abides by them is a criterion for her to work there. It is obvious that the interpreter empathizes with the patients due to the tough conditions that they are in. As human beings, it cannot be expected from these interpreters to act like robots under these conditions and bow to the disrespect of the other parties. As mentioned above, respect is one of the essential principles in this field.

On the other hand, another essential principle is expressed to be confidentiality by the interpreters. According to Interpreter 2, confidentiality, as well as professionalism, can never be violated, even though some principles may be under certain conditions. She expresses that there may occur some in-and-outs, when necessary, except for confidentiality. However, Interpreter 2 gives an example of a certain situation where the confidentiality of the patient needs to be exposed to the healthcare professionals:

[F]or example, when the patients arrive, we give consent and registration forms. They need to inform about any of their health issues. This is a consent form that covers all diseases from hepatitis to AIDS. But sometimes they do not want to state their private conditions. This can be pregnancy or something actually normal but extreme to them. Since the patients trust us, they do not want to write it on that paper. But they come to us and say, "I didn't write it but there is something". No matter how much they trust us, I of course have to inform the doctor about this because it is the treatment process and even a component of the local anesthesia can cause allergic reaction and harm to them. There can be such

emergencies where the patient does not want me to do but I have to say that, but I aim to be impartial and protect the confidentiality of the patient except for those. (Interpreter 2)

"[H]asta mesela diyelim ki geldiğinde onam formları ve kayıt formları veriyoruz. Bu formlarda herhangi bir rahatsızlığını bildirmesi gerekiyor. Bu hepatitten tutun da AIDS'e kadar bütün hastalıkları içeren bir onam formu. Ama bazen özel durumlarını belirtmek istemiyorlar. Bu hamilelik de olabilir veya çok normal ama onlara ekstrem gelen bir şey de olabilir. Bu durumda hasta bize güvendiği için doğal olarak o kağıda yazmak istemiyorlar. Ama gelip "Oraya yazmadım ama şöyle şöyle de bir durum var." dediklerinde ne kadar bana güvense de tedavi süreci olduğu için ve lokal anestezinin içerisindeki bir içerik bile onlara alerjik reaksiyon gösterebileceği ve kötü etkileyebileceği için bu durumda doktora tabii ki bildirmek durumunda kalıyorum. Hasta benden bunu bildirmemi istemiyor ama ben onu söylemek zorunda kalıyorum gibi acil durumlar olabiliyor ama onun dışında olabildiğince tarafsız kalıp hasta gizliliğini korumaya çalışıyorum"

The interpreter here adopts a mediator role so as not to cause any harm by informing the healthcare professional about the condition of the patient. It can be observed that the patient trusts the interpreter, but the interpreter has to give priority to the health of the patient before the confidentiality and tell the condition to the doctor. By providing a balance between the parties, the interpreter conducts the interpreting process.

Regarding the confidentiality in the patient-doctor-interpreter triangle, Interpreter 3 states that she and her institution abide by confidentiality in collaboration and obtain the consent of the patient for some procedures:

In general, we do not share much information due to patient confidentiality. The institution is attentive to this. We are attentive to confidentiality both for Turkish and foreign patients due to Personal Data Protection Law. We do not do anything that they do not approve of. Sometimes our patients and doctors take photos, we certainly take consent forms from them. […] There can be some points that we cannot share due to patient confidentiality. Sometimes they want their first-degree relatives nearby. We do not get in much trouble about confidentiality at those times. But sometimes we have hard times in terms of professionalism. Because it is unfortunately not possible for the patient to undergo an operation without signing the consent form. This is a standard procedure in every hospital. I have difficulty with the patients who do not sign the consent form. Besides, I, unfortunately, need to take their signature for every page of health tourism documents stating that they have received a copy. I have so much difficulty in this. Their relatives say, "I can sign it, so what?". We cannot accept it. It must be the signature of the patient. (Interpreter 3)

"Genel olarak zaten hasta gizliliği gereği çok fazla bilgi paylaşmıyoruz biz. Bu konuda kurum dikkatli. Türk hastada da yabancı hastada da gizlilik konusunda KVKK gereği dikkatliyiz açıkçası. Hastaların onay vermediği hiçbir şeyi

yapmıyoruz. Zaman zaman fotoğraf çekiliyor hastalarımız ve doktorlarımız, mutlaka onay formları alıyoruz. […] Hasta gizliliği gereği paylaşamayacağımız noktalar da oluyor. Bazen de birinci derecede yakınlarını kendileri de istiyorlar. O dönemlerde çok fazla gizlilikle ilgili sıkıntı yaşamıyoruz açıkçası. Ama profesyonellik anlamında zorlanıyoruz zaman zaman gerçekten. Çünkü onam formu imzalamak istemeden ameliyata alınması gibi bir şey söz konusu değil ne yazık ki. Tüm hastanelerde standart prosedürdür. Onam formu imzalamayan hastalarla ilgili sıkıntı yaşıyorum. Bir de sağlık turizmi evraklarında hastaların bir kopyasını aldığına dair her sayfaya imza almam gerekiyor ne yazık ki elimizde kalan evraklarda. Bununla ilgili çok büyük sıkıntı yaşıyorum. Bunu, yakınları "Ben atıvereyim imza, ne olacak?" tarzında çok karşılaşıyorum. Kabul edemiyoruz ne yazık ki. Kendi imzası olmak durumunda."

It is observed in this comment that the relatives of the patients are not aware of these procedures and the importance of the ethical principles. The interpreter has to struggle with some requests even though it is not actually the responsibility of an interpreter. It can also be said that confidentiality is protected thanks to the Law on Personal Data Protection, and this supports the importance of the principles within institutions.

Regarding impartiality, as another principle, Interpreter 2 states that she hovers between the institution that she works for and the patients:

Being impartial in some conditions seems inhumanity to me. The patient lost her life, passed away. I tell her husband that his wife has died. It is not possible to stay impartial there. I show sympathy for him. I am an employee of the institution at the same time. Let's look at from this angle in terms of parties. I work for the institution, I have to look after the interest of the institution. Within this context, I am partial. I am an employee that the institution provides. So, there can be partiality due to the interest of the institution. (Interpreter 2)

"Bazı durumlarda tarafsız kalmak bana insanlığını göstermemek gibi geliyor. Hastayı kaybettik, ex oldu. Kocasına ben karısının öldüğünü söylüyorum. Orada tarafsız kalmak mümkün değil. Orada ona bir sempati gösteriyorum. Aynı zamanda bir kurum çalışanıyım. Taraf dediğimizde bir de oradan bakalım. Ben kurum adına çalışıyorum, kurumun çıkarlarını gözetmek durumundayım. Bu bağlamda baktığınızda aslında ben taraflı bir insanım. Kurumun sağladığı bir çalışanım. O yüzden taraflılık bazen olabiliyor kurumun çıkarları gereği."

The dilemma that the interpreter has depends on the conditions, but it is possible to be partial under certain conditions for either party. It can also be said that she considers the interest of the institution at some point because she earns money from there. However, she also adds that what the institution wants is the satisfaction of the patients and therefore, they meet the expectations of the patients in terms of both language and treatment. The interpreter here provides the balance by meeting the

requests of both parties. As human beings, they can feel sorry for the patients, too. The tough conditions that the patients are in have an effect on their feelings or behaviors as well. For example, Interpreter 3 states that there may be some situations where they can leave professionalism aside and empathize with the patient. She explains that she acts sincerely when the patient is about to undergo an operation. Nevertheless, it can be inferred that the institution is not unhappy about this because the aim is to satisfy the patient.

The interpreters were asked to what extent they are affected by the tough conditions of the patients and the stressful process. While Interpreter 1 and Interpreter 2 state that they mostly aim not to internalize the events, Interpreter 3 says that she comes across with many refugee patients and gets affected by them:

> *It affects us, we have many refugee patients. Some of them have good financial situations, and some of them do not. If not, we have problems. Because I am the only one with whom the patient is in communication and they do not understand anyone else, I am the one who gets in touch with them. Since they see me in terms of both treatment, payment and signatures, I play a bridge role here, but I am also seen as an accountant and as a doctor. At these times, we have problems with patients in trouble, especially refugee patients. […] for example, two patients who were not refugees came. Their house was burnt recently. They did not even have their identification cards. Therefore, registration is very difficult at these times. I am the only*

> "Etkiliyor, mülteci hastamız çok oluyor. Kimisinin maddi durumu oluyor, kimisinin olmuyor. Olmadığı durumlarda sıkıntılar yaşıyoruz, çünkü hastanın birebir görüştüğü tek kişi ben olduğum için ve diğer kimseyle anlaşamadığı için zaman zaman, o hastayla iletişime geçen kişi de ben olmuş oluyorum. Gerek tedavi konusunda gerek ücret konusunda gerek imzalar konusunda hepsinde beni gördüğü için ben burada köprü görevi görüyorum ama bir yandan da hem muhasebe hem doktor gibi gözüküyorum. Bu dönemde de sorunlu hastalarla ilgili yine böyle sıkıntılar yaşayabiliyoruz özellikle mülteci hastalarla ilgili. […] mesela geçen hafta mülteci değil ama iki hastamız geldi. Kendilerinin yakın zamanda evleri yanmış ne yazık ki. Bununla ilgili kimlikleri bile yoktu. Dolayısıyla işlem yapabilmek çok oluyor böyle durumlarda. İlk gördükleri kişi ben oluyorum. Bunu benim çözmem gerekiyor. Kurum tarafından da benim çözmem bekleniyor."

The fact that these interpreters are the only people who can understand the patients and tell them about their problems makes them responsible for other tasks even if they are not. On the other hand, they can have trouble finding solutions, but the satisfaction of the patients is their top priority. Besides, since they feel empathy with the patients, they try to do their best to overcome their problems. Nevertheless, it is

stated by Interpreter 1 that sometimes the patients can cause trouble, but they maintain their impartiality:

> *[T]he companion of the patient stole a cell phone on the desk in a setting where the payment was taken and other issues were talked about. And later we realized that and found the moment of stealing from the security camera. But we could not trust the patient completely, they did not seem reliable. No matter how we did not want to deal with them, we had to go on the treatment process and talk. We had a hard time because the companion of the patient was definitely not wanted to enter the clinic. It was a moment that I had a hard time and tried to strike the balance so that the patient had the treatment at least and go, and the employer did not get into trouble, by keeping the communication clear and not interpreting or by softening the strong language and attitudes. (Interpreter 1)*

> "[T]edavi süreci dışında ödemenin alındığı ve diğer konuların konuşulduğu bir ortamda hastanın yanında gelen refakatçisi masada duran bir telefonu çalmıştı. Ve biz daha sonra bunu fark edip kameradan bariz bir şekilde aldığı anı bulduk. Ama hastaya da tam güvenemedik açıkçası, tam güven veren insanlar değillerdi. O yüzden tedavi sürecine devam etmemiz ve konuşmamız gereken bir an vardı ne kadar muhatap olmak istemesek de. Bu konuda çok zorlanmıştık çünkü kesinlikle yanındaki kişinin kliniğe bile girmesi istenmedi. Hastaya da ne kadar güvenmemiz gerektiğinin konuşulduğu bir ortamda olabildiğince iletişimi sağlam tutup direkt sert tavırları, sert çevirmeleri tabii biraz çevirmeden yumuşatarak hem hasta tedavisini en azından olsun gitsin hem de işveren zor durumda kalmasın diye orta yolu bulmaya çalıştığım, zorlandığım bir an olmuştu."

It is safe to say that the fact that interpreters stick to these principles even under hard conditions shows their professionality. Different conditions may require different strategies by the interpreters, but it is thought that they aim to find a balance between the parties even though they do not get along well with each other. The intermediator role of the interpreters comes forth during these issues. It can also be observed that there is a strong bond between the interpreters and the institutions. However, this may not be possible between every interpreter and every institution as Interpreter 3 states that she tries to solve the issues herself unless she is stuck. If so, she receives support from an employee from the International Department but cannot receive the same support from the Manager, Deputy Manager or Clinic Manager.

For the question of whether the principles professionalize or restrict the interpreters, they generally think that the principles professionalize them. Interpreter 1 states that it is important to adopt and follow these principles because they are representing their country at the same time. According to Interpreter 2, ethical principles are the things that make a profession actually a profession. Besides, she adds that there are many people working as interpreters without adopting ethical principles

and this is the reason why the profession has a low status. It can be deduced that the comment of Interpreter 1 that interpreting is also a process of representation supports the statement of Interpreter 2 that not sticking to principles can affect the status of the profession.

3.2.2.2. Court Interpreting

In terms of ethics in court interpreting, 5 of the interpreters, Interpreters 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, state that they have gained awareness of ethical principles through their education or seminars. Apart from education, Interpreter 7 and Interpreter 9 emphasize that abiding by ethical principles depends on one's own conscience. The adoption of ethical principles during education is stated by Interpreter 4:

> *[A]ctually we learned some principles through examples given to us, from theories that we studied. Maybe not every interpreter candidate, every undergraduate student was very conscious, we could not understand it back then, but I think we always remembered some things. Besides, I can say that if the interpreter is conscious and read the regulation on expert, s/he can have knowledge on the principles such as confidentiality, impartiality, and objectivity in it, but competence in research is involved there for sure. (Interpreter 4)*

> "[B]ize verilen örnekler, orada işlediğimiz kuramlarda bile biz birtakım ilkeleri öğrendik aslında. Belki o süreçte her çevirmen adayı, lisans öğrencisi çok bilinçli değildi, o an onu idrak edemedik ama uygulama alanına girdiğimizde hep bir şeyleri hatırlıyor olduk bence. Bir de mahkeme çevirmenliğinde tabii eğer bilinçli bir çevirmense, bilirkişilik yönetmeliğini okuduysa, orada da birtakım gizlilik, tarafsızlık ilkesi, nesnellik, objektiflik gibi birtakım ilkeler var, onlara da baştan hakim olabileceğini söyleyebilirim ama tabii orada biraz daha araştırma edinci devreye giriyor."

According to this comment, education has an important place in the awareness of ethical principles. Even though this does not mean that interpreters with no education in translation and interpreting have not such consciousness, the role of education cannot be denied. On the other hand, Interpreter 6 asserts that the oath for acknowledging that the interpreter will interpret and translate accurately and impartially also shows that they are aware of these principles, and they are essential in every field.

As mentioned above, conscience is thought to have a role in the adoption of ethical principles by some interpreters. Interpreter 9 explains it by emphasizing the lack of a control mechanism:

> *We were informed about this all the time in the institution where I received my education, but I think it is something within the person. I mean, when a person does not want to follow those principles, s/he does not abide by them no matter how much education s/he takes. Because we are talking about a very open world. Because none of the two parties understands each other, especially in Russian. So, it totally depends on the conscience of the person. For example, there is no mechanism that can control you there when the fee is 100 Turkish liras, but you say 500 liras. (Interpreter 9)*

> "Eğitim aldığım kurumda hani buna yönelik sürekli eğitimimiz açıkçası vardı ama ben bunun biraz daha insanın içinde olduğuna inanıyorum. Yani insan o ilkelere uymak istemediği zaman istediği kadar eğitim alsın yine yapmaz. Çünkü çok açık bir dünyadan bahsediyoruz. İki taraf çünkü birbirini hiçbir şekilde anlamıyor özellikle Rusçada. Yani burada tamamen insanın vicdanına kalıyor aslında. Yani atıyorum o taraf 100 lira deyip de 500 lira dediğiniz zaman sizi kontrol edebilecek bir mekanizma yok orada."

It can be deduced from this statement that due to the non-existence of ethical principles, the field becomes vulnerable and open to violations. This non-existence leads the interpreters to make decisions and interpret according to their own value judgments since there is no controlling body. Similar to Interpreter 9, Interpreter 7 also highlights the fact that the issue depends on the person himself/herself:

> *It is something that is up to the person's own perspective, own philosophy. As I said, when the judge realizes that you have interpreted wrong, especially in interpreting, s/he details it with other questions, the defendant or the person who is talking interferes. If s/he thinks that you have not expressed enough, s/he expresses it somehow, but except for that, you should feel that responsibility of course. It is surely about the person himself/herself. Unless the other party returns the document in translation, there is no control mechanism. Therefore, it is at the conscience level, within your own ethical understanding. (Interpreter 7)*

> "Bu daha çok kişinin kendi bakış açısına, kendi felsefesine kalmış bir şey. Dediğim gibi, orada yanlış bir çeviri yaptığını anladığı zaman sözlü çevirilerde özellikle, hakim en fazla başka sorularla o meseleyi açıyor, müdahale ediyor veya işte sanık veya dinlenen kişi. Yeterince ifade etmediğini düşünürse ikinci bir şekilde ifade ediyor ama bunun dışında tabii sizin o sorumluluğu duymanız gerekiyor. Tabii, kişinin kendisiyle alakalı. Yazılı çeviride zaten neredeyse karşı taraf geri göndermedikçe bunu, hiçbir denetim mekanizması yok. O bakımdan daha çok bu vicdani düzeyde yürüyor. Kendi etik anlayışınız çerçevesinde."

Since there is no method, body or person to control or measure whether the interpreters follow these principles, it is not that possible to know if they are taken into

consideration during the process. The violation of these principles can cause misunderstandings and misjudgments or even the defendant to be punished. However, the lack in the mechanism will probably not cause the interpreted who has intentionally violated the principles to be sanctioned.

All interpreters state that these principles do not change according to the cases or persons because otherwise, it would violate impartiality. Regarding whether they prioritize the cases or the persons, Interpreter 6 explains the role of the interpreters within the scope of principles as:

> *No, no. Absolutely no. I mean, no guidance is done for the defendant, the victim or the witness at the courts, police stations, or prosecution offices. Just what has been said is interpreted. We cannot say "Tell this, you should say so". Whatever s/he says. Because it is the duty of the interpreter. Guidance is not our duty, it is against ethical principles. We only transfer what we have heard, what the judge or the prosecutor has said, and transfer what has been said to the judge or the prosecutor, the way it is. No adding, no omissions. (Interpreter 6)*
>
> "Hayır, hayır. Kesinlikle hayır. Yani yönlendirme, mahkemelerde, karakollarda, savcılıklarda kesinlikle sanık olsun mağdur olsun şahit olsun, kesinlikle yönlendirme yapılmaz. Sadece söylediği tercüme edilir. "Şöyle söyle, böyle söylemen gerekiyor" diyemeyiz biz. O ne derse. Çünkü yani tercümanın işi odur. Bizim görevimiz yönlendirmek değildir, etik kurallara aykırıdır. Biz sadece duyduklarımızı, hakimin, savcının söylediklerini aktarmak ve savcı ve hakimlere söyleneni iletmek, olduğu gibi. Bir şey katmadan, bir şey çıkarmadan."

It can be deduced from this comment that the interpreter here cannot guide the parties in court interpreting so as not to affect or alter the judgment process. He only adopts the message transmitter role, which is a bridge. He thinks that any additions or omissions and guidance violate the accuracy and impartiality. Similarly, Interpreter 5 expresses that he takes his place at the court to play his interpreter role as an impartial party.

For the question of whether these ethical principles professionalize or restrict the interpreters, the interpreters generally agree that ethics professionalize them. Interpreter 4 considers them as guides, while Interpreter 6 thinks of ethics as trustworthy. Interpreter 9 explains this professionalization as:

> *I believe that they professionalize me more because it is in the definition of the profession. I mean, I think that if we wanted to do politics or work as a lawyer, we would have done that. This actually frees us more. My personal opinion is that the less it is felt that there is an interpreter in the courtroom, the better s/he does the job because it should sound unnatural. For example, when I interpret*

to Turkish from Russian, I interpret it as if the person speaks Turkish by interpreting the idioms into their closest meaning in Turkish. (Interpreter 9)

"Beni daha çok profesyonelleştirdiğine inanıyorum açıkçası çünkü mesleğin tanımında bu var. Yani tercümanlık değil de atıyorum siyaset yapmak istesek ya da ne bileyim avukatlık yapmak istesek onu yapardık, öyle düşünüyorum ben tamamen. Daha da aslında bizi özgürleştiriyor bu şekilde olması. Benim hani şahsi görüşüm tercüman olduğu o salonda ne kadar az hissedilirse bence o kadar işini iyi yapmış demektir çünkü kulağı tırmalamaması lazım. Atıyorum Türkçe konuştuğum zaman ben Rusçadan, sanki o kişi Türkçe konuşur gibi, deyimleri hani Türkçe olacak şekilde çeviriyorum en yakın seçeneğinde."

It can be deduced from this comment that the ethical principles are guides for the behaviors and strategies of the interpreters, about how they actually should behave, similar to the opinion of Interpreter 4 and Interpreter 8. On the other hand, Interpreter 6 asserts that as long as they behave according to the principles, other parties trust them and call them for interpreting. For Interpreter 7, the interpreters who do not behave according to these principles cannot behave because of incompetence, not because of malice. Interpreter 5 states that these principles are not that restrictive but occupy her mind by giving an example:

For instance, there is a criminal that I saw in court, and he appears in another file after 2-3 years, I remember his name. He was released from that trial, but he actually committed a crime, or you see that he is that kind of person. I mean, you think that our country is too open from every side. You are worried. You think that you live with the criminals. For example, a criminal was extradited to Turkey, and while I am translating his file, I see that this criminal works in the tourism sector, probably because he knows the language. […] He wants his rights to be reinstated. However, we can face him any time. But he is really a criminal. All right, the criminal completed his period in jail, and his imprisonment is over, but he has that mentality inside his head. (Interpreter 5)

“Mesela benim mahkemede gördüğüm bir suçlu, aradan 2-3 sene geçiyor, bir başka dosyada önüme çıkıyor, ismini tanıyorum. Mesela bizim mahkemede o serbest kalmış ama gerçekte de bu suçu işlemiş veya o tarz bir insan olduğunu görüyorsun. Yani bu bizim memleketimiz ne kadar her tarafı açık gibi kafanızda yorumlar yapıyorsunuz. Endişeler duyuyorsunuz. Suçlularla iç içe olduğunuzu düşünüyorsunuz. Mesela bir suçlu iadesi olmuş Türkiye'ye, onun dosyasını çevirdiğimde görüyorum ki bu suçlu burada turizmde çalışıyor, dil bildiğinden dolayıdır muhtemelen. […] Haklarının iade edilmesini istiyor. Ama biz bu insanla her an yüz yüze gelebiliriz. Ama ciddi suçlu bir insan. Tamam suçlu sürecini yaşamış, bitmiş, tutukluluğu vs. ama sonuçta o zihniyet içinde var. “

Regarding the restrictions of these principles, it can be said that even though the interpreters come across with difficulties that are hard to be impartial, the interpreters maintain their impartiality for the sake of their profession and the process.

She also adds that her emotional state does not affect the process which shows professionality. It can also be deduced that the interpreter cannot adopt the role of a judge and preconceive that the LDP is a criminal. They are aware that they do this job to only interpret by transmitting the whole message directly. Even though it can be hard to focus on interpreting while also hearing how a crime was conducted etc., professionalism and impartiality within ethics can help the interpreters, as Interpreter 4 mentions:

> *I think that especially impartiality is at a very important point. Confidentiality comes after that. How can a person maintain his/her impartiality 100%, right? Because while interpreting, we are talking about a person there. Sometimes, especially in interpreting, on issues that we are very sensitive about, s/he is talking about how s/he was raped and crying, but we cannot know if that person is a criminal. Maybe s/he is acting. The defendant who is charged there is actually innocent but standing strong. We cannot know about these issues. Therefore, I think it is more about the professionality of the interpreter. You undergo a process that you leave the emotions outside and think "Alright, what is s/he saying, I will focus on the message." and you try to focus on that. Is it too easy? I do not think so. But I aim to follow these principles as far as I can. (Interpreter 4)*

> "Özellikle bence tarafsızlık ilkesi çok önemli bir noktada yer alıyor. Gizlilik ilkesi tabii ki devamında gelebilecek bir şey. Bunlara şimdi %100 bir kişi nasıl çok tarafsız kalabilir, değil mi? Çünkü biz çevirirken orada bir insandan söz ediyoruz, bazen özellikle sözlü çeviride toplumsal olarak çok hassas olduğumuz konularda, işte nasıl tecavüze uğradığını anlattığı bir noktada ve ağlıyor, ama o kişinin suçlu olup olmadığını biz bilemeyiz. Belki de onun yaptığı bir numara olabilir. Orada suçlanan kişi aslında sanık belki de masumdur ama daha güçlü duruyordur. Hani çok bilemeyiz bu meseleleri. O yüzden bence biraz daha profesyonel olmak, yani çevirmenin profesyonelliğiyle bağlantılı bir şey olabilir. Biraz duygularını dışarıda bırakıp "Evet ya, ne diyor şimdi, ben iletiye odaklanayım" gibi bir sürecimiz oluyor ve ona odaklanmaya çalışıyorsunuz. Çok kolay mı? Bence çok da kolay bir şey değil. Ama elimden geldiğince bu ilkelere uymaya çalışıyorum."

Similar to healthcare interpreting, the interpreters in court interpreting can have a hard time leaving their emotions aside and go on with the process. However, conscious interpreters are aware of the seriousness of the situations, and they do not act as if they are the judge and make decisions accordingly. Interpreter 6 also states that he absolutely does not reflect his emotions while interpreting no matter how he is affected and that he is only responsible for transmitting correctly what is said. Interpreter 7 considers reflecting the emotions to be dangerous while interpreting:

> *Of course, we have to be careful so that the dramatic situation of all lived events will not make you offensive. Otherwise, you interpret exaggeratively in terms of*

reflecting into your job. Of course, you will not attack anyone, but you can fail to interpret […] by interpreting more effectively. You can express the situation more dramatically by empathizing and thinking "How terrible things s/he lived" considering someone as a victim. There is this danger. It is not actually that easy to protect yourself from this. Emotional integration can be so fast because the stories are too dramatic. (Interpreter 7)

"Tabii buradaki bütün o yaşanan şeylerin dramatikliği insanı gerçekten saldırganlaştırmaması için dikkatli olmamız lazım. Çünkü burada abartılı çevirirsiniz bu sefer. Yaptığınız işe yansıtma bakımından. Yoksa orada birine saldıracak değilsiniz ama onun söylediğinden daha etkili […] çeviri yapmak gibi bir hataya düşebilirsiniz. Empati yapabilip, birini mağdur olarak görüp "Ay ne kadar dehşetli olaylar yaşamış" deyip olayı daha dramatik tarif edebilirsiniz. Bu tehlike var. Bundan da kendini korumak aslında o kadar da kolay bir şey değil. Duygusal bütünleşme çok hızlı olabiliyor, çünkü hikayeler çok dramatik."

Here it is emphasized that an interpreter must be careful not to internalize the dramatic events and reflect their emotions to their behaviors. Otherwise, the impartiality of the interpreters can be disrupted, and s/he can feel angry or upset for the parties and interpret by taking sides. Interpreter 4 states that there may be some interpreters who are affected too much by these events loaded with emotions, but it can be about how these people have positioned the profession in their lives. Besides, to what extent one is affected by and internalizes the emotional conditions can depend on the duration of the experience (Shakespeare, 2012: 170).

For the question of whether the parties asked for the interpreters to violate some principles during the interpreting process, none of them state that they intentionally asked for this. However, Interpreter 9 expresses that he hesitated to interpret expressions that might be offensive for the other party:

They never asked me to violate. But sometimes, gendarme personnel or police officer can say "These Russians had a fight, they are drunk" half-jokingly, they are not malevolent of course. This is not rare, it happens. The Russian citizen asks about this, "What did he say, could you tell me?". You have to interpret. And then the officer says, "Do not interpret". So, sometimes I am on the fence. (Interpreter 9)

"İhlal etmemi istedikleri hiç olmadı. Fakat bazen şöyle oluyor ondan bahsedeyim, bazen işte jandarma personeli, ne bileyim işte karakoldaki polis personeli şunu diyebiliyor hani şakayla karışık, onlarda da kötü bir niyet yok tabii ama, "Ya işte bu Ruslar da hadi kavga etmiş, içmiş" falan tarzı bir yorumda bulunabildikleri oluyor. Bu ender değil yani, oluyor. Bunu da o vatandaş da soruyor, "Ne dedi, söyler misin?" diyor. Çevirmek zorunda kalıyorsunuz. Yani bu sefer oranın memuru diyor ki işte "Çevirme". Yani arada kaldığım oluyor maalesef."

Since the interpreter gives priority to accuracy and impartiality, he prefers interpreting either at that moment or later so as not to cause any conflicts. These strategies depend on the conditions of the moment and the decisions of the interpreters. For example, Interpreter 7 as an expert states that he can analyze whether the LDP could express what s/he means to say and if s/he could not due to lack of expression ability, he can interpret the utterance in a more acceptable way. He also acknowledges that it must be discussed whether it is the correct behavior to do so.

On the other hand, even though the interpreters abide by the principles, accuracy here, they can be cast aspersions by the defendant in terms of interpreting wrong so as not to get charged. Interpreter 4 gives an example of this:

> *One of the students mentioned that the statement of a defendant was taken at the police station, he did not have his lawyer there yet and the case is taken to court. They assign the same interpreter. This time the defendant has his lawyer and they talked about a suitcase. […] At first, he had stated, "The suitcase belonged to me" at the police station, later he said, "No, the interpreter interpreted wrong, I did not say such a thing". I think it is very challenging. Actually, the interpreter maintained his/her impartiality there, transmitted the message, interpreted objectively and did whatever s/he had to do. […] "I was too scared" s/he said. Why was s/he scared? We have a serious responsibility. If we interpret it wrong, we get a prison sentence of 7 to 10 years. This is serious actually. […] What will happen if the judge blames the interpreter, how will s/he express himself/herself? Because every word out of the interpreter's mouth is taken to the minutes through intralingual translation. They are not recorded. So, how we will protect or defend ourselves remains as a question. But the judges know that, as generally happens, the first statements at the police stations are changed into different statements. Because they have their lawyers to guide them. They say, "Do not tell this, but tell that" and the statements are changed. But the interpreters can be blamed even though they abide by ethical and moral principles. […] However, I do not think that the interpreters can be blamed so easily for an issue. They change the interpreter and take the statement again, the case can be adjourned at most. (Interpreter 4)*

> "[B]ir öğrenci şeyden söz etmişti, polis karakolunda zanlının ifadesi alınmış, orada henüz avukatı yokmuş, olay mahkemeye intikal ediyor. Yine aynı çevirmeni görevlendiriyorlar. Bu sefer zanlının avukatı var ve bir valizden söz edilmiş aslında. […] Başta "Bu valiz bana aitti" diye beyan veriyor polis merkezinde, sonra mahkemede "Hayır, çevirmen yanlış çevirmiş, ben öyle bir şey demedim" diyor. Şimdi bence bu çok zorlayıcı bir şey. Aslında çevirmen orada tarafsızlığını da korumuş, iletiyi de aktarmış, ne yapması gerekiyorsa nesnel, objektif bir şekilde onu öyle çevirmiş. […] "Çok korktum" dedi. Çünkü neden korkuluyor? Bizim ciddi bir sorumluluğumuz var. Yanlış bir çeviri yaptığımız takdirde 7 ila 10 yıla kadar hapis cezasına vurulabiliyoruz. Bu ciddi bir sayı aslında. […] Orada hakim çevirmeni suçlasa ne olacak, kendisini nasıl ifade edecek? Çünkü zaten çevirmenin ağzından çıkan şeyler dil içi çeviri yapılarak tutanaklara geçiriliyor. Kayıtlar alınmıyor. Yani biz orada kendimizi nasıl

> koruyacağız, nasıl savunacağız, bir soru işareti. Ama hakimler de şunu biliyor, genellikle zaten öyle oluyor, polis merkezlerinde ilk ifadelerde farklı ifadeler, genellikle değiştiriliyor. Çünkü onlara yol gösteren, rehber olan avukatlar var. "Siz öyle söylemeyin, böyle söyleyin" diyor ve ifadeler değişiyor. Ama çevirmen orada işte biraz daha aslında etik ilkelerine, ahlaki ilkelere orada uymasına rağmen suçlanan bir konuma düşebiliyor. […] Ama ben şey de düşünüyorum, yani çevirmenlerin çok kolaylıkla bir meseleyle suçlanabileceğini de düşünmüyorum ayrıca. En fazla çevirmeni değiştirirler, tekrar ifade alırlar, duruşma ertelenir, tekrar yapılır gibi durumlar oluşabilir."

This example shows that the interpreters can sometimes be blamed for wrong interpretations no matter how much they follow principles. Even though this example can be an exception, it is still possible to experience such situations. However, as judges are aware of such strategies and know that the interpreters take an oath beforehand, they can analyze the statement through follow-up questions or other strategies. Besides, it does not seem possible for the interpreter to intentionally interpret wrong considering the prison sentence. On the other side of the coin, however, there is not much protection for the interpreter in case of a misunderstanding which cannot be proven with evidence.

About the last question, whether they are ethically challenged and violate the principles under certain conditions, Interpreter 9 mentions the fact that the fees determined by the judges and paid by the courts which puts them into a dilemma:

> *Let's say there is a gendarme police station 40 kilometers far away from my home. You need to go there, it is your job. But as I said, the court gives you 300 liras or 200 liras. I mean, when I go there by my car, the price of the fuel is more that this fee and it is not certain whether the process will take long or not. Perhaps I will spend my whole day. In such circumstances, I have to say to the victim, "Look, I am not a government official, I am not paid by the government. I am an interpreter with a private company, so, if you pay this amount, I can come". We have to ask for this, and I think I ask for less when compared to other interpreters who do this job. I take the money from the foreign person who needs interpreting. (Interpreter 9)*

> "Diyelim ki benim oturduğum yerden işte 40 kilometre ötede bir jandarma polis karakolu var. Oraya gidilmesi gerekiyor, sonuçta bu bir iş. Fakat yani dediğim gibi, adliyenin verdiği rakam 300 lira, 200 lira. Yani benim oraya aracımla gittiğim zaman harcadığım mazot ücreti bu rakamdan daha fazla olduğu oluyor ve ben hani gittiğim zaman işin uzayıp uzamayacağı da belli değil. Belki bir günümü harcayacağım yani tüm günümü oraya harcayacağım. Bu durumlarda maalesef şöyle bir yola gitmek zorunda kalıyorum, yani kazazedeye diyorum ki "Bakın, ben sonuçta devlet memuru değilim, ben devletten maaş almıyorum. Ben özel şirketi olan bir tercümanım, yani isterseniz şu şu rakama gelirim" diyorum. […] Bunu istemek zorunda kalıyoruz ki ben diğer bu işi yapan tercümanlara göre

çok daha az bir fiyat biçtiğime inanıyorum. Tercümeye ihtiyacı olan şahıstan, o yabancı vatandaşlardan alıyorum."

It can be deduced that the inadequate amount of fee of the court interpreters can force them decide whether they will take the job or not. They have to pay the additional costs themselves which are not paid by the governmental institutions. Even though it does not seem ethical, it is the fees that affect their decisions since they make a living from interpreting. The interpreter also adds that the police officers know about this situation, and they want this transaction to be made outside the police station. He also bills for this service since it is an official job.

3.2.2.3. Public Service Interpreting

The interpreters working at nongovernmental organizations state that they are aware of the ethical principles and abide by them while interpreting. Interpreter 10 and Interpreter 11 also state that they were informed about the working procedures regarding the principles. Interpreter 11 adds that he exchanges ideas with his colleagues about how they should behave. Regarding the question of to what extent they act according to confidentiality and accuracy, Interpreter 11 gives an example:

For instance, we initially inform the people who come to the mental health department for psychological counseling by saying, "What we will talk will stay here, among these three people, and will not be shared with any person or institution". However, such cases that there is a risk that the person can harm himself/herself or someone else or has committed something against the laws and the official institutions should know about it are essential for us. We inform the person that we have to share if s/he can harm himself/herself to prevent it. Except for psychotherapy, the fact that we will not share what is talked is to give confidence. When the counselee feels the sincerity, sees someone talking their language in a foreign country, sincerity occurs inevitably. In virtue of this sincerity, if the counselee does not want me to share, I prefer not to share except for psychotherapy or it is illegal. (Interpreter 11)

"Mesela bizim ruh sağlığı birimine psikolojik danışmanlık almak için gelen kişilere biz ön bilgilendirme olarak şunları da söylüyoruz "Burada konuştuklarımız tamamen burada kalacak, bu üç kişi arasında kalacak, hiçbir kişiyle veya kurumla paylaşılmayacak". Ancak kişinin kendisine veya bir başkasına zarar verme ihtimali bulunduğu ya da yasalara aykırı bir fiilin olduğu, resmi kurumların bu konuda bilgisinin olması gerektiği durumlar, bu üç durum bizim için temeldir. Kişinin kendine zarar verme ihtimali varsa bunun önüne geçebilmek için bunu paylaşmak durumunda olduğumuzu kendisine iletiyoruz. Bu paylaşmama durumu danışan kişiye de güven vermek bakımından, psikoterapi

haricinde söylüyorum tabii ki, danışan kişi bir samimiyet gördüğü zaman, o kişi kendi dilini yabancı bir ülkede konuşan birisini gördüğü zaman arada bir samimiyet oluşuyor ister istemez. Bu samimiyete binaen bunu aktarmamı istemiyorsa, psikoterapi haricinde bir durumsa, yasalara aykırı bir durum yoksa, bunu paylaşmamayı tercih ederim."

According to this comment, there are some criteria about what to share and what not. In case there is a life risk or an action that is illegal, the interpreter shares the situation with officials or his colleagues because of their responsibility to protect them. He also adds that he gives information to the counselee that he will share. He thinks that trust comes first in interpreting. In order to make the LDP who is going through tough times as a refugee feel safe, it is thought to be essential to provide trust in public service interpreting.

On the other hand, it is deduced from the comments of the Interpreter 12 that she adopts a role of a social worker and violates confidentiality in some sense even not because of malice but to help the refugees:

I mean, they are not someone the information of whom I will go and tell anyone outside. They are normal people with lives like us. They only have a struggle for life, they are trying to live. If there is something too extreme, they are in a very bad condition, the subsidy that I will give them is not sufficient, there are rich people around us, I tell them "There is people here, can you help them?" by giving their addresses, not their phone numbers. Because it is an association, people want to subsidize. Someone says, "I want to give money to 25 people", and we have people in need in our minds. We direct them saying "Can you help …?". But we do not explain their private issues about their lives. Only their address, a way to reach them to help. (Interpreter 12)

"Yani bilgilerini, nasıl söyleyeyim, dışarı çıkıp herhangi bir insana söylemem gereken bir insan değil de, zaten normal, biz gibi hayatları olan insanlar. Sadece yaşam mücadelesi veriyorlar, yaşamaya çalışıyorlar zaten. Çok aşırı bir şey olduğu zaman, çok kötü durumdadır, benim verdiğim yardım da ona fayda etmeyecektir, o kadar kötü durumdadır, belirli, çevremizdeki insanlar var, zengindir, bunlara ufak ufak, ne bileyim, adresidir, telefonu değil ama evinin adresidir, "Burada böyle bir insan yaşıyor, yardım edebilir misiniz?" gibisinden. Çünkü vakıf olduğu için, genelde insanlar para yardımı da yapmaya çalışıyor. "25 kişiye ben para vermek istiyorum" diyor birisi, çok ihtiyacı olan insanlar aklımızda illaki kalıyor. "Şu da olabilir mi?" diye biz de o şekilde yönlendirme yapıyoruz. Ama diğer, hayatıyla ilgili, özel başka bir şeyini açıklamıyoruz. Sadece adresi, ona yardım etmek için ulaşabileceğimiz bir yol."

It can be observed from this comment that the conscientious characteristics of Interpreter 12 lead her to go beyond her interpreter profile and plays the role of a social worker. Although she does not intend to cause any violation, it seems to be against

confidentiality that she shares the information of the people who need help. However, she also adds that she does not share this information personally but within the knowledge of the association. Whether it is against the principles to share the information even if the association knows about it and the refugees are content with this is open to discussion. When it comes to the question of whether ethical principles restrict or professionalize them, she thinks that they restrict her because she states that she could help people more by sharing their phone numbers etc. Even though it is not her responsibility to provide subsidies to people in need, the tough conditions of those people make her undertake this responsibility. It can also be inferred that she cannot set her feelings aside while conducting her job.

Unlike her comments, Interpreter 10 and Interpreter 11 state that these principles professionalize them by adding that these principles must be a part of our daily lives. Interpreter 11 emphasizes that these principles can provide a standard for the field as well. According to Interpreter 10 and Interpreter 11, their institutions also want them to abide by these principles, not violate them. This consensus between the institution and the employees is thought to strengthen the bonds among them and makes sure that they abide by the principles more. Due to the requirement of their responsibility, Interpreter 10 states that he shares information with the officials depending on the conditions and if there is a contradiction between the utterances of the LDPs:

> *If there is dangerous situation, for example, the social worker asks the person whether his/her children go to school and s/he said "Yes, I send them to school", but s/he said to me "Actually one is working, I send him/her to work, money is not enough". S/he is in fact a kid and working, forced to work by his father. I have to say this of course, I am responsible for this because it is against the principles and morals. (Interpreter 10)*

> "Eğer tehlikeli bir durum varsa, mesela bir örnek vereyim. Mesela diyelim ki sosyal çalışmacı kişiye soruyor, çocuklarınız okula gidiyor mu. O da mesela yalandan söyledi "Evet okula gönderiyorum", ama sonra bana gizliden dedi ki "Aslında bir tanesi çalışıyor, işe gönderiyorum, para yetmiyor, maaş yetmiyor." Aslında bu bir çocuk, 18 altında bir çocuk ve çalışıyor, baba zoruyla çalıştırılıyor. Bunu söylemek zorundayım tabii, bununla yükümlüyüm çünkü bu ilkelere ve ahlaki etiklere aykırı bir şey."

It can be deduced from this statement that he does not pay attention only to the accuracy of interpreting, but also the accuracy of the utterance of the LDP. Similar to

healthcare interpreters, the public service interpreters also share the information given them privately for the correct actions to be taken. It can also be stated that the social responsibility of the public service interpreters prevails in their actions.

Later, the interpreters were asked whether they are affected by the conditions that the LDPs are in. Interpreter 10 states that he does not personalize the problems. Similar to him, Interpreter 11 asserts that he abstains from harming the trust of the LDPs and aims to give service to them in order to help, even though there may be some contradictions. Interpreter 10 and Interpreter 11 commonly state that they can receive supervision from their departments once a year for psychological support. It is safe to say that their institution care about the psychological conditions of their employees considering that they work under circumstances that are hard to cope with. On the other hand, Interpreter 12 says that she is affected too much from the conditions of the refugees and she is moved to tears when talking with the LDPs and they catch each other's eyes.

3.2.2.4. Summary

To summarize the three fields in terms of ethical principles, it can be said that all of the interpreters are aware of these principles even though they can face with situations that force them to violate the principles. It is observed that they have gained awareness through education, courses, seminars and experience in the field. According to healthcare interpreters, education comes first in gaining awareness, followed by experience. Healthcare interpreters do not define their institutions effective in raising this awareness. Besides, ethical principles are thought to exist within one's own conscience and they can even lead the interpreters to resign from their jobs if they are not abided by their institutions.

For healthcare interpreting, most essential principles are thought to be confidentiality and accuracy. Due to Personal Data Protection Law, confidentiality is protected institutionally, and its violation can lead the institution to be charged. Nevertheless, if the patient informs the interpreter privately about something that can affect their treatment, they need to give information to the healthcare professionals. About accuracy, it is thought to be essential because the lack of interpreting can

interrupt the treatment process. For impartiality, it is observed that the interpreters can have dilemmas because of the empathy that they feel with the patients and the responsibility for their institutions. However, it is stated by the interpreters that the satisfaction of the patients is their priority, and their institutions ask for this as well. On the other hand, they aim to abstain from internalizing the tough conditions of the patients and even though it may not be possible sometimes because the interpreters are the only people who can understand them, and a trust-bond is formed between them. In general, it can be said that their strategies depend on the conditions, but they do their best to stick to the ethical principles. Besides, it is thought that whether adopting the principles or not has an effect on the status of the profession.

For court interpreting, it is observed that the non-existence of the ethical principles officially leads the interpreters to make decisions according to their own value judgments and conscience. Considering that there is not a control body for the actions and the violations of the interpreters, the field is thought to be open to misunderstandings. However, since the interpreters are aware of the importance of these principles, they stick to them so as not to cause any conflict or misunderstanding regardless of the persons and cases. They think that they are only responsible for interpreting, not directing the parties which supports their impartiality. It is also stated that additions, omissions or guidance can violate the impartiality and accuracy. They see themselves as message transmitters during the interpreting process. Even though they hear undesirable things at the courts, the interpreters do not make judgments themselves and stay impartial. It is stated that not leaving emotions aside while interpreting can cause harm for the judgment of the LDP. Generally, the court interpreters make their decisions during the process according to their own value judgments but also adopting the principles.

For public service interpreting, confidentiality is the upmost principle in order to give trust to the LDPs considering their tough conditions and to make them feel safe. Similar to healthcare interpreting, they have some criteria about what to share with the professionals within the knowledge of the LDPs. It is observed that the principles professionalize them in general, while also restricting one interpreter in terms of providing aid to those in need. However, this opinion results from the role that the interpreter adopts as if she is a social worker. The interpreters also care for the

consistency between the information of the LDPs says to the officials and to the interpreters. Social responsibility that the interpreters feel due to the nature of their job is thought to be the key point here.

3.2.3. Institutionalization and Professionalization

The interpreters were asked two general questions about institutionalization and professionalization as well as additional questions. The questions aim to understand how they feel about the lack of a professional association or an institution in the field, how they were employed and what the requirements were as well as their suggestions on how the field of community interpreting can be improved as a profession.

3.2.3.1. Healthcare Interpreting

About the question whether the healthcare interpreters feel the lack of an institution or an association for their profession, they generally state that they feel it to a great extent. The lack of such an institution is thought to be effective in the low fee rates, low status and inadequate job definitions in the field:

> *In fact, I feel like there must be an association. I would definitely join if there was an association for community interpreters or healthcare interpreters. Because it would feel like seeing a compatriot. I think that I would not have to obstinately explain my rights as an interpreter, but we could come together and aim to promote its definition and accuracy since it would be an environment where you can talk about the same problems and search for a solution for the same things. (Interpreter 1)*

> "Açıkçası sanki bir dernek olması gerekiyormuş gibi bir his oluyor. Toplum çevirmenliği veya sağlık üzerine sağlık çevirmenleri derneği olsa mesela kesinlikle üye olurdum. Çünkü aynı memleketinden bir insanı görmek gibi hissettirirdi. Aynı sorunları konuşabileceğiniz ve aynı şeylere çözüm aramaya çalışabileceğiniz bir ortam olduğu için çevirmen olarak haklarımı tek başıma insanlara zorla anlatmaya çalışmak gibi değil de hep birlikte bir araya gelerek daha kolay bir şekilde bunun tanıtımını ve doğruluğunu aktarmaya çalışabilirdik diye düşünüyorum."

This comment shows that the lack of such an association leads the interpreter to protect their profession on their own including their rights and job definitions. She

also thinks that common problems and common solutions could be discussed under this association. About the common problems, one of them is thought be the job definition in the field as all three interpreters state that they are loaded with duties out of their profession and not paid well, and consequently they are not regarded as professional. Interpreter 2 emphasize the unawareness of the people about them:

> *I feel its lack a lot. Firstly, when I say that I am a healthcare interpreter, people cannot discriminate between an interpreter and a guide. Because they think that a person who knows a language equals to an interpreter. When I say, "I am an interpreter", they ask me "So, you can speak?". People are unaware. They can absolutely ask this, I do not mean that. But when the employer thinks that too, they pay very funny amounts. People are employed through a language exam even though they were not graduated from the Interpreting department. And even some of the people who knows the language have passed the language exam but work as a front desk secretary. Unfortunately, this leads the people who received its education to earn money that they do not actually deserve or not work at jobs that they do not deserve. Because they do not look for an employee as interpreter, but they do as someone with language knowledge, this drags us to not perform our profession. Most of the people, I do not know how many as interpreters, we do additional jobs. We cannot only do our job. We have to do something else in addition. (Interpreter 2)*
>
> "Eksikliğini çokça hissediyorum. Öncelikle sağlık çevirmeni dediğimde bir tercümanla bir rehberin ayrımı yapılamıyor. Çünkü dil bilen insan eşittir tercüman olarak bakılıyor. Bana şu soruluyor, "Ben tercümanım" dediğimde "Konuşabiliyorsun yani?" diye soruluyor. İnsanlarda bir bilinçsizlik var. Bunu sorabilir kesinlikle orada değilim. Ama işverenin gözünde de böyle olduğunda çok komik rakamlara insanlar çalıştırılıyor. Tercümanlık mezunu olmasa da bir dil sınavına göre insanlar alınıyor. Ki bazıları dil sınavını da geçip ön büro sekreteri gibi gösterilip dil bilen insanları çalıştırabiliyorlar. Ne yazık ki bu da okulunu okumuş insanların hak etmedikleri paraları çalışmasına veya hak ettikleri işlerde olmamalarına yol açıyor. Çünkü tercüman diye ayrıca aranmadığı için, dil bilen kişi olarak arandığı için bu bizi mesleğimizi yapamamaya sürüklüyor. Yani çoğu insan, tercüman olarak kaç kişi var bilmiyorum, hepimiz ayrı bir şeyler daha yapıyoruz. Sadece kendi işimizi yapamıyoruz. Yanında bir şey daha yapmak durumunda kalıyoruz."

Due to the fact that the profile of an interpreter is narrowed as someone with language knowledge, it is observed that the employers do not know the difference, and anyone with foreign language is considered adequate for the job. What an interpreter does, what their responsibilities and rights are and how their competence can be measured are unknown issues by the other parties in the field. Similarly, Interpreter 3 gives emphasis on the lack of standardization in community interpreting:

I feel its lack and effects every day. My institution does not know about how much they should value me, how much they should pay me and how long they should make me work. As an interpreter with this awareness, I struggle a lot. Because they are trying to load me with different job definitions. Our duties are underestimated, they behave depreciatively. Additionally, there is nothing to protect us in terms of fees and working hours as I said. (Interpreter 3)

Eksikliğini ve etkilerini her gün görüyorum. Çalıştığım kurum bana ne kadar değer vermesi gerektiğini, ne kadar ücret vermesi gerektiğini ve beni ne kadar çalıştırması gerektiğini bilmiyor. Ben bu bilince sahip bir tercüman olarak çok sıkıntı yaşıyorum aslında. Çünkü, kurum içerisinde farklı görev tanımları yüklenmeye çalışılıyor. Yaptığımız işler ekstradan küçümsenerek davranılıyor, küçümseyici hareketler alıyorum. Bununla birlikte, dediğim gibi ücret ve çalışma saatleri konusunda da bizi koruyan bir şey yok. Dolayısıyla her yerde bir farklılık var.

It can be deduced from these statements that the interpreters are feeling alone since their job is not appreciated by the parties, especially by their employers. Considering that there is not a professional association dealing with such issues by standardizing the fees, job definitions and working hours etc., the interpreters defend themselves alone and have no door to knock when needed. One of the most outstanding issue in this field is the fact that the language knowledge is thought to be enough to be recruited. During the recruitment process, Interpreter 2 states that only the diploma and the test for language speaking ability were adequate:

In terms of institution, the management cared about whether I had a diploma. I had not my diploma yet when I was employed. I was in testing period. They were looking if there was diploma. They also asked for the previous interpreter to test me during the interpreting process. The testing here is actually whether the interpreter gives approval. In terms of management, the feedback from this interpreter and whether I have my diploma mattered. Because it is needed to employ someone at this position and that person must be an interpreter. (Interpreter 2)

"Kurumsal anlamda yönetimin baktığı şey, bir diplomam var mı oldu. Ben daha diplomamı almamıştım işe girdiğimde. Deneme sürecindeydim. Onlar diploma var mı diye bakıyorlardı. Aynı zamanda benden önce çalışan tercümana da beni çeviri sırasında test etmesini rica etmişlerdi. Buradaki denetleme aslında o tercümanın okey verip vermemesi. Yönetim açısından da hem bu tercümandan gelen feedback hem de benim bir diplomam olup olmadığı. Çünkü şu an bulunduğum pozisyonda bir kişinin çalıştırılması ve o kişinin tercüman olması gerekiyor."

It is observed that a diploma and a language test is thought to be enough for recruitment here. However, language test was also conducted by another interpreter which can be considered important because the feedback is given by a professional

and experienced interpreter. On the other hand, testing for a short period cannot be reliable to test whether that interpreter candidate knows the terminology, how to behave among parties etc. According to Interpreter 1, she had a testing period for 4 months to test her relations with people and her English level in her first institution. Her English level was tested by an employee who was working at the International Patient Department Later and whose mother language was English. Later in her second institution, her diploma was thought to be adequate to be employed. Unlike Interpreter 1 and Interpreter 2, the testing period of the Interpreter 3 covered a 3-week-training which had nothing to do with interpreting but with orientation and her responsibilities.

As the last question about institutionalization and professionalization, the actions to be taken and the actors to take these actions were asked. Interpreter 1 gives emphasis on the fact that it is the interpreter to take the big step first by improving and strengthening their own status:

> *[W]hile we are studying at the university, we may not be aware, but after graduation, we certainly need to protect our ethical principles and the more we abide by them without thinking that "I am alone anyway" or "Never mind, s/he is not my employer", the more integrated we are, and different people from different places start to abide by them as well. Health tourism is a new sector which is newly growing in community interpreting and newly heard. Naturally, people get to know it with us. Since it is introduced to their friends and colleagues this way in their environment, we make a whole from afar. Instead of doing this separately, there can be an association, or the Ministry of Health can investigate how these interpreters are working at these departments, under which standards and rights rather than sanctions which only covers the consent forms and seem to protect only the patients. Because they have given such authorizations to the Provincial Directorates of Health. They can come and handle the conditions from our point of view. (Interpreter 1)*

> "[Ü]niversitede okurken belki farkında olmayabiliyoruz ama mezun olduktan sonra kesinlikle etik kurallarımızı korumamız gerekiyor ve bunu olabildiğince biz ne kadar "Tek başımayım ben nasılsa" veya "Aman benim işverenim o değil" diye düşünmeden biz ne kadar buna sadık kalırsak aslında bir bütün olmuş oluyoruz yani farklı yerlerde farklı insanlar da buna sadık olmaya başlıyor. Sağlık turizmi sektörü bu toplum çevirmenliğinde daha yeni büyüyen, yeni yeni aslında adı duyulan bir sektör. Doğal olarak insanlar bizimle birlikte tanıyorlar. Benim şu anda bulunduğum kurum benimle birlikte çevirmenlik mesleğini tanıyor. Ortamlarında arkadaşlarına, iş arkadaşlarına bu şekilde lanse edildiği için aslında uzaktan bir bütün oluşturuyoruz. Bunu tabii ki ayrı ayrı yapmaya çalışmak yerine dediğim gibi dernek olabilir veya Sağlık Bakanlığı'nın sadece onamları içeren, sadece hastayı korumaya yönelik gibi gözüken bir yaptırımı değil de bizi de aynı zamanda, hani gelip denetlemeler yapıp çevirmenlerin, çünkü önemli departmanlar, bu departmanlarda nasıl, ne haklarla, ne standartlarda çalışıyorlar, bunları özellikle Sağlık Bakanlığı'nın yapabileceğini düşünüyorum. Yani İl

Sağlık Müdürlüklerine böyle yetkiler vermişler çünkü hastalarla ilgili. Gelip biraz da bizim açımızdan olayı inceleyip ele alabilirler diye düşünüyorum."

The interpreter asserts that every interpreter is representing the sector in general and consequently expected to behave according to the principles to improve the profession. Besides, she emphasizes the importance of governmental institutions' effect on professionalization and that their actions must include interpreters and their working conditions as well for a better service considering the importance of the health sector. Accordingly, Interpreter 2 also states that there must be unity in the field and the government needs to take actions to regulate the conditions of the interpreters and the field. As a result, she thinks that the institutions will have to abide by the laws and show respect for the work and quality of the interpreters.

There are associations, but we could not get anywhere with the associations. It has become associations, not an association. It is not an association that we are gathered under. I know that there have been some activities for this. But I do not think that those days that we can work professionally and become a profession are not close unless a law is made and the government sets criteria. I think that laws prevail. As I said, for example, I had to be an interpreter to come to this position. Such conditions to be set in fields not only in translation offices but also where language knowledge or competence in interpreting is required leads the institutions to search for these people and to make a choice among those interpreters who are doing their job better. I think that the criteria are about who demands how much money, who does how much work, that is, whether the work continues, how much money the person wants, how much it will cost if I hire an interpreter, how much if I hire an interpreter knowing this language, instead of the quality of the work and the interpreting. Institutions will be subjected if the laws are regulated. In this way, I think we can distinguish interpreting by putting interpreters outside the profession aside, promoting and putting the profession in order more. (Interpreter 2)

"Dernekler var zaten ama derneklerle bir yere varamadık. Dernekler oldu, dernek olmadı. Herkesi çatısı altında toplayan bir dernek olamadı. Bunun için çalışmalar faaliyetler oldu biliyorum. Ama bir yasa, kanun çıkmadan, devlet gözünde bir kriter belirlenmeden bizim profesyonelce çalışabileceğimiz, meslek olabileceğimiz günlerin çok gelemeyeceğini düşünüyorum. Yasaların en başa geçtiğini düşünüyorum. Dediğim gibi mesela, benim bu pozisyona gelebilmem için tercüman olmam gerekiyordu. Bunun sadece tercüme bürolarında değil dil bilgisi veya tercüme yetisi gereken alanlarda bu tür şartların koşulması işe alan kurumların bu tür insanları aramaya, işini daha iyi yapan veya bu tercümanlar arasında seçim yapmaya itecektir. Şu anda bakılan kriterin kim ne kadar maaş istiyor, kim ne kadar iş yapıyora döndüğünü düşünüyorum. Kaliteden, işin ve tercümenin kalitesinden ziyade iş ilerliyor mu, bu ne kadar maaş istiyor, bir tercüman alırsam ne kadar, bu dili bilen bir kişi alırsam ne kadar. Kanunlarla bir düzene sokulması zaten kurumların elini bağlayan bir şey olacak. Böyle böyle

> biraz daha öğrenilerek, düzene girerek meslek dışında olup mesleği yapan insanları bir kenara ayırıp tercümanlığı ayrı tutabiliriz diye düşünüyorum."

It can be understood from this passage that the employers look interpreters with low budgets regardless of the quality of their works. Money can be regarded as the topmost criteria for the employers. Similar to the comment of the Interpreter 2 that the interpreters are their own control mechanisms and that there is no organ to investigate them as well as their conditions, Interpreter 3 also adds that even though it may not be possible to start with laws, there must be an association for standardization in terms of working hours and fees.

> *As we said, education is first. Later, a law that supports it. Except for that, a union for interpreters. We face with this all the time, not only in community interpreting. We face with this even in freelance translatorship. The professional quality must be tested. Because it should not be personal to test the work quality. […] Especially in healthcare and legal interpreting, that is in community interpreting which will affect the human life, it must be certainly subjected to regular testing. I think that these people must be regularly investigated maybe once a year or every other year in terms of language proficiency, interpreting activities and ethical principles and tested. […] The institutions must be subjected to this testing as well. They must be tested especially for ethical principles and the rights and responsibilities of the interpreters. Because both the interpreters and the institutions have difficulties in ethical principles in time. It needs to be expected from this investigating institution to provide solutions for these difficulties as well. Only testing is not enough. (Interpreter 3)*
>
> Eğitim, dediğimiz gibi, en önce. Bunu destekleyen bir yasa. Onun dışında bence çevirmen birliği. Biz bunu sürekli yaşıyoruz, sadece toplum çevirmenliğinde değil. Serbest çevirmenlikte dahi yaşadığımız bir süreç. Mesleki kalitenin test edilmesi, mutlaka. Çünkü yapılan işin kalitesinin test edilmesi bireysel bir şey olmamalı […] Aynı şekilde, özellikle sağlıkta ve hukuki çeviride, yani insan hayatını etkileyecek toplum çevirmenliğinde bunun mutlaka düzenli denetlemeye tabi tutulması gerekiyor. Bu kişilerin düzenli olarak, senede bir olabilir ya da iki senede bir olabilir, düzenli olarak çalıştığı kurumda ufak bir teftiş adı altında hem dil yeterliliği konusunda hem çeviri faaliyetleri hem de etik ilkeler konusunda hem düzenlemeye hem de ufak bir sınava tabi tutulması gerekiyor bence. […] Aynı şekilde kurumlar da buna tabi tutulmalı. Özellikle etik ilkeler ve çevirmene verilen hak ve sorumluluklarla ilgili kesinlikle bir teste tabi tutulmalı. Çünkü zaman içerisinde hem çevirmenler hem kurumlar özellikle etik ilkeler konusunda sıkıntı yaşıyorlar. Bu testi uygulayan kurumun aynı zamanda bu sıkıntılara çözüm üretmesi beklenmeli tabii. Sadece test etmek yetmez.

As recommendations, Interpreter 3 counts three essential requirements for the professionalization of the field: education, laws and a union. It is inferred that through quality education at the universities and with the requirements in the field in terms of

education, testing the quality of the works and the conditions of the interpreters as well as providing solutions to their problems can contribute to the professionalization of the community interpreting. It is emphasized in general that the initiatives of the government and the establishment of an association for community interpreting to gather under a single roof are what these interpreters need to increase the quality of both interpreters and interpreting process.

3.2.3.2. Court Interpreting

All court interpreters state that they feel the lack of such institutionalization and professionalization in the field to a great extent. Interpreter 5 and Interpreter 8 especially emphasize that they feel alone when they are faced with problems or have to defend their rights due to the lack of rules, principles and the low status of the interpreters. Interpreter 9 adds that the field suffers from the non-standardization of the fees, the lack of a federation and proper knowledge as he could not obtain his expert certificate earlier. It can be inferred that the low status might result from the requirements to be a court interpreter. As Interpreter 4 states:

> *While working in this field, I think that this lack leads to the unawareness or lack of knowledge of the other actors or the fact that the qualifications of interpreters are not created by considering the interpreter recruitment conditions, the thought that graduation from primary school is adequate. Based on court interpreting, I think that if ethical principles and guides are prepared, they can pave the way [for professionalization] and be a useful guide, and of course our rights will be protected. As a result of the protection of our rights, the interpreting quality will increase. The quality of interpreting will be affected the most in a good way. And it is something that will positively reflect on the interpreting service receivers. There is a need for an association. I think that it is very important for our rights as interpreters to be institutionalized, to standardize them, to determine the ethical principles and to enforce them on the other institutions. (Interpreter 4)*

> "Bence, evet eksikliği şu an bence bu alanda çalışıyorken diğer aktörlerin çok bilinçli olmaması ya da işte çok fikre sahip olmamaları ya da çevirmen alım koşullarında birtakım çevirmenin niteliğinin çok göz önünde tutularak oluşturulmamış olması, ilköğretim seviyesinin örneğin yeterli görülmesi gibi, bu tür şeylere yol açtığını düşünüyorum. Eğer mahkeme çevirmenliği alanı bazında düşünürsek etik ilkeler, rehberler, onunla ilgili bir mesele oluşturulursa [meslekleşmenin] önünü açabileceğini, iyi bir rehber olabileceğini ve tabii ki haklarımızın korunacağını düşünüyorum. Bizim haklarımızın korunmasının sonucunda çıkacak şey zaten çeviri kalitesidir. En çok çeviri kalitesi iyi anlamda etkilenecektir. Bu da çeviri hizmeti alıcılarına çok daha olumlu yansıyacak bir şeydir. Kesinlikle bence dernekleşmesi gerekiyor. Bizim çevirmen haklarımızın

bu anlamda kurumsallaşması, buna yönelik bir standart oluşturulması, etik ilkelerin belirlenmesi, kabul ettirilmesi diğer kuruluşlar tarafından, çok önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum."

It is asserted that the non-professionalization is based on the fact that the lack of knowledge of the other actors, unqualified recruitment criteria and the non-standardization. The interpreters think that if such conditions are improved, then the quality of the interpretation will increase as well as the satisfaction of the LDPs. Standardization and an association are considered to be essential in professionalization of community interpreting. According to Interpreter 6, there have recently been more actions to come together and express the conditions of the field when compared to past. Nevertheless, this lack of control and dispraise for the profession is based on the fact that there has been no association and no authorization of the profession for a long time. Similarly, Interpreter 7 adds that professionals need to take initiatives so that the community interpreting can be defined as a profession. He emphasizes that the Translation and Interpreting Association of Turkey was established with the initiatives of professionals and academics and translatorship in general has recently been recognized as a profession with the support of government officials, let alone community interpreting. It can be inferred that it requires some time to define the basics of court interpreting officially, especially after community interpreting is defined. Nonetheless, the current conditions of court interpreting are thought to be in need of a change. To give an example, Interpreter 9 claims that there is a monopolization in the field of court interpreting:

It is a monopolized job. For instance, we can only work at criminal courts as sworn court interpreters, but since there are not interpreters take place at civil courts, and the expert is at the directorate of land registry, s/he does not want to come to the court. The expert is already earning good amount of money at the land registry. Then, as the private secretary, the judge or the prosecutor could not find, they compulsorily start to look for sworn court interpreters. At this time, we do the same job but we earn less. When the expert goes there, s/he will earn 650 Turkish liras per file at the minimum, that is, the expert will earn 650 liras from there and the sworn court interpreter who is doing the same job will earn 250-300 liras. We are still doing the same job. Normally, they have to come and do it, but they are at the land registry. (Interpreter 9)

"Tekelleşmiş bir iş. Şöyle örnek vereyim, şimdi biz adli yeminli tercüman olarak normalde sadece ceza mahkemelerinde tercümanlık yapabiliyoruz ama hukuk mahkemelerinde de bulunmadığı için, bu bahsettiğim olay yani şimdi bilirkişi tapuya gittiği için adliyeye gelmek istemiyor. Bilirkişi de zaten tapuda çok güzel

> paralar kazanıyor. Bu sefer özel kalemin, işte hakimin, savcının bulamadığı için mecbur adli yeminli tercümanlar aramaya başlıyorlar. Bu sefer biz yine aynı işi yapmış oluyoruz fakat aldığımız para daha az. Bilirkişi oraya gittiği zaman hakim, asgari ücretin bilirkişiliğin dosya başına 650 liraydı sanırım yanlış hatırlamıyorsam ama, yani bilirkişi oradan 650 lira alacak ama aynı işi yapan adli yeminli tercüman 250-300 lira alıyor. Aynı işi biz yine yapıyoruz. Normalde onların gelip yapması lazım fakat işte tapu da var."

It can be deduced from this statement that there is a lack of balance in the field of court interpreting depending on the titles of the interpreters. Even though they conduct the same work, they earn different amounts of money. Besides, sworn court interpreters are called since they cannot find an expert as they prefer to work at the directorate of land registry to earn more. Therefore, they are paid according to their titles, not their workload. It is observed that the lack of professionalization and standardization leads to imbalance in the field both financially and professionally.

On the other hand, due to non-institutionalization and few job opportunities, the court interpreters created a Whatsapp group. From the statements of Interpreter 4 and Interpreter 7, there is a collaboration among the court interpreters to announce the job opportunities when they are not available to take. This message group consists of interpreters with different languages, and it makes it easier to reach out to them and meet the interpreting needs in rare languages.

About the possible solutions for this imbalance, for the rights and responsibilities of the interpreters and for professionalization, one of the most common answer has been "the establishment of an association". Interpreter 4, Interpreter 6 and Interpreter 7 emphasize that the professionalization of the field requires a collaboration among the interpreters, academics, government authorities etc. Interpreter 4 adds that other actors participating in the court interpreting, such as judge, prosecutor, clerk, usher, needs to receive internal trainings in terms of court interpreting. It is thought that trainings for such actors can be useful both to raise awareness and to improve the status of the interpreters.

The status of the interpreters can be enhanced by improving both the others' perspectives for the profession and the qualification criteria of the interpreters. In court interpreting, graduation from primary school is one of the criteria and this leads the people who know a foreign language without any necessary qualifications to be recruited as an interpreter at courts.

> *I do not receive it favorably. Because we have interpreter's occupational standards, and they were not formed in an easy process. We are actually the generation that come up to a certain phase of the interpreting profession in Turkey. Our professors, self-educated interpreters, owners of translation bureaus suffered a lot at that point. We need to protect it. We even have to develop it at some point by updating or revising. It is based on 6th Level and the Vocational Qualifications Institute did it. Not only 2-3 people. Considering that it is based on an undergraduate degree there, it does not coincide with the primary school degree in court interpreting. (Interpreter 4)*

> "Onu ne yazık ki olumlu karşılamıyorum. Çünkü bizim bir çevirmen meslek standardımız var ve bu çevirmen meslek standardı çok kolay bir süreçte oluşmadı. Orada biz en nihayetinde Türkiye'deki çevirmenlik mesleğinin belli bir aşamasına denk gelen nesiliz aslında. Çok büyük sıkıntıları bizden önceki hocalarımız, alaylı çevirmenler, çeviri işletmeleri sahipleri yapmışlar aslında o noktada. Ona sahip çıkmamız gerekiyor. Hatta geliştirmemiz de gerekiyor belli bir noktada, güncellenmesi, revize edilmesi şeklinde. Şimdi ona baktığımızda 6. Seviyeye konumlandırılmış ve bunu yapan Mesleki Yeterlilik Kurumu da aynı zamanda. Sadece orada bir araya gelen 2-3 kişi değil. Şimdi orada lisans sürecine dayalı bir durum söz konusuyken mahkeme çevirmenliği alanında ilköğretim seviyesini uygun görmesi çok örtüşmüyor birbiriyle."

In her remarks, Interpreter 4 expresses that there is an inconsistency between the occupational standards of Vocational Qualifications Institute and the criteria of court interpreting. Even though the standards stipulate that the interpreters have an undergraduate degree, the requirements to be a court interpreter covers primary school degree in Turkey. She adds that it does not mean the primary school graduated people interpret poorly, because competence in interpreting requires experience, but they must be subjected to prove their competency through some procedures, such as professional competence certificate. Interpreter 4 claims that the professional competence certificate will provide the measurement of language competency since there is no way to measure this competency at the moment, even though there are exams such as YDS (Foreign Language Exam) which is not of prime importance in recruiting court interpreters. About the possibility that there are not many interpreters with undergraduate degree who know minority languages, Interpreter 4 further adds:

> *It could be hard to find interpreters with undergraduate degree in the minority languages. […] But we need to create alternative solutions for that. If we have the potential of interpreters which can meet the availability at the bachelor's degree level, then we need to determine some criteria to increase the interpretation quality. I am against the idea that the court interpreting is a field where people can try themselves through trial and error and learn what is wrong or not. Yes, we talk ourselves "When I work at an office, I will learn what's wrong*

or not. I do wrong, but they correct it there". There is no actor to correct you here. No redactor, no editor. You cannot share your text with anyone due to confidentiality. It is given to us, and we do it. There is no other actor there, but at a point where serious decisions are taken and there may occur some verdicts which can affect the rights of freedom of the people, they cannot be assigned if the interpreting is too wrong. But it takes too much time to detect it. Besides, one can be victimized until the detection. It is not this field. Therefore, I think that the criteria there must be tightened. (Interpreter 4)

"Şimdi o azınlık dillerinde lisans seviyesinde bir çevirmen bulmanız da zorlaşabilir. […] Ama orada işte alternatif çözümler üretmemiz lazım. Eğer lisans seviyesinde mevcudiyeti karşılayacak bir çevirmen potansiyelimiz varsa o zaman çeviri kalitesini artıracak birtakım kriterleri getirmemiz gerekir demektir. Şuna karşıyım, mahkeme çevirmenliği kişinin kendisini deneyebileceği, deneme-yanılma, yanlışı, hatayı, doğruyu öğrenir diyebileceği bir alan değil. Evet biz şey diyoruz kendimizce, "Ya bir ofise gireyim, doğruyu yanlışı orada öğrenirim, yaparım, yanlışım düzeltilir". Burada sizin yanlışınızı düzeltecek hiçbir eyleyen yok. Redaktör yok, editör yok. Sizin metninizi gizlilik ilkesi gereği zaten kimseye iletemiyorsunuz. Size verilmiş, o işlemi de biz gerçekleştiriyoruz. Orada başka bir aktör yok ama o yüzden özellikle ciddi kararların da alındığı, insanların özgürlük haklarını da etkileyecek birtakım sonuçlar çıkabileceği bir noktada ben hiçbir şekilde, ne bileyim çok yanlış çeviri yaptıysa zaten sonrasında işi vermezler ona. Ama bunu tespit etmeleri de çok zaman alır. Ayrıca onu tespit edene kadar mağdur kalabilirler. Yani bu alan o alan değil. Dolayısıyla oradaki kriterlerin yükseltilmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum."

It is emphasized here that the qualifications of the interpreters as well as the quality of the interpretations are of great importance considering the cruciality of court interpreting. It is not a field where people can try themselves to understand whether they are capable of doing it. Therefore, the recruitment criteria of such fields need to be enhanced and tightened. Besides, it is suggested that these criteria should be determined by many actors in the field including the interpreters, academics, government officials etc. because this type of fields are interdisciplinary, and they can provide their own perspectives. Interpreter 7 claims that a collaboration by such actors can contribute to the field:

I can say that every [actor] should work together. Because the academics have nothing to do with the market, that is, they do not know about the difficulties of the market. I work as both an academic and [an interpreter] in the market. I know both worlds. I mean, I know what is going on in this world and I know from my experiences. The academy and the actual interpreting practice are totally different. Neither academy can do research on the needs of the market, nor the interpreters in practice can demand help to overcome the challenges and problems that they encounter with. There are crucial dead-ends here. There must be academical research on these. (Interpreter 7)

"Hepsinin birlikte çalışması diyebilirim ben. Çünkü akademisyenin piyasayla alakası yok, yani piyasanın gerçekten güçlüklerinin ne olduğunu bilmiyor. Şimdi ben ikisini de, hem akademisyenim hem piyasada çalışıyorum. Yani iki dünyayı da biliyorum. Biliyorum dediğim hem bu dünyada ne olup bittiğini biliyorum hem kendi deneyimlerimden yola çıkıp biliyorum. Akademiyle normal çeviri pratiği tamamen ayrı yerlerde. Ne akademi piyasanın ihtiyaç duyduğu çalışmaları yapabiliyor ne de pratikteki çevirmenler pratikten çıkardığı, karşılaştığı güçlüklerin, sorunların nasıl üstesinden gelebileceği konusunda akademiden bir yardım talep edebiliyor. Aslında çok önemli çıkmazlar var burada. Bunlar üzerine akademik çalışmalar yapılması lazım."

From this statement, it can be deduced that academy and the interpreting profession need to complement each other to meet the needs of the field and to provide solutions to the problems as well as to increase the quality and status of the profession. Interpreter 7 further adds about the academy:

[T]here are more rules [or instructions] on what not to do. However, the person in the market needs help about what to do. In this sense, I think that the Ministry, linguists, interpreters, associations of translators and interpreters, those in practice, academics should work in collaboration and such collaborations can teach very useful things through their systematical works, but someone should turn a hand to and lead this. (Interpreter 7)

"[N]elerin yapılmayacağı konusunda daha çok bir şeyler çıkarılıyor, kurallar çıkarılıyor. Halbuki bu piyasadaki insanın ne yapması gerektiği konusunda yardıma ihtiyacı var. Bu anlamda ben ancak ortak çalışmayla bunun Bakanlık, ondan sonra dilbilimciler, çevirmenler, çevirmen dernekleri, orada pratikte çalışanlar, akademisyenler, böyle ortak oluşumlar sağlanıp bu ortak oluşumların programlı çalışmalarıyla çok güzel şeyler öğretebileceğini düşünüyorum ama birinin buna el atması, öncü olması lazım."

As a criticism, it is stated that the academy needs to focus further on what the interpreters actually can or should do. Therefore, it is suggested that the actors in the field join up and develop the conditions of the profession. Additionally, these actors can take their places in the association so that they can gather under a single roof and the volunteer people can sign up. For the members and the requirements of the association, Interpreter 4 make suggestions:

I think that there are factors that can affect each other successively. But when we think about the first formation, I think that there might be a formation where the interpreters, academics and other actors can join. However, I am thinking about the association of conference interpreters. They are very meticulous about the enrollment, right? Not everyone from outside the field can become a member there. There is a condition of enrollment. But something much more useful can actually emerge out of it. Therefore, the people working in this field can focus on the association. (Interpreter 4)

"Bence burada birbirini zincirleme olarak etkileyebilecek unsurlar var. Ama ilk oluşumu düşündüğümüzde bence o tür dernek oluştuğunda çevirmenlerin, akademisyenlerin, diğer aktörlerin de katılabileceği bir oluşum olabilir. Ama şimdi şeyi de düşünüyorum, konferans tercümanları derneği. Üye alımı konusunda bile çok titiz davranıyorlar aslında değil mi? Dışarıdan her gelen oraya üye olamıyor. Onun bir koşulu, bir şartı var. Ama böyle olduğunda da aslında çok daha faydalı bir şey de ortaya çıkabilir. Dolayısıyla bence bu alanda çalışanların odak noktasında dernekleşme olabilir." (Interpreter 4)

Considering the conditions of the conference interpreting in Turkey, such as the duration of experience and adoption of ethical principles, it is emphasized that the community interpreting needs an association to stipulate such conditions for the quality and the qualification of the field. The actors from different fields of community interpreting including academics, interpreters and employers are thought to contribute to the field by presenting their own points of view and collaborating. Since it can be observed that the actors are not aware of the conditions of each other, it could be a useful platform to understand each other and provide solutions by combining their forces. On the other hand, Interpreter 9 recommends that a sub-branch for court interpreters can be established at the courthouse which can enable the organization to be more systematically:

I believe that it will be better to establish a sub-branch for the interpreting. In a private association, favoritism will take place and they will help their own acquaintances, but if there is a sub-branch of the court and expertise for interpreters, it will be healthier because the training for expertise has nothing to do with interpreting. How to enter UYAP portal, how to register, how to write a report, which we do not, are taught there. We only interpret the text, the utterance. We do not write any reports or state our opinion. They do not ask our opinion, we only transfer what is written from English to Turkish. (Interpreter 9)

"Adliyede bir alt dal açılırsa yani direkt tercümanlıkla ilgili, çok daha sağlıklı olacağına inanıyorum. Hani özel bir dernek orada da yine bir rantlaşma, kendi tanıdıklarına tabii ki yardımcı olacaklardır ama adliyenin bir alt dalı olup da tercümanlara yönelik bir bilirkişilik olursa çok daha sağlıklı olur çünkü yani bilirkişilik eğitiminin zaten tercümanlıkla bir alakası yok. Orada tamamen UYAP portalına nasıl girilir, nasıl üye olunur, nasıl rapor yazılır, ki biz zaten tercüman olarak rapor yazmıyoruz. Biz sadece olan metni, sözü tercüme ediyoruz. Herhangi bir rapor hazırlamıyoruz, yorumda fikirde bulunmuyoruz. Yani görüşümüzü almıyor bizim, biz sadece yazanı İngilizceden Türkçeye aktarıyoruz sadece."

Here it can be inferred that the interpreter does not trust such an organization like association because he thinks that they will favor others and do not treat equally.

Nevertheless, he suggests that an organ under the court for interpreters only could be of use. It can also be deduced from this statement that the interpreters as experts are responsible for duties out of interpreting and they are expected to know how to use the portal. He thinks that such an official branch can unite the court interpreters and the authority must be the government itself. Defining being an interpreter as a drop in the ocean, he states that they cannot share their problems with an authority. Since experts are handled as one altogether including forensic experts, the interpreters are misidentified due to being included in the same category.

3.2.3.3. Public Service Interpreting

Three of the public service interpreters agree that they feel the lack of institutionalization to a great extent. Interpreter 10 and Interpreter 11 assert that there are people working as interpreters but not competent enough to work as an interpreter. The incompetent interpreters who are working in medical or psychological fields are thought to be dangerous due to the life-critical conditions of the LDPs. On the other hand, Interpreter 11 is highly affected by the prevalence of incompetent interpreter because he feels a responsibility for his profession unlike incompetent interpreters:

> *In this profession that I have been conducting actively for 2 years, I feel a responsibility due to my profession when I see others not doing their job duly and the way they should do, and I get uncomfortable because I aim to conduct this profession duly and at my best by combining my individual and academical knowledge. However, being lumped together with the people who are insensitive and not competent enough at the same level and same title as well as the depreciation and ignorance of the profession disturb me a lot. (Interpreter 11)*

> "2 yıldır bilfiil yaptığım bu meslekte başkalarının bu işi layıkıyla, yapması gerektiği gibi yapmadığını gördüğüm zaman, mesleğimden kaynaklı olarak bir sorumluluk hissediyorum ve şundan rahatsız oluyorum, ben tercümanlığı olabildiğince layıkıyla, sahip olduğum hem bireysel hem de akademik birikimimle harmanlamaya çalışarak bu mesleği en iyi şekilde icra etmeye çalışıyorum. Ama bu işi vurdumduymaz, gerekli yeterlik seviyesine sahip olmayan insanlarla birlikte aynı seviyede ve sıfatla yaptığım için aynı kefeye konulmak ve mesleğin değersizleştirilmesi, bu mesleğin adeta ciddiye alınmıyor olması beni çok rahatsız ediyor."

From the statement of the Interpreter 11, it can be inferred that the qualifications of the colleagues of interpreters influence their points of view towards their profession. The lack of professionalization and standardization leads to the

prevalence of unqualified interpreters. Although the public service interpreters in this study did not receive their degrees from the department of Translation and Interpreting, they are considered to be well aware of the cruciality of their profession. On the other hand, Interpreter 12 states that if she worked at a more institutional workplace, she would not have to face with injustice for her rights and responsibilities just because she lacks experience. As a result, she thinks that she has to put up with this injustice to gain experience. Here it can be deduced that the institutions determine their own criteria for recruitment and may expect many other duties from the interpreters since there is not well-established standardization. The perspective of the employers towards interpreters is trivializing the interpreters and the profession because interpreting is not considered as something that requires competency, knowledge and education but only as being able to speak a foreign language. Interpreter 11 explains this trivialization as:

> *The absence of a supervisory institution or a mechanism, conducting this occupation not as a profession but because of failing to conduct any other profession, which I am doing also and it must not be ignored, and conducting the profession regardless of any qualification degrade the value of the profession. I think that it is derogatory against both the interpreter and the profession for the language deficient person to think that "It is just interpreting, what else?" which I heard that a lot. Various examples can be given. When I go to the notary for interpreting, sometimes the man there may not want to deal with me. But when I go there with the translation office, I can swear an oath for interpreting only by signing a document. Likewise, it is enough at the courthouse to fill out a form regarding language knowledge without submitting any document, and any pre-test or control. Even though the notary demands a document to show that you have received an education with diploma, it is enough to say, "I know this language" at the courthouse. Therefore, I think that it is necessary for interpreters to get into a process of professionalization, to form a control mechanism regarding standardization, and for the associations to do this under a single roof of a federation. I also think that there must be sanctions. (Interpreter 11)*

> "Denetleyici bir kurumun, bir mekanizmanın bulunmaması, mesleki olarak değil de başka bir şey yapamadığı için yapılan bir meslek halinde olması ki bunu aynı zamanda ben de yapıyorum onu da göz ardı etmemek lazım ama, herhangi bir beceriye bakılmaksızın yapılıyor olması aynı zamanda gene mesleğin kıymetini düşürüyor. Bir tercümana ihtiyaç duyan kişinin "Ya işte tercümedir, nedir ki?" gibi ifadelerle, çok duydum ben, yaklaşıyor olması hem tercümana hem de tercümanlık mesleğine genel olarak bir hakaret olduğunu düşünüyorum. Çeşitli örnekler de verilebilir. Ben notere bireysel olarak gittiğim zaman adam benimle uğraşmak dahi istemiyor olabiliyor yani tercümanlık mesleğini yapmak için gittiğimde. Ama tercüme ofisiyle gittiğim zaman sadece bir tane belge imzalayarak tercümanlık yemini edebiliyorum. Keza adliyede tercümanlık yemininde herhangi bir ön test, herhangi bir kontrolden geçmeksizin, sadece dil bildiğine dair bir beyan formu doldurarak herhangi bir belge ibraz etmeksizin

> adliyede böyle işliyor. Noterde yine diplomalı bir eğitim aldığına dair bir belgenin gerekiyor olmasına rağmen adliyede sadece "Ben bu dili biliyorum" demek bile yeterli olabiliyor. Dolayısıyla bunun bir meslekleşme, tercümanlığın bir meslekleşme sürecine girmesi, standartlaştırmaya yönelik bir kontrol mekanizması oluşturulması gerektiği, derneklerin bir çatı olarak bir federasyonun bu işi yapıyor olması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Yaptırımının da hatta olması gerektiğini düşünüyorum."

The lack of an association and awareness is considered to be degrading the value of the profession. However, the lack of awareness is also affected by the lack of an association or a control mechanism. Therefore, it can be said that these factors are successively affecting each other: the lack of association and standardization affect the awareness, and the awareness affects the value of the interpreters and the profession. According to the interpreter, the notary gives priority to references of translation offices and sometimes does not care much about the interpreter. It can also be observed that the requirements of each institution, notaries and courthouses, vary and that there is no standardization for recruitment. The recruitment process of these interpreters also varies: while Interpreter 10 and Interpreter 11 were interviewed in Arabic by an interpreter, Interpreter 12 was not, and she tried to convince the others that she could speak Arabic except for some dialects. However, Interpreter 11 also adds that there is nobody to test the language level of the interpreter candidate at the notaries. Only a diploma and a document for language knowledge are considered enough to become a sworn interpreter.

In general, Interpreter 10 and Interpreter 11 express that the criteria for the recruitment as well as the supervisory mechanism should be tightened in order for the profession to exert its authority. For the profession to be improved, Interpreter 11 suggests that an authorized person can inspect the recruitment processes of the interpreters at the notaries so that qualified interpreters with proficient language knowledge are recruited. On the other hand, he suggests that the perspectives of other actors for the profession and interpreters are developed so that they can show respect and make payments accordingly. For Interpreter 10, the competencies of the interpreters need to be documented or inspected to understand if the person is able to work as an interpreter. In addition, he adds that if people want to work as an interpreter, then they need to receive a certificate like a driver's license from governmental or other institutions through exams. Within the scope of the question asking if it is necessary

for the self-educated people to receive a training on interpreting, Interpreter 10 states that the way of learning the language matters:

> *It depends on how someone learnt the language. If s/he learnt it abroad, an additional training may not be necessary. Because s/he can speak both languages properly, knows the culture. Apart from that, if s/he learnt English or Arabic during undergraduate education, it is hard for sure, there is a need for training. Because it varies. (Interpreter 10)*

> O artık dili nasıl öğrendiğine bağlı. Yani eğer dili yurtdışında öğrenmişse ekstra bir eğitim belki gerekmeyebilir. Çünkü zaten iki dili de düzgün bir şekilde konuşabiliyor, ifade edebiliyor, hani kültüre hakim. Fakat daha sonra mesela, okul sırasında lisans sırasında İngilizce veya Arapça öğrenmişse o zor oluyor tabii ki, eğitime ihtiyacı var. Çünkü farklılık gösterebiliyor.

According to this comment, the interpreter gives emphasis on how the person has learnt the language. Nevertheless, this point of view is parallel with the thought that anyone who knows a language can interpret. Even though he suggests that there is a system, such as an exam or a certificate specific to the field, he asserts that it is not something to be achieved through training for self-educated people.

> *Actually, it cannot be done with training. How will this training be given? An interpreter must know the words well for proper interpreting. S/he must know the concepts well. […] This can be achieved through work. It is not something to be achieved through training. However, training is important, too. The code of conducts can and must be learnt. The person must work on it as well. Of course, there are different fields. As you said, the court uses different concepts. The hospital uses different concepts. In fact, there must be separate committees of each. The person must pass the committee to work in that workplace. For example, you only submit your documents such as YOKDIL certificate, university or high school diploma. You apply and it is approved. It should not be this way. How did you test whether the person knows the language comprehensively? Because YOKDIL has nothing to do with it. YDS is not about only court concepts. It only measures your language level. […] Therefore, there must be something specific to each field, such as an exam or a certificate etc. I do not know if it can be achieved through training, I do not think so. It cannot be achieved through training. The person has to make special efforts. (Interpreter 10)*

> "Ya aslında eğitimle olmuyor. Bu eğitim nasıl verilecek, hani bir tercümanın düzgün çevirebilmesi için kelimeleri iyi bilmesi lazım. Kavramları iyi bilmesi lazım. […] Bu da bir çalışma sonucu olur. Yani bir eğitimle olacak bir şey değil. Ama eğitim de tabii önemli. Davranış usulleri gibi, tabii bunlar öğrenilebilir, öğrenilmesi lazım. Kişinin de çalışması lazım. Tabii farklı farklı alanlar mevcut. Dediğiniz gibi mahkeme farklı kavramlar kullanır. Hastane farklı kavramlar kullanır. Bunların aslında her birinin ayrı bir kurulu olması lazım. Bu iş yerinde çalışabilmesi için bu kuruldan geçmesi lazım. Mesela mahkemede tercümanlık yapabilmen için sadece evraklarını sunuyorsun, YÖKDİL belgesi, lisans belgesi veya lise belgesi, başvuruyorsun kabul ediliyor. Aslında böyle olmaması lazım. Çünkü o dile hakim olup olmadığını nasıl ölçtünüz mesela? Çünkü YÖKDİL'in

> onunla bir ilgisi yok. YDS sırf mahkeme kavramlarıyla ilgilenmiyor. Genel olarak bir dil düzeyini ölçüyor. […] Dolayısıyla özel, her mesleğe özel bir şey olması lazım da yani sınav ya da bir sertifika ya da bir şey. Eğitimle bilmiyorum olur mu, düşünmüyorum aslında. Eğitimle olacak bir şey değil. Kişinin özel bir çaba göstermesi gerekiyor."

The comment of the interpreter shows that interpreter training is not considered essential by some self-educated interpreters. Nonetheless, his suggestion on the certificate system requires a training process so that the self-educated interpreters can obtain it. It can be observed that there is a conflict between the expressions of the interpreter. Similar to the idea of the Interpreter 10 that learning a foreign language abroad can be enough to be an interpreter, Interpreter 11 states that a sworn interpreter must be either a graduate from Translation and Interpreting department or learnt the foreign language abroad. Nevertheless, learning a foreign language abroad cannot be equal to profession of interpreting considering its cruciality in healthcare, court or migration processes. However, he adds that interpreters working in settings such as courts must only be from graduates of Translation and Interpreting departments. In conclusion, despite the importance of code of conducts, strategies and cruciality of interpreting profession, language knowledge is considered to be sufficient to be an interpreter by self-educated interpreters.

On the other hand, Interpreter 12 states that she suffers from the lack of experience opportunities in the field because she could not find a job because she was inexperienced. She emphasizes the importance of internship even though she did not receive her education from the Translation and Interpreting department stating that she cannot use Arabic elsewhere in Turkey except for interpreting.

3.2.3.4. Summary

To sum it up, all interpreters from all subfields of community interpreting state that they suffer from non-institutionalization and that they need to gather under a single roof. Therefore, an association is needed so that they can share common problems or ideas, provide solutions and improve the profession as a community. It was also suggested by a healthcare interpreter that there are associations for the subfields of community interpreting as well.

The status of the interpreters is so affected by the unawareness in the field that people think language knowledge is sufficient to be an interpreter. They are also paid very low wages considering their workloads ant there is no standardization for wages, rights and responsibilities as well as the qualifications of the community interpreters due to the lack of professionalization. It was also expressed that there is an inconsistency between the standards of Vocation Qualifications Institute and the recruitment criteria of court interpreting in terms of educational background. The interpreters emphasize that certificate for language knowledge is not sufficient to prove the interpreting ability of the interpreters. Therefore, the actors from the field including the academy, interpreters, employers and other professionals need to gather and determine the actual criteria for the recruitment of qualified interpreters.

It was also observed that there is an inconsistency between the statements of the self-educated interpreters in terms of the necessity of the education and suggested certificate system. Even though they stated that interpreting is considered as being able to speak a foreign language, they claimed that learning the language abroad could be enough to prove that someone can work as an interpreter. On the other hand, they gave emphasis on the improvement of criteria so that qualified interpreters could be employed. They add that actors such as governmental institutions and an association need to raise awareness in the field so that they can gain a higher status.

Next section focuses on the actors in the field in order to understand from whom and what the behaviors and the perceptions of the interpreters are affected. The section also helps the map of the network to be shaped. The actors in these networks are determined according to the statements of the community interpreters to analyze their perspectives and define the positions of the actors through their own points of view.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION OF ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY AND PROFESSIONAL NORMS IN COMMUNITY INTERPRETING

In this chapter, the field of community interpreting including its subfields will be discussed in terms of Actor-Network Theory (ANT) concepts. Through the interviews, it was aimed to name the human and non-human actors in the field from the comments of the interpreters and to determine how they perceive the actors in the network. Since the methodological approach of this study is phenomenology, the experiences of the interpreters and how they speak of them are of great importance for the findings of the research.

It is thought that the interpreting process is not composed of message transmission activity but of many actors ranging from the translation and interpreting education to the laws, regulations and human actors such as judge, doctor or social worker. It has been assumed since the beginning of the research that the interpreter is actually at the center of the network, that is an *obligatory passage point* (OPP), because otherwise there would be no interpreting activity, and the network would be called anything else other than interpreting network. Nevertheless, this assumption was not shared with the interpreters during the interviews so as not to affect their thoughts.

The assumption that the interpreter is a central actor in the network has led the researcher to analyze how they perceive the interpreting network, how they are affected by whom or what with regards to interpreting as a profession. Therefore, other human actors were not interviewed due to this reason, in addition to the ongoing pandemic. However, the assumptions of the interpreters on how other actors see them in the network from the perspectives of the interpreters have been included in the study. The networks are formed considering that the actors are in an interaction and affect each other's actions (Aral Duvan, 2021).

In the next section, the findings given above under the titles Role, Ethical Principles and Institutionalization will be discussed within the framework of ANT and define whether the roles of actors are *intermediary* or *mediator* in the translation process. Even though the actors can change in every setting, the ones that are thought

to be general and most prominent are given. As Aral Duvan (2021: 90) states, these are the networks which are possible to exist in all subfields.

4.1. ANT IN HEALTHCARE INTERPRETING

This section will discuss the actors in healthcare interpreting as mediators, intermediaries and obligatory passage points within the process of translation under Roles, Ethical Principles and Institutionalization.

4.1.1. Role

As previously mentioned in the findings, the interpreters were informed about their rights and responsibilities not as interpreters, but as general employers of their workplaces. All three of the interpreters have to deal with duties other than interpreting as well such as the distribution of consent forms, accounting, insurance transactions etc. Considering the existence of such workloads and the expansion of roles effective in the behaviors and perspectives of the interpreters, it can be said that the lack of job definitions and of awareness for the status of the interpreters also have a significant effect as well. If the whole interpreting process starting from the recruitment to the end of interpreting activity is a translation process in terms of ANT, then this process can be divided into sub-process in order to analyze them clearly and to define the roles played by the actors.

For the most effective actors during the employment process, Interpreter 1 and Interpreter 3 state that they have found the job through a **recruitment website**. According to Interpreter 2, her **professor** at the university shared that there was such a vacant position at that hospital. In this sense, it can be said through ANT that the interpreters problematized that they needed a job, or wanted to work as a healthcare interpreter, while the professor mentioned the Interpreter 2 about the vacancy. After the interpreters and employers interviewed, they were convinced to take place in the actor-network relation to adapt their roles. When they accepted their roles as a result of different interests and interessements, the roles become definite, and the enrolment process is completed. Therefore, the network is strengthened thanks to the agreement

of the actors. Later, if the interpreters start to work for the employer and the employer starts to pay the interpreter, mobilization phase in the recruitment process comes into action and the interpreting process continues.

Considering the recruitment process in which language knowledge is considered enough for the interessement and enrolment phases, Interpreter 1 states that her **university education** and **statement for language knowledge** were not enough to get the job, and her English level was tested by another employee whose mother tongue was English and worked at the International Patient Department. The interpreter testing the language of the interpreter candidate turns out to be a mediator who is affecting the recruitment process of the candidate. Unless she gives approval, the candidate cannot be recruited because she is thought to be the only person competent to test the language level. Thus, the role of the other employee shifts from an employee to an active authorized person whose approval will influence the recruitment of the interpreter candidate. She has entered in this network due to the need of language testing, but otherwise she adopts an employee role.

Similar to this testing process, Interpreter 2 was also tested by an **experienced interpreting** who was working there. The management asked for the interpreter to test the candidate, and the candidate to present her diploma. Since the management would not employ the candidate if the interpreter did not give approval, and the approval of the interpreter affected the interessement and enrolment phases, experienced colleagues can be considered mediators due to their active roles in the network.

On the other hand, Interpreter 3 found the job through a recruitment website, but she was called more than a year later. After she was recruited, she received a training for 3 weeks which had nothing to do with interpreting, but with general responsibilities and orientation as if she was a guide. As a result, she was not informed about her responsibilities and rights as an interpreter, so her role was not clear. The **lack of job definition** continued later, and she was made her role expand to an authorized person for health tourism. Interpreter 3 adds that it requires one doctor and one person with English language knowledge to obtain the License for Health Tourism, and she has to deal with all documents of all foreign patients. Nevertheless, the foreign patients include Turkish patients living abroad, which is considered irrelevant for the scope of her responsibilities. All three interpreters state that they are

loaded with **additional duties** which are actually not theirs, but their roles are expanded by the employer and the interpreters accept it in the enrolment phase to continue the process. Even though they are not satisfied with the workload, the employer plays such a determinative role that they have to accept.

The interpreter can reject the demands of other actors of course, but then the interessement phase is interrupted and the translation process left unfinished. For example, Interpreter 1 rejected to continue the interpreting process during the testing period because the behaviors of the employer and other employees conflicted with her ethical principles and left the job. As the mediators, the **empathy** and the adoption of ethical principles of the interpreter play an effective role and the **violation of principles** interrupts the translation process. In conclusion, the interpreter leaves the network which is not in accord with her understanding of the profession and the translation process is not accomplished. Apart from that, they may prefer to do what is requested in order to ease the process or to meet the expectations. Although the interpreters can aim to make the process easier for both parties, it can be deduced from their statements that they are involved in the interessement phase involuntarily considering their unprofessional conditions. Since the parties see them as guides or stewardess, not as interpreters who are only responsible for interpreting, they take their place in the network unwillingly and by expanding the scope of their roles. The statement of the Interpreter 3 that she feels worthless because she has to do works out of her responsibility can support this comment. As mentioned about roles under 4.1.1.1. Healthcare Setting, the job definitions of the interpreters as well as their roles are defined by external parties, mostly the **employer** and the **patient**. According to Ozolins (2015: 319), the interpreter needs to earn the trust of both parties in case of ethical challenges. With that being said, the patients attribute different roles to the interpreters in such cases due to the trust between them which can lead to dilemmas for the interpreter both ethically and professionally. Interpreter 2 stated that the patient informed her about his/her health issue even though s/he did not state it in the **consent form**. Aware of the cruciality of healthcare procedures, the interpreter preferred to share the information with the healthcare professionals so as not to cause any mistreatment. Even though this information sharing can seem to violate confidentiality at the first sight, the health of the patient prevails over confidentiality. Nevertheless,

such conditions challenge the behaviors and strategies of the interpreter, but the interpreter explains it to the patient so as not to harm the trust between them. Within the concepts of ANT, the consent forms play a mediator role because neither the interpreter nor the healthcare professionals could have known that the patient had such health issues, and the form shaped the flow of events as well as the behaviors of the interpreter. It can be inferred that the strategies of the interpreters depend on the context, and they go through a decision-making process. Therefore, it may not be wrong to say that the application of ethical principles may not be achieved 100% at any circumstances, but the interpreter builds the decision on a solid foundation to not disturb the balance.

Within the context of all these explanations, it can be inferred that the interpreters are obligatory passage points in the interpreting process, because otherwise the parties cannot communicate, or poor communication may lead to mistreatments. Besides, the trust between the patient and the interpreter is considered a must in the process so that the patient can feel safe and understood. The interpreters expand their roles in a broader sense for the balance between the parties and to ease the process for the sake of the expectations.

4.1.2. Ethical Principles

In healthcare interpreting, one of the most effective actors enhancing the adoption of confidentiality is the **Personal Data Protection Law (KVKK)** in Turkey. As an intermediary in the interpreting process, the law makes sure that the information of the patients is not shared with anyone else. However, the interpreters state that they have difficulties when the companions of the patients want to be included in the process or to sign the document on behalf of the patient. The inclusion of a third party can harm the relations (Bahadır, 2017). For the solution of such a conflict, the Personal Data Protection Law gets into the process and becomes mediator by affecting and preventing the information sharing of the interpreter. As a result, the companion of the patient wants to take place in the network but is not included, and the inclusion in the enrolment phase is rejected by the interpreter within the scope of law. In terms of ANT,

it can be deduced that there are many sub-networks within a general network, but these sub-networks can be left unfinished by the decisions of actors.

According to the **Annex-1 of Regulation on International Health Tourism and Patient's Health** (Resmi Gazete, 2017), The Ministry of Health enforces that the consent forms are in the patient's language. In this sense, the hospital and the interpreter are responsible for the correct transmission of the message. Accuracy and the completeness of the message as ethical principles are thought to be top priority in healthcare setting. It is also safe to say that these principles as well as confidentiality are ensured by laws and regulations.

For impartiality, the interpreters stated that they feel empathy with the patients considering the conditions that they are in. The fact that they are the only ones who can understand them makes the patients feel safe. However, the stronger the connection between the interpreter and the patient is, the more the interpreter is overburdened with the responsibilities beyond their capacity such as accounting or escorting the patient during the treatment process. As mentioned above that the satisfaction of the patients is a priority for the hospital, the employer also expects the interpreter to handle such issues and solve problems when necessary. As Şener (2017: 80) states, "hospital expectations and procedures shape the strategies and role of the interpreters". Under such circumstances, the **satisfaction of the patient** becomes a part of the process, and the interpreter is expected to meet the need or the request of the patient. For ANT, the satisfaction of the patient is a mediator non-human actor which translates the role of the interpreters and expands their scope of responsibility. Since it is one of the top priorities, it can be said that the satisfaction of the patient rarely plays an intermediator role especially in the private hospitals where the satisfaction of the patient sometimes can be seen equal to money. Therefore, the interpreter can leave the impartiality aside and act sincerely towards the patient within the consent of the hospital. On the other hand, it may not be the choice of the interpreter to feel close to the patient particularly when the patient is undergoing a tough process. To give an example, Interpreter 2 mentioned that it was not possible to be impartial towards the companion of the patient when the **patient lost her life**. During such occasions, the interpreter plays a more active role by trying to calm down the companion and the flow of the communication and relations change. As a result, the

tough conditions of the patients such as financial issues, registration process as happened in the example of Interpreter 3 beforehand, or loss of a life shape the flow of the network at that time by affecting to what extent the interpreter is impartial. Thus, decisions of the interpreters through their **personal value judgments** are effective actors in the process.

It is not that the interpreters are always partial under difficult situations. In the example by the Interpreter 1, she managed to be impartial when the **companion stole a cellphone** during the treatment process of the patient by not compromising professionalism. The importance of the awareness of the interpreter for professionalism and her role as an impartial interpreter cannot be ignored in this process. As a mediator, the interpreter tried to find the balance between the parties by soothing the communication. Otherwise, the treatment process would have been disrupted and the phases could not have been completed.

4.1.3. Institutionalization and Professionalization

It has been previously mentioned in the study that the non-existence or lack of actors in the network is claimed to be as important as their existence. Since the professionalism and institutionalization of community interpreting is not considered sufficient in Turkey, this section mostly includes actors that are not actually existent or lack in the field.

All three of the healthcare interpreters stated that they feel the **lack of an association** for community interpreters or healthcare interpreters. It was emphasized that the lack affects the awareness of other human actors because they do not know the responsibilities of a healthcare interpreter or treat them as someone who only knows a language. In community interpreting network, such lacks affect the recruitment of qualified interpreters and damage their status in the field as can be deduced from the statement of the Interpreter 2 that when she says she is an interpreter, she is only thought to be able to speak a foreign language, or that when the employers think the same, the interpreters are paid very low rates.

Similar to lack of awareness, **the lack of standardization** also changes the scope of responsibility of the interpreters. According to Interpreter 3, her employer

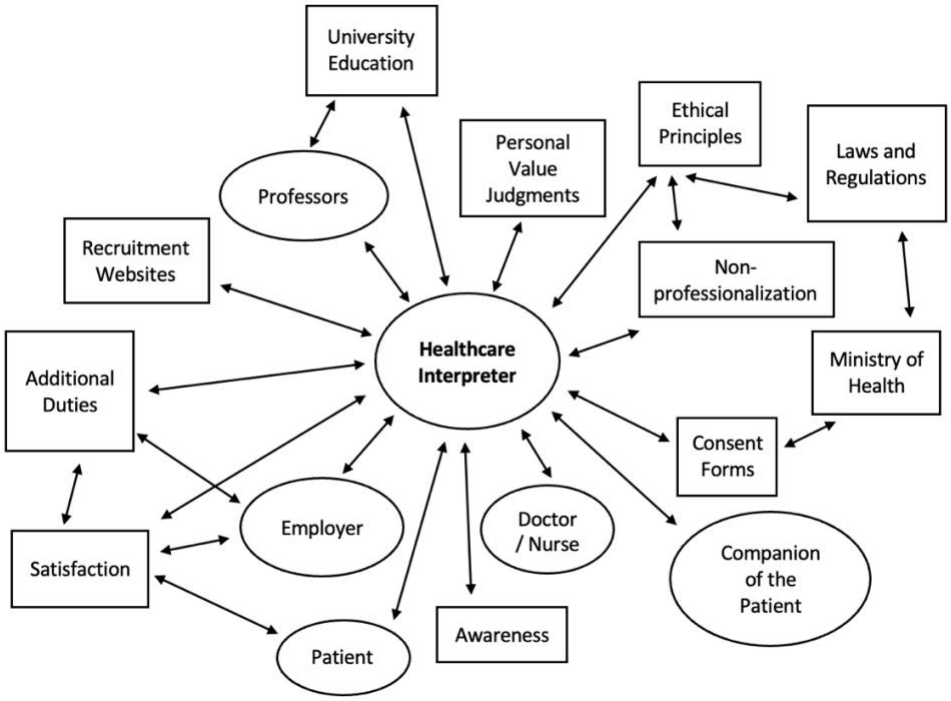
does not know how much she should be paid or how long she has to work and how important her role is. The non-existence of a professional association results in low status, low wage and low awareness. Obviously, the interpreters and the quality of the interpreting are two of the most affected actors due to these lacks. Nevertheless, the affected actors cannot be restricted to only two since all actors affect each other: the interpreting quality also affects the satisfaction of the patient and unsatisfied patient affects the employer in a way.

The quality of interpreting comes from qualified interpreters. However, the search for interpreters is restricted to language knowledge and diploma if necessary. The employers are found to be looking for people who know a language and speak it fluently to interpret. The thought that those who know a foreign language can interpret interrupts the quality interpreting since interpreting requires additional qualifications such as terminology knowledge, adoption of ethical principles, coping skills and professionalism. Even though self-educated healthcare interpreters were not interviewed in this study, it is thought that the importance of education cannot be denied in terms of professionalism and quality interpreting. With that being said, some healthcare interpreters regardless of having translation and interpreting education learn mostly from their experiences in the field (Duman, 2018). Yet again, since there is no mechanism to test and control the interpreting skills of the interpreters, their statements that they have experience and speak a foreign language fluently is considered adequate. The employers ask for their employees with experience and language knowledge to test the language competency of candidates in order to see if they are able to work in the field as mentioned in section 4.1.1. Role. According to Interpreter 1, associations are needed so that they will not have to deal with issues alone but create a unity. From these statements, it can be deduced that the network is disorganized in the lack of such a mechanism as an actor. The foundation of such an organization is thought to contribute to standardization, improvement of the profession and gathering under a single roof. Additionally, it was recommended by the interpreters that the interpreters and their institutions need to be investigated in terms of application of ethical principles, language competency and interpreting activities. It is also expected from such an organization to provide solutions to problems encountered.

4.1.4. Network of Healthcare Interpreting

In the figure below, the human actors are given in circles and non-human actors in rectangles. At the center of the network is given the healthcare interpreter as an obligatory passage point. Some of the most interrelated actors are found to be satisfaction, additional duties, employer and ethical principles. They are thought to be primary mediators in the interpreting process, and they shape the perceptions of interpreters regarding their roles, strategies and behaviors. Through the interviews, it has been found that the interpreters mostly adopt a facilitator role and adapt themselves to variable conditions. Their additional duties given by the employer are sometimes preventing them from their own profession, but the interpreters aim to meet the expectations of the patients.

Figure 2: Network of Healthcare Interpreting in Turkey



Even though there are not settled ethical principles covering all within the hospitals, confidentiality and accuracy are protected under Personal Data Protection Law and the Regulation on International Health Tourism and Patient's Health. As a

control mechanism in this sense, the Ministry of Health enforces the application of such procedures with consent forms. However, it is surprisingly found that the companions of the patients are also effective actors, and they sometimes want to intervene in the signing of consent forms or disrupt the confidentiality. From the example of an interpreter, one of them even interrupted the whole process due to a misbehavior.

As a lack in the field, professionalization is thought to be effective in the perception of ethical principles as well as the job definitions of the interpreters. It is observed that the interpreters change their roles depending on the context and conditions in consideration of ethical principles. Sometimes such event occur that they have to leave the principle aside and try to ease the process for the satisfaction of the human actors. In conclusion, many human and non-human actors affect each other in the translation process, and therefore they are interrelated.

4.2. ANT IN COURT INTERPRETING

This section will discuss the actors in court interpreting as mediators, intermediaries and obligatory passage points within the process of translation under Roles, Ethical Principles and Institutionalization.

4.2.1. Role

For the most effective actors that lead them to include in the court interpreting network, Interpreter 5 and 6 stated that one of their **acquaintances** who were doing this job encouraged them to do the same, Similar to Interpreter 5 and 6, Interpreter 7 was encouraged by his wife who is a lawyer, and he also encourages his students to join in this field as interpreters. On the other hand, as an interpreter who received university education at the department of Translation and Interpreting, Interpreter 4 entered this network through an assignment given at the university to make a research. She asserted that she was interested in the field and there might be a need for and **deficiency of people from departments of interpreting** in the field. Similar with the

university education, Interpreter 8 started to work in this field as a sworn interpreter thanks to her employer during her **internship** at a translation office. Apart from these examples, Interpreter 9 stated that he entered this network over time after working in the field of tourism. In general, the most effective actors who led these interpreters to take place in this field are the acquaintances, lack of people with education from the department of Translation and Interpreting and internship. The last examples can be covered under non-human actors as education and training, while acquaintances are human actors that enabled the interpreters to get to know the field.

Regarding the job definitions of court interpreters, it was found that there are **unwritten responsibilities** which they are expected to do including but not limited to printing the copies of translations from their own budget at first, arrangement of the files which actually is the duty of the clerk, filling out forms that are not theirs. The duty assignments by the clerks or attorneys make the interpreters expand their roles outside the interpreting setting. It can be inferred that the role of the interpreters is not limited to interpreting activity and setting, but also includes duties before and after the trials, which leads the mobilization phase to last even after the interpretation at the court. From the description of Law (1992: 6) that the translation process is "local and variable", the roles attributed to the interpreters depend on the requests of the human actors in each translation process. As can be seen from the sub-networks, these networks can be intertwined and so are the role attributions.

About the role of the court interpreter, Interpreter 4 also emphasized that the interpreter plays such an active role that the lack of the interpreter hinders the communication activity. Therefore, the LDPs who cannot express themselves in or understand Turkish are in need of a court interpreter which attributes the interpreter an obligatory passage point role. Additionally, she asserts that the sub-paragraph (e) of paragraph 3 of Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights stipulates "the free assistance of an interpreter if [they] cannot understand or speak the language used in court" (Council of Europe, 1950). The Article 6 titled Right to a Fair Trial proves how important the court interpreting is for the protection of the rights and fundamental freedoms of the people (Yücel, 2018: 19). As a result, the European Convention on Human Rights is considered an active mediator which translates the role of the actor into an obligatory passage point in court interpreting.

In the research by Cai and Guo (2020), it is emphasized that the translation activity can be completed not after the translation is done, but after other actors in the network are mobilized and the customers are attracted. Similar to this example, the interpreting activity is not completed after the interpreter says the last word, but after the other human and non-human actors are mobilized and the case is closed. Because the tasks of the interpreter still continue after the trial such as filling out the documents and forms or talking to the plaintiff as communication or information provider.

Apart from all these duties, the interpreters are provided very minimum information about the trial that they are going to be a part of. Interpreter 4 stated that they can only know about the date and the time of the trial let alone the matter in dispute. Despite the importance of interpreting activity in such a crucial setting, the interpret cannot get prepared beforehand. It was also stated by the Interpreter 4 that **usher** called her for the job request even though they are mostly called by the **secretary** or **clerk** at the courthouse. In ANT's terms, the interpreters are called by clerks or secretaries after the problematization phase and the interessement process is completed after they accept the job. In this example, the interpreter is included in the network by the usher, and the usher translated the interpreter into an active actor from the court interpreter's list. However, the lack of information about the trial hinders the enrolment phase and the interpreter falls short of necessary knowledge for quality interpreting. Nevertheless, Interpreter 6 stated that he can ask for permission to use **dictionary** in case of unknown words. In this example, mobilization phase can be successfully conducted when the dictionary becomes a mediator. On the other hand, Interpreter 4 asserts that the court interpreters in Turkey may abstain from interrupting the flow of communication due to the **hierarchy** in the presence of judge in court settings. Therefore, they are more likely to act passively by not changing the flow which leads them to be an intermediary in the process even though they are obligatory passage points. Additionally, the hierarchy turns out to be a mediator actor since it is perceived by the interpreters as a more dominant actor and affects their actions and roles. From the fact that ANT helps us understand the power relations in the network (Abdallah, 2011: 185), it can be deduced that the judges are at the top of the hierarchy, even though the interpreter here is the obligatory passage point for communication.

Another actor in the network affecting the flow of communication is found to be the **differences in systems**. Since every country has its own law system, there may be conditions that are comprehensible. Interpreter 7 stated that he explains such differences so that the parties can get an idea of what is said. Even though the interpreters in general prefer to be passive and make no additions or explanations in order not to affect the process, they sometimes feel the need to interfere in the communication. Their roles switch from passive to active, and the interpreter becomes an intermediary by affecting the comprehensions of the parties.

4.2.2. Ethical Principles

It was concluded from the interviews that all of the court interpreters are aware of the ethical principles. Most of the interpreters stated that they gained this awareness during their **university education**. In addition to education, **conscience** was asserted to be effective in the adoption of principles. Interpreter 9 claimed that regardless of education, what matters here is the conscience of the person. On the other hand, according to the statement of Interpreter 6, those who have **experience** do their job properly and those cannot leave the network after a short time. Even though Interpreter 4 stated that court interpreting is not a place where people can try themselves and gain experience, it can be inferred that involving in the network of court interpreting is justified differently by the interpreters.

As there is **no mechanism to control** the application of ethical principles, the interpreters were found to be translating the flow of communication through their own decisions and perception of ethical principles. In order not to violate impartiality, the interpreters keep their existence outside and adopt a passive role no matter how they think of what is expressed. Therefore, they sustain their intermediary role by not interfering in the communication but transferring the message accurately so as not to influence the decision of the judge or the defense of the suspect. By relating the conscience with accuracy, for instance, Interpreter 7 said that the judge intervenes in by **giving more details** if s/he understands that the interpreter has made a mistake, but the interpreter needs to feel the responsibility of correct transmission. If the judge or the defendant does not provide more information in case of misinterpretation, then the

flow of communication will be misled. However, those details turn out to be mediator by changing the perspective of the parties.

It was stated by the interpreters that the adoption of ethical principles does not restrict themselves considering them as guides and safe harbors. Similar to the case in healthcare interpreting above, Interpreter 7 emphasizes the importance of the **trust** between the parties by relating to the principles. The **adoption of ethical principles** here provides the parties the trust required for safe communication, and it leads the interpreter to be called for more jobs later. Even if this adoption and trust can be seen as intermediary at first, they switch to mediator when the parties call them later based on these reasons. This example supports the claim that the roles of the actors in ANT are variable and depend on the context within the network and that the networks are dynamic and hybrid.

Before the interviews, it was thought that the court interpreters could be affected by tough conditions of the actors and what they could hear. However, considering the dominance of impartiality and professionalism in court interpreting, it turns out that the interpreters are not that affected. Even if they are, they strive to focus on the message transmission and exclude themselves from the active participation. Interpreter 7 stated that it can be dangerous to internalize the events and feel sorry for or angry at the defendant and reflect it to the interpretation.

One of the ethical challenges for the interpreters during the process is found to be the **content of the utterances**. For example, Interpreter 9 expressed that he had difficulty in interpreting a joke by the police officer which might have offended the LDP. Even though the officer said, “Do not interpret that”, the interpreter abided by the accuracy and completeness of the message and interpreted. In terms of ANT, it is the interpreter in mediator role who is capable of changing the course of the conversation.

As another challenge, it was asserted by Interpreter 4 that interpreters can sometimes get casted aspersions for wrong interpretations no matter how they stick to the principles due to the interest of the party. Even though an interpreter was blamed for interpreting wrongly, the judge did not believe them thanks to his/her **the experience and the observational ability of the judge**. As an actor directing the flow of the events, competency of the judge in general become the mediator in the process.

The **oath** for accurate and impartial interpreting is also found to be effective in the behaviors of the actors. The interpreters take the oath by repeating the declaration "I swear on my honor and conscience that I will do my duty abiding by the law, in compliance with science and impartially" (Ceza Muhakemesi Kanunu, 2004). Emphasizing the importance of impartiality sticking to the laws, this oath is taken at the beginning of the period and defines the limitations of the interpreter and implies the commitments to law and impartiality (Aral Duvan, 2021). According to Interpreter 6, they acknowledge that court interpreters are aware of the ethical principles through this oath.

4.2.3. Institutionalization and Professionalization

The lack of institutionalization in the field of court interpreting is felt to a great extent. Interpreters stated that when they encounter with problems about fees or other actors, they have no institution or association to apply. Therefore, they either put up with the problems or try to solve by themselves. This lack of such professionalization is found to be affecting their status as well. Since there is no mechanism to control their conditions and solve their problems, the human actors in the field are not aware of their crucial role and keep the interpreters busy with duties beyond their responsibility. As a result, the interpreters feel that they have to do these duties so as not to miss the chance to be called for more job or go against the actors.

On the other hand, the **criteria** for court interpreting are turned out to be another actor in the field. Since the criteria cover qualifications such as primary school graduation and the submission of a language certificate. Eryılmaz (2021: 153) states that primary school graduation is not in compliance with the Level 6 of Occupational Standards for Translation which stipulates the university graduation and that such qualifications are not adequate for the display of required skills and competencies in court interpreting. As a result of such inadequacy, the quality of interpreting will obviously be affected and not meet the needs of the profession.

Even though there is a list for court interpreters, non-institutionalization paves the way for **monopolization**. Considering the statement of the Interpreter 9, it can be observed that they are called for interpreting at the civil courts due to the fact that

expert interpreters prefer to work at land registry to earn more, although court interpreters are assigned to interpret only at criminal courts. As a mediator actor, this monopolization has an impact upon the assignment of the court interpreters. It changes the settings of the interpreters and the role designated to them. Besides, even though they are called in substitution for expert interpreters, they are not paid as much as them. Therefore, an imbalance between the duties and fees occurs. The monopolization also affects the assignment of other interpreters in court interpreting.

The fees in court interpreting are also determined by the judges. Interpreter 6 stated:

> *[T]he judge determines it. For example, I remember that the judge charged for 90 Turkish liras for a trial including 12 defendants, 6 attorneys, a trial with 20 people and lasted for 3 hours. It lasted for 3 hours, and s/he charged for 90 liras. When we were done, we were fined for 110 liras due to leaving car before the court for 3 hours. (Interpreter 6)*
>
> "[H]akim belirliyor. Mesela 12 sanıklı 6 avukatlı 20 küsur kişilik 3 saat süren bir mahkemenin 90 lira yazdığını hatırlıyorum. 90 lira yazdı, 3 saat sürdü. Çıktığımızda da aracı 3 saat mahkemenin önünde beklettiğimiz için 110 lira ceza yazmıştı."

The judges play a significant role for the determination of fees for interpreting services. Since there is not a standardization for fees in the field, they depend on the **discretion of the judges**. It can also be observed that the interpreters can be paid very less money despite of their workloads and the duration of the trials. Additionally, the low status of the interpreters can be observed from this statement since they are not even given the right to park their cars but fined. The fee for their service does not even cover the fine. According to the Interpreter 7, this profession can only be performed as a secondary occupation due to the low rates and lack of professionalization. On the other hand, Interpreter 9 emphasized that he determines his fee rate in settings other than court in order to cover his expenses such as transportation. If the LDP accepts the rate, the interpreter goes to the setting and received the fee from the LDP. He additionally acknowledged that the police officers also know this situation and request the payment to be done outside the institution. In ANT's concepts, the LDP and the police officers problematize the need of interpreting by calling the interpreter due to communication issue, and the interpreter lays down the fee rate as condition. After the LDP accepts the rate, the interpreter is included in the network, the interessement and

enrolment phases are achieved. The mobilization phase is completed following the end of the interpreting service. The determinator actor of the fee here is the interpreter while **police officers** are also directing the course of the events.

Last but not least, the lack of institutionalization led the interpreters to create a **Whatsapp group** to pass job opportunities to each other. When there occurs a need for interpreting in rare languages or when the interpreter called is not available at that time, they announce the need in this group. As found as an actor in the research of Aral Duvan (2021: 112), this message group plays an active role in the determination of actor to attend the trial and affects the process which leads it to be a mediator. On the other hand, it is not necessary to include such a group as actor in the network as long as it does not affect the process (ibid).

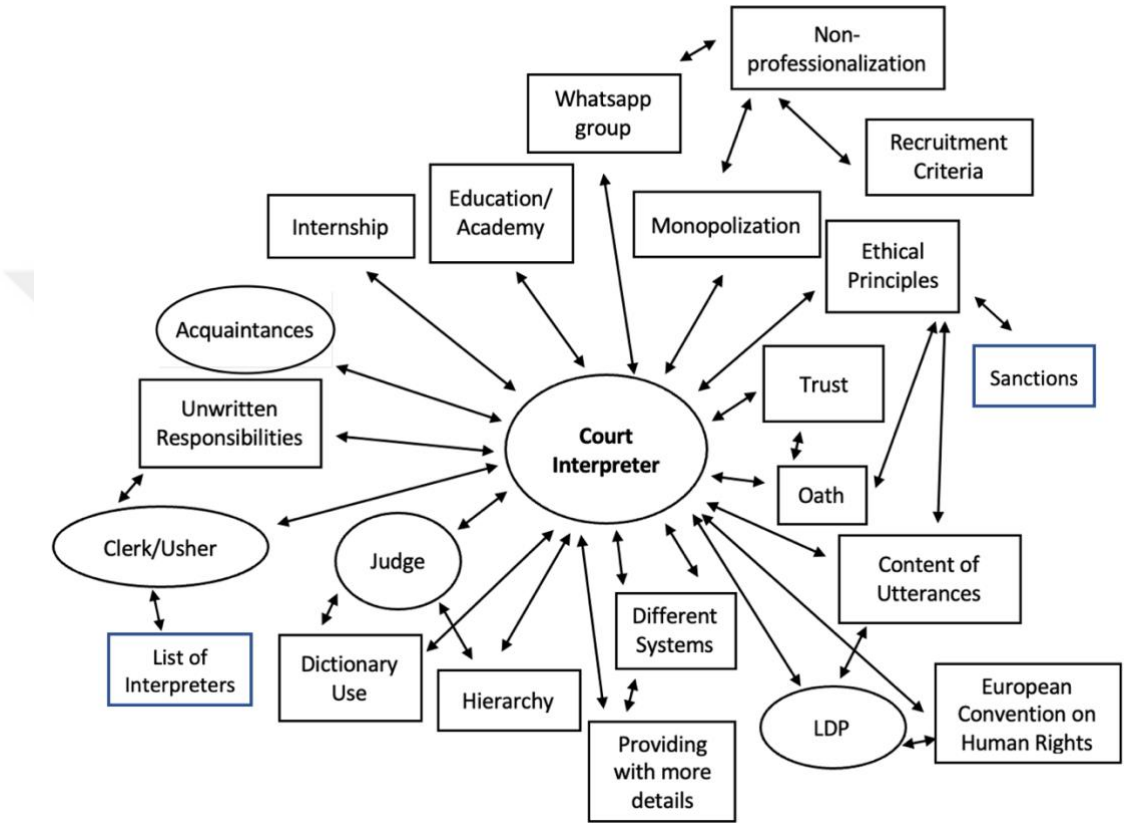
For the actors suggested to be involved through professionalization in the field, it was stated that the **academy** needs to take its place in the network to develop the profession and the quality of the interpreters. Interpreter 4 suggested that the academy and other actors can gather under an **association** so that they can collaborate and professionalize. It is thought that this collaboration can provide an interdisciplinary approach by improving the status of the interpreters from different fields and the awareness of other actors towards these interpreters. Additionally, Interpreter 9 suggests that a sub-branch under court can be opened and that expertise for interpreters can be developed because general expertise has nothing to do with interpreting.

4.2.4. Network of Court Interpreting

Similar to healthcare interpreting network, the interpreter is at the center of the map as an obligatory passage point. Compared to healthcare interpreting, however, it can be observed that court interpreting has a more complex network including more non-human actors, such as convention, an oath, hierarchy. Non-professionalization, judge and hierarchy, European Convention on Human Rights and oath, ethical principles and clerk/usher in addition to the court interpreter are thought to be some of the most effective mediator actors in the network because they include the interpreter in the process and translate other actors in the network. Through this translation, they

change or shape the role, perception and strategies of the interpreter as well as the process.

Figure 3: Network of Court Interpreting in Turkey



The interpreters in court interpreting restrict their role due to the hierarchy at the courthouse, unlike healthcare interpreting where the interpreters expand their roles to a great extent. It is thought that the oath stipulating the adoption of impartiality and the importance of accuracy are the restrictive actors for the scope of interpreter's role during the trial. The ethical principles are listed in the Regulation on the Arrangement of Interpreter Lists (Resmi Gazete, 2013) as follows: independency, impartiality, honesty, accuracy, doing duties by themselves, secrecy, compliance with general trial principles. Compared to healthcare interpreting, court interpreting has more well-defined ethical principles supported by the government. The official qualification of the oath and the regulation are enforced on the interpreters. It can also be said that the

oath leads the actors to put trust in interpreters and therefore the LDPs call them later for their other issues outside the court. As a result, the trust by the actors provides the interpreter with more work opportunities and translates the setting and the role of the interpreter through expansion. Nevertheless, this expansion is not that possible at the court and the activeness of the interpreter is restricted. To give an example, the interpreters feel that they have to interpret the offensive language used by the LDP directly to the judge without altering or watering down the content of the utterances. Otherwise, the verdict can be affected which can also lead the interpreter to be imposed sanctions due to misinterpretation.

As another restrictive actor, the hierarchy can be put forth because the interpreters are more likely to adapt themselves to the directives of the judges for explanations, interventions and payments. Unlike healthcare interpreting, the interpreters do not aim to meet the expectations of the interpreters in court interpreting, but the expansion of their roles change depending on whether the interpretation is done during a trial or outside the court. The interpreters outside the court are in a more direct communication with the LDPs because the judges are not included. It can be deduced that the judges play a mediator role only in the court setting.

In terms of non-professionalization, it is observed that the court interpreters created a Whatsapp group to make announcements when a demand occurs. Similar to the clerks and ushers who call the interpreters to inform them about the interpretation need, this message group plays a mediator role when an interpreter accepts the job from the announcement there. It can be asserted that the message group translates the announcement into an interpreting activity at the court or notaries for example. As a result of this activity, the mobilization phase can be achieved.

4.3. ANT IN PUBLIC SERVICE INTERPRETING

This section will discuss the actors in court interpreting as mediators, intermediaries and obligatory passage points within the process of translation under Roles, Ethical Principles and Institutionalization.

4.3.1. Role

For the motives that drove them into this field, all of the public service interpreters mention the job opportunity. Even though none of them was graduated from the department of Translation and Interpreting in Arabic, they work as interpreters at the NGOs. Interpreter 10 states that his **dual citizenship** and **language acquisition abroad** led him to enter this network. Similarly, Interpreter 11 also acquired language competency abroad in addition to his previous **education at the religious vocational high school and university.** Interpreter 12 states that she has learnt Arabic at the department of Arabic Language and Literature. According to Polat Ulaş (2021: 151), the linguistic qualifications of the interpreters are found to be more important than their academic qualifications to work at the NGOs. Therefore, the language knowledge led them to participate in the public service interpreting network. Although there is not an external/professional control mechanism to test their language proficiencies, Interpreter 10 and Interpreter 11 were interviewed in Arabic by **another interpreter colleague** to test their language competency. It can be said for their institution that the declaration for the language knowledge was not enough for them to work there, but another actor joined at the enrolment phase and translated their declaration into an activity by testing them and allowed the person to work at the institution through his/her approval. In another sense, the experienced interpreter was an obligatory passage point for those interpreters to enter the network. However, Interpreter 12 states that she had to convince the others that she can speak the language.

Apart from language knowledge, as in all community interpreting fields, the job definitions of the public service interpreters are not well-defined and include **additional duties**. Their jobs are defined with statements such as "to do what is told by the **department manager**". These interpreters report to their managers who has no information about or experience in interpreting. Due to the duties given by the manager, the role scope of the interpreter is expanded, and the interpreter is translated into a general staff who can do anything. They are also expected to know about the workflow and the systems used within the institution. For example, Interpreter 12 stated that when she asked for a raise because she does more duties than other employees, her **employer** told her not to do then. Nevertheless, the interpreter prefers

to stay in the network to gain experience by learning how to use the system for instance. According to ANT, the employer gives the interpreter an out even after the enrolment phase has been achieved. It can be deduced that some actors can provide others with options to either leave or stay in the network. However, if she prefers to leave the network, she believes that she will not be hired due to her lack of experience, and therefore accepts to do whatever is assigned to her.

In general, similar to the other fields of interpreting, public service interpreting is considered as a job done by those who know a language and it does not require special qualifications. One of the reasons behind that is expressed by the Interpreter 11 as the fact that there are **interpreters from Syria or Southeastern Anatolia**. Even though these interpreters are not from the department of Translation and Interpreting, they think that interpreters from different departments predominating the field cause other actors to assume that the interpreting is a simple job which requires no specific requirements. Interpreter 11 also added that the interpreters from the departments of Translation and Interpreting cannot find available positions due to the other interpreters from different departments who have **language knowledge**. Within the framework of ANT, it can be deduced that professional interpreters have a problem with entering the network, and they are coerced to do with working in low status positions. It can be observed that the **prevalence of self-educated interpreters** affects the status and the qualifications of the profession. This low status of the interpreters also gives rise to **low wages** despite of their high workload as Interpreter 12 states.

For the roles adopted by the interpreters during the interpreting process, it is inferred that their roles are closer to active because they are sometimes in direct communication with the LDPs. Interpreter 10 adds that he feels the urge to transfer the message both verbally and emotionally **to convince the counselee** by reflecting the characteristics of the LDP's message. The intention of the interpreter can be perceived as a mediator actor because it translates the role of the interpreter as well as the perception of the social worker. In such a setting, the interpreter is mostly conceived as a "person of trust", and this leads the LDP to think that the interpreter can arrange the LDP's utterances (Pöllabauer, 2015: 208) by adopting an active role. On the other hand, Interpreter 11 states that the active role of the interpreter can affect the flow of the communication even though he adds that his role can change according to the

settings, from passive to active. In this sense, it would not be wrong to say that the scope of the interpreter's role in public service interpreting can be expanded or narrowed down depending on the conditions and the settings as the actors change. As an example for the expansion of role, Interpreter 12 adopts such an active role that she acts like she is a social worker and aim to help the LDPs financially while stating that she **wants to help the poor LDPs** more. She further states that she works as an inspector as well and has to upload the collected information to the system that they use. However, since the system does not affect the interpreting process but only exist within the verbal job definition of the interpreter, it is not necessary to include it as an actor in the network.

4.3.2. Ethical Principles

For ethical principles, Interpreter 10 and Interpreter 11 assert that these principles exist and abided within the institution. They also communicate with their colleagues on how to behave professionally. Therefore, the **professional institution** as well as the **colleagues** play an active role by entering in the network and guiding the interpreters.

In terms of confidentiality, the interpreters at the mental health department provide **briefing** to the LDPs about that they will not share what is talked there unless there is a risk of life-threatening situations or violation of laws. This briefing leads the LDPs to **trust** the interpreters and the social workers so that they do not feel shy. Unless such conditions exist, the interpreters prefer not to share information if the LDP does not want to. The **demand of the LDP** is therefore a mediator translating the behavior of the interpreter because the trust is a prevailing actor in the network.

It is deduced from the statement of Interpreter 12 that the confidentiality is violated with the intention of helping others by empathizing herself with the refugees. As she shares information of the refugees with **wealthy people** who want to support them financially, she expands her role beyond interpreting. Even though this action has nothing to do with interpreting, there is the violation of confidentiality, and she includes other actors in the network by expanding its scope. The expansion of her role causes her to feel that she is restricted by the ethical principles because she cannot

share more information about the refugees. Therefore, the confidentiality is violated by sharing the information of others and the entrance of them in the network. The interpreter translates the wealthy people into active actors as mediators, however they are not involved in the interpreting process. In general, even though public service interpreters mostly adopt restricted roles, they can exceed their limitations due to the needs of the refugees or unawareness (Polat Ulaş, 2020: 698). However, this example shows that self-educated interpreters may not be aware of to what extent they should adopt an active role and that internalizing the events can cause the violation of ethical principles.

As an actor affecting the interpreting process, it has been found that the Interpreter 10 cares about the accuracy of the LDP's utterances as well as his interpretation. If there occurs a **contradiction between the utterances** of the LDP regarding unethical behaviors, the interpreter shares it with the officials. For example, the LDP stated that he sent his kids to school even though one of them did not but worked due to financial inadequacy. The interpreter feels that he has to share this information because it is unethical. As a result, the flow of the interpreting is interrupted, and the interpreter has to take an action to correct the problem by not harming the trust of the LDP.

Apart from the violation of principles, it has been found that a different actor enters the network when compared with other fields of community interpreting. Even though every subfield of community interpreting includes tough conditions, only the public service interpreters at a nongovernmental organization are provided with **psychological support**. Interpreter 10 and Interpreter 11 state that they can receive supervision once a year. Even though it may not be such a great amount, their institution cares for their mental health. Re-expression of the issues helps the interpreters to overcome the emotional burden (Shakespeare, 2012: 170).

4.3.3. Institutionalization and Professionalization

The lack of a professional institution for community interpreters is also felt by the public service interpreters. It is also expressed by the interpreters that the unprofessional or incompetent interpreters in this field can negatively affect the

conditions of the LDPs. Interpreter 11 emphasize that those interpreters reduce the value of the profession's quality. Although he was not graduated from the department of Translation and Interpreting, the education of his undergraduate department was given in Arabic %100, and he gained competency abroad. Besides, he considers his profession as a **social responsibility** which makes him more attentive for the profession and act appropriately. Therefore, he problematized the feeling of social responsibility and the lack of professional interpreters in the field and decided to participate in the network. In general, even though it is observed that there are many self-educated interpreters who are from different departments of the universities, they remain as intermediaries as long as they do not affect the interpreting process.

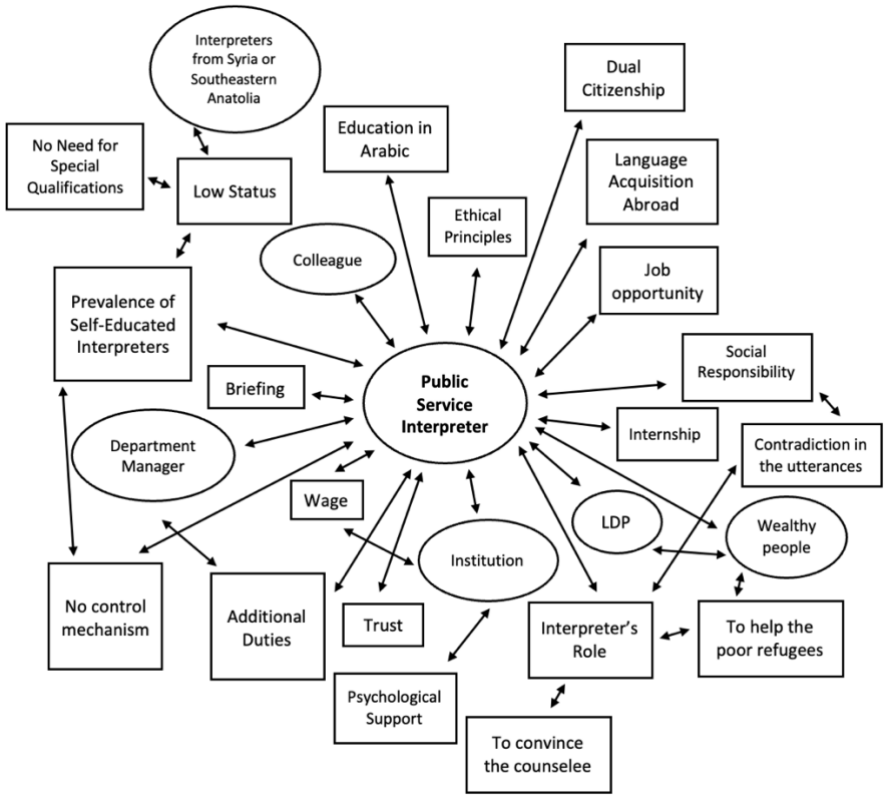
As an interpreter from a different department, Interpreter 12 also adds that the lack of experience due to the lack of opportunity to get to know the field causes her to deal with injustice from her employer even though she does more duties than her colleagues. She emphasizes the importance of **internship** to decide whether they are suitable for the related job, which shows us that internship can have an importance in the interessement and enrolment phases in the network. However, the lack of such an opportunity may lead the interpreter candidates to not know the field as well as their job definitions in the interessement phase. Besides, since there is **no control mechanism** for the working conditions of the interpreters, she feels that she has to put up with these problems. Additionally, other interpreters think that the recruitment criteria and the supervisory mechanism need to be improved to increase the status of the interpreters to a higher level.

For an improvement in the field, Interpreter 10 suggests that those who want to work as an interpreter receive a certificate from governmental or external mechanisms through an exam, and states that what matters is the way of language acquisition instead of interpreting education. This contradicts with the idea that interpreting requires specific qualifications. Even though these interpreters think that the profession has a crucial role, they consider education not that necessary to be an interpreter.

4.3.4. Network of Public Service Interpreting

As previously shown, the interpreter is at the center of the network due to being an obligatory passage point. Even though it was not thought that the public service interpreting would be this complex, it turned out that there are many actors affecting each other. These actors are mostly consisted of non-human actors. The most effective actors are found to be the role of the interpreter which is quite active which involves many other actors both human and non-human, the low status of the interpreters and the prevalence of self-educated interpreters. What is surprising in the field is the opportunity to receive psychological support provided by the institution. Considering that this support was not encountered in any field of community interpreting above, it can be deduced that the institution cares for the mental health of their employees. By sharing their experiences and problems, the interpreters translate them into utterances. The support as a mediator affects the perception of the interpreter and may provide them with the opportunity to interpret problems in a healthier way.

Figure 4: Network of Public Service Interpreting in Turkey



Similar to other fields, the job definitions in the public service interpreting are not clear and include other additional duties such as using the system or accounting. However, it is thought that public service interpreting is more flexible than the others because the interpreters working at the NGOs are freer to take initiatives by themselves.

It is also observed that the public service interpreters see themselves socially responsible for helping the refugees and expand the scope of their roles. They also problematize the poor conditions of refugees and convince the wealthy people to join in the network to help them. Since they share a common interest, those people accept to take place in the network and provide financial support. Even though this contradicts with confidentiality, the interviewed interpreter considers it normal and even wants to reach out more poor people.

On the other hand, the knowledge of Arabic and the education in interpreting were not found to be related in this setting since the interpreters were graduated from different fields. Nevertheless, some interpreters emphasize the prevalence of self-educated interpreters and the need of more educated interpreters in the field due to non-professionalization. It is expressed that the low status of the profession results from such lack in the field.

As another actor, trust is thought to be necessary for the refugee to express themselves more accurately. It is inferred that trust that is provided in the interessement phase by the interpreter leads the refugees to join in the network more easily. Although, the LDPs may want the interpreters to not share some information based on this trust. Unless something that is against the law or inconsistent with their previous expressions, the interpreters do not share the information in order not to harm the trust but to feel the LDPs more comfortable.

4.4. DISCUSSION OF THE PROFESSIONAL NORMS IN COMMUNITY INTERPRETING

This section discusses the field of community interpreting as a profession in Turkey including the human and non-human actors in the network within the concept of professional norms that shaped by the expectancy norms.

In the determination of the interpreters to be interviewed, the requirement of education was omitted because the number of professional interpreters in Arabic, for example, is quite low considering the higher need of interpreters in Arabic due to Syrian war and the refugee influx (Aral Duvan, 2021). Besides, it was though that the educational difference among the participants could reveal if ethical awareness and behaviors of the interpreters depended on education. While all three of the healthcare interpreters received their undergraduate degree from the department of Translation and Interpreting, the number was 6 out of 7 in court interpreting and none of the public service interpreters received such education at the university. The number of educated interpreters is 9 and the non-educated 4. Even though the numbers may not be enough to make such a distinction, it is inferred from their statements that the adoption of ethical principles are higher in educated interpreters compared to the non-educated. They obtained this awareness during their education, while the non-educated interpreters obtained them through experience or colleagues although they stated that such principles must exist within the person's conscience. It can also be inferred that non-educated interpreters can be more likely to expand their roles and perceive the adoption of ethical principles differently when compared to the educated because educated interpreters are taught about how to and not to behave in the process considering the principles.

Nevertheless, the adoption of these principles also depends on the field because it was detected that the healthcare and public service interpreters were more likely to take a side than the court interpreters. The poor conditions of the LDPs, such as being in pain, surviving a war or financial difficulties, can lead the interpreters to feel empathy towards them and they can change their roles from a bridge to a facilitator, or even a nurse, a patient accompanist or a subsidy finder.

These expanded roles of the interpreters also result from the lack of job definitions as well as the wide range of additional duties. It was found in all fields that there are not strict and well-defined job definitions, even in court interpreting, except for the other settings outside the court, where the roles of the interpreters are expected to be more restricted before the judge. In general, even though they are not stated in written, it can be said in terms of the professional norms that general job definitions of the interpreters cover a great amount of verbal additional duties, and the roles of the interpreters vary according to the context, depending on the expectancy norms determined by the LDPs and the employers. According to Chesterman (2016, memes:63), the expectancy norms are determined by the readers' expectations for translations. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that the expectancy norms in community interpreting are determined by the expectations of both the LDPs and the employer.

For language use of the interpreters, whether in first-person or third-person, not a general norm could be detected. The language use depends on the strategies of the interpreters, and also change according to the context. It is determined that speaking in third person or switching between the first- and third-person stem from the risk of being misunderstood by the LDP or the other human actors. This strategy is developed by the interpreters so that the parties do not get confused about who is talking and due to the fact that the LDPs feel closer to the interpreters and speak directly to the interpreter regardless of their role as an interpreter. However, the interpreters in court interpreting are always expected to speak in first person even when the LDPs swear or revile, and the judges are aware that the interpreters will not swear or revile in front of the court members considering their roles and the oath that they take before the trial begins. Apart from that, it was stated that the court interpreter can speak in third-person to make explanations about the cultural or systematical differences even though interference in court interpreting is not preferred, unless the judge asks them to do make such an explanation.

About the adoption of ethical principles, some factors were found to be determinative. For example, the education of translation and interpreting helps the interpreters to gain awareness before they start to work in this field, however, this does not imply that those who did not receive such education are not aware. On the other hand, this adoption also depends on the setting in which the interpreting activity takes

place. The oath that the interpreters take in court interpreting enforces the interpreters to be impartial and interpret accurately. Therefore, whether educated or non-educated, the interpreters have to abide by the principles. Otherwise, if it is detected that the interpreter speaks inaccurately or partially, s/he may not be called again for interpretation and even subjected to sanction such as prison sentence as in the Article 276 of Turkish Criminal Law (Ceza Muhakemesi Kanunu, 2004). Similarly, the confidentiality is also protected by the Personal Data Protection Law. Apart from the education, oath and the laws, another factor affecting the adoption of ethical principles was stated to be personal conscience. As a result, the professional norms regarding ethical principles are determined by the expectancies of the LDPs, the other professional actors as well as the law enforcements.

Generally, the principles with the utmost importance are found to be the confidentiality, accuracy and completeness which are necessary for a successful interpretation, complete understanding and to earn the trust of the parties. It can be said that these criteria affect the satisfaction of the LDPs and other actors about the interpretation service. Therefore, the expectancies as well as the satisfactions of the parties are significant determinants in the behaviors and strategies of the interpreters. Especially in healthcare interpreting, the interpreters give priority to the satisfaction of the patients because they are considered as customers in private hospitals. Additionally, the healthcare interpreters and public service interpreters feel empathy toward the LDPs due to the conditions that they are in. Even though they do not hinder the accuracy of the interpretation, they can violate the impartiality by feeling closer to the LDPs and trying to help them in the process. On the contrary, the court interpreters cannot include themselves actively in the process and aim to focus on the interpretation more and impartially when they think they are affected negatively. Otherwise, they can disrupt the correct transmission of the message and influence the decision of the judge. In either case, most of the interpreters think that the ethical principles professionalize them, instead of restricting them. The interpreter who does not agree with this statement think that she could have help more people if it were not for confidentiality. Although it is not the responsibility of an interpreter to search for subsidy to give the poor LDPs, the interpreter has undertaken such a duty for herself. In another aspect of confidentiality, there are some criteria about what to share or not,

as in public service interpreting. For instance, if the interpreter realizes that there are contradictions between the utterances of the LDP or there is a life-threatening or illegal condition, then s/he feels like s/he has to share the information. Otherwise, s/he does not interpret the utterances which the LDP or the other professionals do not want to be shared in order not to harm their trust as one of the essential pre-requisite for true statements. It can be deduced that the requests of the LDPs or the other professionals about sharing the information matter for the interpreter and affect their behaviors. Even though it may not be the case for court interpreting, in the settings outside the court such as police office, healthcare interpreting and public service interpreting, the LDPs and the professionals have a say in the interpreting activity of the interpreter. This can also be due to the fact that the responsibilities of the interpreters are not defined well, and thus they can be directed by the other parties.

As one of the premises of this study, the lack of institutionalization and professionalization were confirmed by all the interpreters. A great majority of the interpreters stated that their rights are not protected, and there is not an official place to apply, to define the profession and recruitment criteria, to enforce sanctions or to improve the low status of the interpreters. The lack bears such conditions that the interpreters have to deal with problems including low wage, injustice, duties beyond their capacity, by themselves. Considering that the interpreting process is also a process of representation for the profession of interpreting, the lack of criteria or the low criteria and the recruitment of unprofessional interpreters also affect their status and the perception of the profession by other actors. Since interpreting is perceived as language knowledge, the criteria are determined by the employers covering the language certificate or only diploma from the department of Translation and Interpreting. Regardless of required qualifications, the recruitment of unprofessional interpreters can lead to misinterpretations, misjudgments and mistreatments.

Generally, the norms in community interpreting under such non-professionalization and non-institutionalization can be enumerated as follows:

1. Ethical principles are highly adopted by the trained interpreters when compared to untrained interpreters.
2. Since there are no backup trainings for untrained interpreters except for seminars etc., they acquire awareness of the principles through their conscience, experience or colleagues.

3. Untrained interpreters are more likely to expand their roles due to lack of awareness.
4. Expanded roles due to the lack of job definitions regarding interpretation and additional duties given by the employer lead the interpreters to work not only as an interpreter but also as a general staff.
5. In settings outside the court, the direct communication between the interpreters and the LDPs lead the interpreters to expand their roles by escorting them throughout the process. In court, the clerks and ushers can assign their/additional duties to the interpreter.
6. Healthcare and public service interpreters are more likely to take a side and violate impartiality due to tough conditions of the LDPs and with the intention of helping them by empathizing.
7. Language use depends on the context and the conditions. Speaking in third person is preferred so as not to be misunderstood by the parties about who is speaking. In court interpreting, however, speaking in first person is highly used and the interpreter is not involved unless cultural or systemic differences occur.
8. Education, setting, actors in it, oath in court interpreting as an enforcement mechanism, personal conscience as well as the expectations and satisfaction of the LDPs and employers are determinant and mediator actors in the practices of the interpreters. Particularly, the requests and the expectations of the LDPs and the employers have an effect on the behaviors and the roles of the interpreters.
9. Satisfaction of the foreign patients is the actor with utmost importance in healthcare interpreting because private hospitals earn money from those patients. For the satisfaction of the patient, the interpreter can expand his/her role to a great extent by accompanying them, giving trust or showing sympathy to them.
10. The role of the court interpreters is highly restricted compared to the other fields because of the judge, the hierarchy and the possibility of causing a misjudgment.
11. Regarding the ethical principles, confidentiality, accuracy and completeness, complete understanding and trust are found to be the most effective principles.
12. The interpreters agree that principles professionalize and guide them regarding how to behave in an acceptable way.
13. For confidentiality, there are criteria to be considered, especially in public service interpreting, in terms of what can be shared or not such as contradictions, illegal or life-threatening conditions.

14. The interpreters have to deal with problems by themselves due to the lack of an association/institution and provide solutions through either their personal value judgments or instructions by their employers.
15. No well-determined criteria, qualifications, rights and responsibilities, job and role definitions for the community interpreters are set which leads the profession to be considered as the language knowledge, and this paves the way for the status of the interpreters to be low.

In summary, the profession of community interpreting requires professionalization and institutionalization for the interpreters' rights to be protected, their actual responsibilities to be determined, the quality of the interpretation to be increased, the low status to be improved. Such improvements and developments are thought to affect not only the quality of the interpretations but also the satisfaction of the other actors. Considering that the community interpreting is a crucial profession for the lives of the LDPs, qualified and professional interpreters are needed in the field for quality interpretations.

CONCLUSION

This study aims to analyze the perceptions of the community interpreters on ethical principles as well as their roles under non-professionalization in Turkey and which actors affect these perceptions and roles during the interpreting process in the community interpreting network. It is thought that the perceptions and the roles of the interpreters are shaped by the actors within the network due to the lack of professionalism and an association in the country. Whether the behaviors and the strategies of the community interpreters vary according to the field, setting, education, experience, parties or expectations constitutes a pillar of the study. In order to analyze and come into a conclusion about the perceptions of the interpreters, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 12 community interpreters from different sub-fields that are healthcare interpreting, court interpreting, public service interpreting settings. Inability to perform on-site observations in these settings due to COVID-19 and the confidentiality constitute the constraints of this study. Nevertheless, since the perceptions, that is the way that the interpreters perceive of the profession and their experiences, form the basis of this qualitative research, phenomenological approach is applied through the interviews with community interpreters.

As thought to be occupying the central position in the community interpreting network, the perception of the interpreters is assumed as important in order to analyze how they see the profession in Turkey. Therefore, the interpreters were asked 29 general questions. Some of the questions were omitted or additional questions were asked according to the course of the communication. The questions were asked under 5 comprehensive categories as General Qualifications and Experiences, Roles, Ethical Principles, Institutionalization and Professionalization, and Actors. The answers of the General Qualifications and Experiences section were used as demographic information of the interpreters. Other sections, Roles, Ethical Principles, and Institutionalization and Professionalization were analyzed by dividing the fields into three groups as Healthcare Interpreting, Court Interpreting and Public Service Interpreting. Through this categorization, it has been possible to make comparisons among the fields. After determining the actors from the statements of the interpreters, the network was

mapped. Accordingly, the existence of the norms in community interpreting in Turkey was discussed.

Chapter One introduces the various definitions of community interpreting, its background, scope and characteristics. As mostly compared to conference interpreting, the different aspects of community interpreting are emphasized considering its sociocultural features. Additionally, the characteristics of the subfields of community interpreting are given in order to reflect their context-based and setting-based natures in terms of the roles and the practices of the interpreters. On the other hand, it is mentioned how the profession is conducted and what the current situation is in Turkey so as to have an insight into the developments and the lacks within the field in the country. Later on, the ethical principles in general are introduced by giving accuracy, impartiality, confidentiality and professionalism as four of the most essential and commonest principles.

Chapter Two is comprised of three parts as literature review, theoretical framework and methodology sections. Literature review reveals the studies conducted on community interpreting both abroad and in Turkey. Theoretical framework section constitutes the concepts used in the study as Actor-Network Theory by Latour and Professional Norms by Chesterman. After the background of and studies on the concepts are given, to the ways in which they were used in this study are explained. Methodological framework section reveals the approach, data collection method and their definitions.

The literature review section consists of studies conducted on community interpreting, followed by the roles and the ethical principles. Since this study is about perceptions, the studies of other researchers are given as being supportive. Since the perceptions of the interpreters are thought to be in line with professionalization, studies on trainings and practices are also given place. On the other hand, norms-related studies are mentioned in relation to those practices of the interpreters and how other researchers applied norms into interpreting studies which is not quite common. As for the research in Turkey, the studies focusing on the interpreter as a central actor and on their strategies as well as their subjectivity in the process are emphasized. It is thought that the approach based on the perspectives of the interpreters are of importance in

terms of their process conductor and decision maker roles in order to understand their variable behaviors.

The second section of the Chapter Two explains the theoretical framework used in this study. Combining Actor-Network Theory by Latour and Professional Norms by Chesterman, this study aims to analyze how actors within the network shape the perceptions and behaviors of the interpreters. First, the research by Callon (1986) is given as example to introduce the concepts of ANT such as mediator and intermediary actors and the translation process consisted of 4 phases: problematization, interessement, enrollment and mobilization. Afterwards, the research applying ANT into Translation and Interpreting are given in order to reflect how differently these concepts are handled and why it is thought to be applicable in this study, and to understand to what extent ANT can contribute to the profession of interpreting for a better understanding. In addition to ANT, concepts of professional norms and expectancy norms are explained. These concepts are applied to this study in order to understand how the practices of the interpreters are shaped and if it is possible to talk about the existence or consistency of norms in the field of community interpreting. Besides, it is aimed to reveal the factors affecting the profession depending on the sub-fields.

In the last section of the chapter, phenomenology as the methodological framework of the study is explained. In order to reflect the perceptions of the interpreters and their experiences in the presence of non-professionalization, phenomenological approach is thought to be applicable to this study. After the description of the approach, other studies using the same method are given as example. For the data collection process, phenomenology suggests the use of in-depth interviews which constitute the data collection tool of the research. To understand their experiences, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 12 community interpreters from different sub-fields. These interviews provided us with comprehensive data about their perceptions regarding the profession. As the constraint of the study, on-site observations could not be performed, but in-depth interviews were thought to be effective in obtaining credible data. The characteristics and the scope of the questions are included in this section.

Chapter Three focuses on the analysis of the data obtained through in-depth interviews. Firstly, general information about the settings and the demographic data of the interviewed interpreters are introduced. The perspectives of the interpreters from the different settings are analyzed under the titles Role, Ethical Principles, and Institutionalization and Professionalization as in the questions list (see Appendix 3). The Actors part was extracted from this alignment in order to discuss the actors in the Chapter Four.

As for the Roles adopted by the interpreters in different settings, it was found that there is a lack of well-defined job definitions in all three of the fields. Similarly, neither their rights nor their responsibilities are explained by the employers. They are even assigned duties beyond their capacity and that have nothing to do with interpreting such as filling out forms, accounting, escorting to the patients or searching for subsidy. It was found that the wide scope of responsibilities causes the interpreter to expand their roles which are highly active. However, it was determined that the roles of the court interpreters are mostly passive at the courts unless there is a possibility of misunderstanding due to cultural or legal differences. In public service interpreting, the job definitions of the interpreters are much more general than the other fields and they are sometimes expected to perform field works and have competency in the system used. For their language uses, the interpreters can adopt different strategies according to the context and the conditions. It is clear that speaking in third person is preferred by the interpreters under complex conditions and in order not to be misunderstood by the parties because the LPDs are mostly in direct communication with the interpreters.

Ethical Principles section reveals that all of the interpreters has gained awareness of ethical principles either through education or through experience. However, it was determined that personal conscience has also a role in the implementation. In general, the essential ethical principles in all fields are considered to be accuracy, confidentiality and impartiality. Nevertheless, their order of importance and the extent of their applications are found to be variable depending on the contexts and conditions. Some of the principles are also enforced by the laws or regulations such as the Personal Data Protection Law in healthcare interpreting for confidentiality and the Regulation on the Arrangement of Interpreter Lists in court

interpreting for impartiality and accuracy. However, it is revealed that the fields that lack control mechanism or enforced principles are more likely to turn the role of the interpreter into active and to violate the principles regardless of intention or malice. Abiding by ethical principles is thought to be effective in earning the trust of the LDPs which in turn affects the communication between the parties.

In the section Institutionalization and Professionalization, it is clearly inferred that the lack of institutionalization, standardization and professionalization in general affects the perspective of the interpreters towards their profession because they have no place to apply, to receive support or solutions. The lack of an association is thought to be effective in the non-standardization of the wages, job definitions, working conditions and the rights and responsibilities of the interpreters. By influencing the status of the community interpreters, this lack causes an unawareness in the society and lowers the status of the interpreters to level that language knowledge is considered equal to interpreting competency. As a result of the unawareness and the lacks, the qualification criteria of the interpreters to be recruited are quite narrow and do not consist of the skills of a professional interpreter. Considering the cruciality of the community interpreting, it would be wrong to leave the lives of the LDPs in the hands of incompetent people who claim that they know the language. The required qualifications such as the terminology knowledge, communication skills, awareness of the ethical principles as well as an academic background need to be included as criteria in the recruitment process of the community interpreters and to be investigated and confirmed by authorities to be assigned.

Chapter Four discusses the statements of the community interpreters on the purpose of determining the actors and the norms within the field under two main sections. In the first section, the interviews with the interpreters provided us with their perception on how they perceive other actors making easier or hindering the process. Since it is assumed that the actors in every subfield will change, the discussions of the actors and the maps of the networks are given under the titles Healthcare Interpreting, Court Interpreting and Public Service Interpreting.

In healthcare interpreting, the mediator actors are found to be mostly non-human actors as satisfaction, additional duties, employer and the ethical principles. Among these actors, the most effective one is found to be the satisfaction. Considering

that the interviewed healthcare interpreters are working at the private hospitals, the satisfaction of the patient is a priority since it affects the income of the hospital. In order to provide the satisfaction, the interpreters frequently adopt a facilitator, that is active, role and adapt themselves to the changing conditions. By escorting the patients throughout their visit at the hospital, the interpreters are in direct communication with them as obligatory passage points in the network. Besides, they aim to ease the process for the satisfaction of the patient. According to the findings, it can be deduced that the close relationship between the interpreter and the patient can lead the interpreter to feel sympathy for the patient as they empathize themselves with the patients who are in pain or having problems. Even though these can violate ethical principles, impartiality in particular, there is no control mechanism or sanction in the violation of the principles which in fact affects the behaviors of the interpreters. Additionally, the lack of such a mechanism or authority leaves the interpreter alone in the network in case of a vocational problem.

In court interpreting, the network has turned out to be more complex than healthcare interpreting, and much more non-human are detected. The mediator actors are found to be the non-professionalization, judge, hierarchy, oath, ethical principles and the clerks. These actors translate the other actors within the network either by affecting the course of events or assigning new roles to them. From the statements of the court interpreters, it is inferred that they have a more restricted role than the interpreters in other fields because of the hierarchy at the courthouse and the judge as a control mechanism and decision-maker. Nevertheless, the roles of the interpreters can be expanded in settings outside the court where they are in direct communication with the LDPs and have an active role. However, other actors at the court such as the clerk can assign duties to the interpreter for which they are not actually responsible. Unlike job definitions, the ethical principles in court interpreting are well-defined and stipulated by the Regulation on the Arrangement of Interpreter Lists, and the violation of accuracy, for instance, leads the interpreter to be punished. In the existence of sanctions, however, there is not an officially active association for the court interpreters. Additionally, the interpreters announce the job opportunities through a message group where there are many court interpreters that have competency in different languages. Yet still, the competencies and the required criteria for being a

court interpreter remain too narrow and inadequate considering the crucial role of a court interpreting. Similar to healthcare interpreting, language knowledge and primary school diploma are two of the requirements to be an interpreter at the courts.

In Public Service Interpreting, the network is found to be as complex as the court interpreting. Consisting of many non-human actors, the network includes mediator actors such as the active role of the interpreter which is formed mainly by the social responsibility awareness of the interpreters, the low status and the prevalence of the untrained interpreters. Different than other fields, psychological support provided by their institution was included in the network which actually shows that the mental health of the interpreters are of importance for the employer and that this support has an effect on their perceptions. However, the job definitions in this field are not well-defined and the interpreters are assigned many additional duties other than interpreting such as information entries into the system, driving and accounting. It was found out that the public service interpreting profession has a more flexible structure than the other fields considering the independence of the interpreters in terms of taking initiatives on their own, including their interpreting strategies and sharing information of the LDPs. These activities, however, are performed in order to help the refugees by translating their roles into a social worker. On the other hand, although they do not aim to act malevolently, such activities expand the roles of the interpreters and violate the ethical principles, especially confidentiality and professionalism. The interpreters stated that the non-professionalism in the field causes the prevalence of many untrained interpreters in the field, although they consider interpreting as language knowledge. The contradictions between the statements can be interpreted as the perceptions of the interpreters for the profession can vary, and untrained interpreters may lack the complete awareness of professionalism. This does not mean that untrained interpreters lack such an awareness, because they obtain the awareness through experience, but it can affect the status of the interpreters and the perceptions of the others on the profession. Another actor found to be mediator in the process is the trust. The trust provided by the interpreter in the interessement phase makes the LDPs feel comfortable and safe so that they can express themselves accurately. In terms of confidentiality and to maintain the trust, the interpreters do not share

information that the LDPs do not want him/her to, unless it is something illegal, life-threatening or inconsistent with the previous utterances.

As a result, it is concluded that the actors in the networks are variable, and many mediator actors can contribute to the interpreting process. They can leave the network after they are done which shows that the networks are dynamic. The actors can also leave the network if their interests do not coincide with the others'. It can also be said that the networks are intertwined and there are many sub-networks in a general network. It depends on how and from which aspect one desires to investigate the network(s).

The second section of the chapter reveals the current professional norms which are shaped by the expectancy norms in the fields. One of the most prominent inference of this section is that the expectancy norms are not only consisted of the expectations of the LDPs but also of the employers. The expectancy norms in Translation Studies are composed of the expectations of the readers, but this study uncovered that the expectations of the employers also have an effect on the perceptions, roles and behaviors of the interpreters. However, it is thought that the lack of an authority also affects those expectations and the professional norms. According to the detected professional norms, the lower the awareness of ethical principles and the wider their job definition is, the more likely the interpreters expand their roles in the network. The additional duties also an effective factor in the expansion of the roles. These duties can also lead the interpreters to be in direct communication with the LDPs, and therefore, the interpreters speak in third person so that they are not misunderstood as if they are speaking on behalf of themselves. Unlike the other fields where there is a lack of an authority, the judge and the hierarchy in court interpreting is perceived as an authority and the ethical principles are less likely to be violated, and the roles of the interpreters are more restricted. In healthcare settings where money plays a significant role for the hospitals, the satisfaction of the foreign is of top priority, and their roles of the interpreters are shaped and expanded accordingly. The lack of the ethical principles and authorities cause the roles of the interpreters to be determined by other actors who are not aware of the profession's requirements. Although interpreters think that the ethical principles professionalize them, other parties feel the right to intervene in the process due to the low status of the profession. The interpreters try to determine what

is right or not according to their conscience and the expectations of the parties in the lack of such principles. Additionally, the inadequate recruitment criteria as well as the required qualifications cause the profession to be perceived as language knowledge and the untrained interpreters to be prevalent in the sector working for nominal fees.

The current study has revealed that there are many variable actors involved in different interpreting settings and the behaviors, roles and perceptions of the interpreters are affected by those actors and their expectations from the interpreters. As obligatory passage points, the interpreters and their perspectives are thought to be of great importance in understanding the profession and their behaviors. However, the low status of the interpreters as well as the lack of an association or an authority restrict their role in the network, and they have limited say in claiming their rights and responsibilities. Considering the importance of their roles within the process of community interpreting, the required qualifications and the working conditions of the community interpreters are found to be in need of an improvement by professionals. As suggested by the interpreters, a collaboration by the government authorities, academics and the professionals as well as the employers is needed. Since the community interpreting is an interdisciplinary field, participants from the subfields can contribute to the development of the profession by presenting their own perspectives and solutions to the encountered problems.

As benefiting from phenomenological approach, this study focused only on the perceptions of the interpreters as central actors. Since they are managing the interpreting process, their activities and decision-making strategies were analyzed in terms of roles, ethical principles and professionalization. Nevertheless, the perceptions of other human actors such as the healthcare professionals, court members, social workers and the LDPs can also be analyzed in terms of reflecting their expectations and how they perceive the profession or understanding the problems that they struggle with during the interpreting process. Other subfields of community interpreting can also be investigated regarding the roles and strategies of the interpreters. Comparative studies can be conducted for the different perspectives of the other actors or for the subfields of community interpreting. The interpreted languages and the strategies used in their interpretation can be evaluated in another study as well.

It is concluded from the findings of this study that an association is required and demanded by the interpreters for the development of the profession. Such an association can set standards, ethical principles, rights and responsibilities of the interpreters for a more quality interpreting activity and working conditions. The rights of the interpreters need to be protected by the laws, and the recruitment criteria need to be stricter to recruit more qualified interpreters hence achieve a higher quality in interpreting.

REFERENCES

Abdallah, K. (2011). Quality problems in AVT production networks: Reconstructing an actor-network in the subtitling industry. In A. Serban, A. Matamala, & J. M. Lavaur (Eds.), *Audiovisual Translation in Close-Up: Practical and Theoretical Approaches* (pp. 173–186). Peter Lang AG, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften.

Al-Farajat, L. (2018). Medical interpreters in Korea: A qualitative study of medical tourists' satisfaction and the role of interpreters. *International Journal of Advanced Culture Technology*, *6*(4), 20–28. https://doi.org/10.17703//IJACT2018.6.4.20

Angelelli, C. V. (2004). *Medical interpreting and cross-cultural communication*. Cambridge University Press.

Angelelli, C. V. (2007). Assessing medical interpreters: The language and interpreting testing project. *The Translator*, *13*(1), 63–82.

Angelelli, C. V. (2014). Introduction: The sociological turn in translation and interpreting studies. In C. V. Angelelli (Ed.), *The Sociological Turn in Translation and Interpreting Studies (Benjamins Current Topics)* (pp. 1–6). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Aral Duvan, M. (2021). *Türkiye'de Toplum Çevirmenliği Bağlamında Mültecilere Verilen Tercüman Bilirkişilik Hizmetleri: Ağ Kuramı Işığında Bir Değerlendirme (Court Interpreting Services Provided for Refugees in Turkey in the Context of Community Interpreting: An Evaluation in the Light of Actor Network Theory)* (Doctoral Thesis). Istanbul University.

Arslan, R. K. (2018). *Toplum Çevirmenliği ve Kurumsal Alan İlişkisi (Community Interpreting and Its Institutional Field Relationship)* (Master's Thesis). Sakarya University.

Bahadır, Ş. (2017). The interpreter as observer, participant and agent of change: The irresistible entanglement between interpreting ethics, politics and pedagogy. In M. Biagini, M. S. Boyd, & C. Monacelli (Eds.), *The Changing Role of the Interpreter* (pp. 122–146). Taylor & Francis.

Bancroft, M. A. (2015). Community interpreting: A profession rooted in social justice. In H. Mikkelson & R. Jourdenais (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of interpreting* (pp. 217–235). Routledge.

Bancroft, M. A., Bendana, L., Bruggeman, J., & Feuerle, L. (2013). Interpreting in the gray zone: Where community and legal interpreting intersect. *The International Journal of Translation and Interpreting Research*, *5*(1), 94–113. https://doi.org/10.12807/ti.105201.2013.a05

Bancroft, M. A., García-Beyaert, S., Allen, K., Carriero-Contreras, G., & Socarrás-Estrada, D. (2015). *The community interpreter: An international textbook*. Culture & Language Press.

Bilodeau, A., & Potvin, L. (2016). Unpacking complexity in public health interventions with the Actor–Network Theory. *Health Promotion International*, *33*, 173–181. https://doi.org/10.1093/heapro/daw062

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods* (4th ed.). Oxford University Press.

Buzelin, H. (2005). Unexpected Allies. *The Translator*, *11*(2), 193–218. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2005.10799198

Cai, Y., & Guo, P. (2020). The application of actor network theory in medical translation. *Open Journal of Modern Linguistics*, *10*, 599–605. https://doi.org/10.4236/ojml.2020.105036

Callon, M. (1980). Struggles and negotiations to define what is problematic and what is not. In W. R. Knorr, R. Krohn, & R. P. Whitley (Eds.), *The Social Process of Scientific Investigation* (pp. 197–220). D. Reidel Publishing Company.

Callon, M. (1984). Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay. *The Sociological Review*, *32*(1), 196–233. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954x.1984.tb00113.x

Callon, M., & Law, J. (1982). On Interests and their Transformation: Enrolment and Counter-Enrolment. *Social Studies of Science*, *12*(4), 615–625. https://doi.org/10.1177/030631282012004006

Callon, M., Rip, J. L., & Rip, A. (Eds.). (1986). *Mapping the dynamics of science and technology*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Carroll, N. (2014). Actor-Network theory: A bureaucratic view of public service innovation. In A. Tatnall (Ed.), *Technological Advancements and the Impact of Actor-Network Theory* (pp. 115–144). IGI Global.

Ceza Muhakemesi Kanunu. (2004). *Yargılama giderleri ve çeşitli hükümler* (No. 25673). https://mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuatmetin/1.5.5271.pdf

Chesterman, A. (1993). From 'Is' to 'Ought': Laws, norms and strategies in translation studies. *Target. International Journal of Translation Studies*, *5*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1075/target.5.1.02che

Chesterman, A. (2001). Proposal for a hieronymic oath. *The Translator*, *7*(2), 139–154. https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2001.10799097

Chesterman, A. (2006). Questions in the sociology of translation. In J. F. Duarte, A. A. Rosa, & T. Seruya (Eds.), *Translation Studies at the Interface of Disciplines* (pp. 9–27). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Chesterman, A. (2016). *Memes of translation*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Cibangu, S. K., & Hepworth, M. (2016). The uses of phenomenology and phenomenography: A critical review. *Library & Information Science Research*, *38*(2), 148–160. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lisr.2016.05.001

Conker, N. (2017). *The professionalization of sign language interpreting in Turkey: Interpreting training and public interpreting services* (Master's Thesis). Boğaziçi University.

Corbetta, P. (2003). *Social research: Theory, methods and techniques* (B. Patrick, Trans.). SAGE Publications Ltd.

Corsellis, A. (2008). *Public service interpreting: The first steps*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Council of Europe. (1950). *European convention on human rights*. https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (Second ed.). SAGE Publications, Inc.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Nitel araştırma yöntemleri: Beş yaklaşıma göre nitel araştırma ve araştırma deseni* (M. Bütün & S. B. Demir, Trans.). Siyasal Kitabevi.

Davidson, B. (2000). The interpreter as institutional gatekeeper: The socio-linguistic role of interpreters in Spanish-English medical discourse. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *4*(3), 379–405.

Davidson, Brad. (2001). Questions in Cross-Linguistic medical encounters: The role of the hospital interpreter. *Anthropological Quarterly*, *74*(4), 170–178. https://doi.org/10.1353/anq.2001.0035

de Crom, D. (Ed.). (2009). Fields, networks and Finnish prose: A comparison of Bourdieusian field theory and Actor-Network theory in translation sociology. In *Translation and the (Trans)formation of Identities: Selected Papers of the CETRA Research Seminar in Translation Studies 2008* (pp. 1–22). http://www.kuleuven.be/cetra/papers/Papers2008/Hekkanen.pdf

Diriker, E. (2015). On the evolution of the interpreting profession in Turkey from the Dragomans to the 21st century. In T. Ş. Gürçağlar, S. Paker, & J. Milton (Eds.), *Tradition, Tension and Translation in Turkey* (pp. 87–103). John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/btl.118.04dir

Doğan, A. (2004). Mahkeme çevirmenliği. *Çeviribilim ve Uygulamaları Dergisi*, *14*, 1–24.

Doğan, A. (2012). A study on the volunteers of Emergency and Disaster Interpreting initiative (ARC) in Turkey. *Journal of Faculty of Letters*, *29*(2), 45–58.

Doğan, A., & Kahraman, R. (2011). Emergency and disaster interpreting in Turkey: Ten years of a unique endeavour. *Journal of Faculty of Letters*, *28*(2), 61–76.

Downing, B. T., & Tillery, K. H. (1992). *Professional training for community interpreters: A report on models of interpreter training and the value of training*. CURA.

Duman, D. (2018). *Toplum Çevirmenliğine Yorumbilgisel Bir Yaklaşım: Sağlık Çevirmeni ve Öznellik (A Hermeneutic Approach to Community Interpreting: Healthcare Interpreter and Subjectivity)* (Doctoral Thesis). Yıldız Technical University.

Duraner, J. E. (2015). *Mapping network in legal translation market in Turkey: Analysis of actors from sociological perspective* (Master's Thesis). Dokuz Eylul University.

Eryılmaz, E. (2020). *Türkiye'de mahkeme çevirmenliğinin durumu ve Çevirmen Meslek Standardı açısından değerlendirilmesi* (Master's Thesis). Istanbul University.

Fatahi, N., Mattsson, B., Hasanpoor, J., & Skott, C. (2005). Interpreters' experiences of general practitioner–patient encounters. *Scandinavian Journal of Primary Health Care, 23*(3), 159–163. https://doi.org/10.1080/02813430510018509

Fylan, F. (2005). Semi-structured interviewing. In J. Miles & P. Gilbert (Eds.), *A Handbook of Research Methods for Clinical and Health Psychology* (pp. 65–77). Oxford University Press.

Garber, N. (2000). Community interpretation: A personal view. In R. P. Roberts, S. E. Carr, D. Abraham, & A. Dufour (Eds.), *The critical link 2: Interpreters in the Community. Selected papers from the second international conference on interpreting in legal, health and social service settings, Vancouver, BC, Canada, 19–23 May 1998* (pp. 9–20). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

García-Beyaert, S., Bancroft, M. A., Allen, K., Carriero-Contreras, G., & Socarrás-Estrada, D. (2015). *Ethics and standards for the community interpreter: An international training tool*. Culture & Language Press.

Garzone, G. (2002). Quality and norms and interpretation. In G. Garzone & M. Viezzi (Eds.), *Interpreting in the 21st Century: Challenges and opportunities (Benjamins Translation Library)* (pp. 107–120). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Gentile, A., Ozolins, U., & Vasilakakos, M. (1996). *Liaison interpreting: A handbook*. Melbourne University Publishing.

Gile, D. (1998). Norms in research on conference interpreting: A response to Theo Hermans and Gideon Toury. *Current Issues In Language and Society, 5*(1–2), 99–106. https://doi.org/10.1080/13520529809615506

Gökçe, İ. (2018). *The norms of sign language interpreting in Turkey: The interpreters' Self-Perceptions on their role* (Master's Thesis). Dokuz Eylul University.

Gonzalez, R. D., Vasquez, V. F., & Mikkelson, H. (2012). *Fundamentals of court interpretation: Theory, policy and practice* (Second ed.). Carolina Academic Press.

Hagland, J. (1988). Renate Bartsch: Norms of Language. Theoretical and practical aspects. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, *11*(1–2), 201–203. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586500001839

Hale, S. B. (2004). *The discourse of court interpreting*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Hale, S. B. (2007). *Community interpreting*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Hale, S., & Napier, J. (2013). *Research methods in interpreting: A practical resource*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Harris, B. (1990). Norms in interpretation. *Target*, *2*(1), 115–119. https://doi.org/10.1075/target.2.1.08har

Hertog, E., & Bosch, Y. V. (2001). Access to justice across language and culture in the EU. In E. Hertog (Ed.), *Aequitas Access to Justice Across Language and Culture in the EU* (pp. 1–16). Lessius Hogeschool, Departement Vertaler-Tolk.

Hewitt, W. E. (1995). *Court Interpretation: Model guides for policy and practice in the State courts*. National Center for State Courts.

Inghilleri, M. (2003). Habitus, field and discourse. *Target. International Journal of Translation Studies*, *15*(2), 243–268. https://doi.org/10.1075/target.15.2.03ing

Jacobsen, B. (2009). The community interpreter: A question of role. *Hermes – Journal of Language and Communication Studies*, *42*, 155–166.

Judicial Council of California. (2013). *Professional standards and ethics for California court interpreters*. https://www.courts.ca.gov/documents/CIP-Ethics-Manual.pdf.

Kadric, M. (2000). Interpreting in the Austrian courtroom. In R. P. Roberts, S. E. Carr, D. Abraham, & A. Dufour (Eds.), *The Critical Link 2: Interpreters in the Community Selected papers from the Second International Conference on Interpreting in legal, health and social service settings* (pp. 153–164). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Kahraman, R. (2003). *Afette Rehber Çevirmenlik (Interpreters in Aid at Disasters)* (Master's Thesis). Istanbul University.

Kalina, S. (2002a). Community interpreters as professionals. *Across Languages and Cultures*, *3*(2), 169–187.

Kalina, S. (2002b). Interpreters as professionals. *Across Languages and Cultures*, *3*(2), 169–187. https://doi.org/10.1556/acr.3.2002.2.3

Kalina, S. (2015). Ethical challenges in different interpreting settings. *MonTI*, *2*, 63–86. https://doi.org/10.6035/MonTI.2015.ne2.2

Kelly, A. M. (2000). Cultural parameters for interpreters in the courtroom. In R. P. Roberts, S. E. Carr, D. Abraham, & A. Dufour (Eds.), *The Critical Link 2: Interpreters in the Community International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health, and Social Service Settings* (pp. 131–152). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Koçlu, S. (2019). *Göç ve çeviri ilişkisi bağlamında toplum çevirmenliğine üst bakış: Sakarya örneği* (Master's Thesis). Sakarya University.

Kung, S. C. (2009). Translation agents and networks, with reference to the translation of contemporary Taiwanese novels. In A. Pym & A. Perekrestenko (Eds.), *Translation Research Projects 2* (pp. 123–138). Tarragona.

Kurultay, T., & Bulut, A. (2012). Toplum çevirmenliğine yeniden bakışta Afette Rehber Çevirmenlik (ARÇ) (Re-Evaluating Community Interpreting: Emergency & Disaster Interpreting). *İ.Ü. Çeviribilim Dergisi*, *6*(2), 75–102.

Latour, B. (1996). On actor-network theory: A few clarifications. *Soziale Welt*, *47*(4), 369–381.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford University Press.

Law, J. (1992). Notes on the theory of the actor-network: Ordering, strategy, and heterogeneity. *Systems Practice*, *5*(4), 379–393. https://doi.org/10.1007/bf01059830

Lee, J. (2015). Court interpreting. In H. Mikkelson & R. Jourdenais (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of interpreting* (pp. 186–201). Routledge.

Legard, R., Keegan, J., & Ward, K. (2003). In-depth Interviews. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (pp. 138–169). SAGE Publications.

Lester, S. (1999). *An introduction to phenomenological research*. Stan Lester Developments.

Liu, Z. (2016). *Legal interpreters' self-perceptions of their roles and responsibilities in the British judicial system* (Doctoral Thesis). University of York Education.

Luo, W. (2020). *Translation as Actor-Networking: Actors, agencies, and networks in the making of Arthur Waley's English translation of the Chinese "Journey to the West."* Routledge.

Martínez-Gómez, A. (2015). Invisible, visible or everywhere in between? Perceptions and actual behaviours of non-professional interpreters and interpreting users. *The Interpreters' Newsletter*, *20*, 175–194.

Martínez-Gómez, A. (2016). Facing face: Non-professional interpreting in prison mental health interviews. *European Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *4*(1), 93–115.

McDonough, J. (2007). How do language professionals organize themselves? An overview of translation networks. *Meta: Translators' Journal*, *52*(4), 793–815. https://doi.org/10.7202/017697ar

Meylaerts, R. (2008). Translators and (their) norms: Towards a sociological construction of the individual. In A. Pym, M. Shlesinger, & D. Simeoni (Eds.), *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in homage to Gideon Toury* (pp. 91–102). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Mikkelson, H. (1996). The professionalization of community interpreting. In A. Jérôme-O'Keeffe (Ed.), *Global Vision: Proceedings of the 37th Annual Conference of the American Translators Association* (pp. 77–89). Virginia: American Translators Association.

Mikkelson, H. (1999). *Interpreting is interpreting – or is it?* GSTI 30th Anniversary Conference.

Mikkelson, H. (2016). *Introduction to Court Interpreting* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Mikkelson, H. (2018). Court interpreting. In C. Sin-wai (Ed.), *An Encyclopedia of Practical Translation and Interpreting* (pp. 471–496). Chinese University Press.

Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological Research Methods*. SAGE Publications, Inc.

National Association of Judiciary Interpreters & Translators. (2002). *Code of ethics and professional responsibilities*. https://najit.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/NAJITCodeofEthicsFINAL.pdf

National Council on Interpreting in Health Care. (2004). *A National Code of Ethics for Interpreters in Health Care*. https://www.ncihc.org/assets/documents/publications/NCIHC%20National%20Code%20of%20Ethics.pdf

Neubauer, B. E., Witkop, C. T., & Varpio, L. (2019). How phenomenology can help us learn from the experiences of others. *Perspectives on Medical Education*, *8*(2), 90–97. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40037-019-0509-2

Ozolins, U. (2015). Ethics and the role of the interpreter. In H. Mikkelson & R. Jourdenais (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting* (pp. 319–336). Routledge.

Öztürk, T. (2015). *Küresel Hareketlilik Etkisinde Türkiye'de Sağlık Çevirmenliği Uygulamaları: Çevirmen Görüşlerine Dayalı Bir Çalışma (Applications of Healthcare Interpreting in Turkey under the Impact of Global Mobility: A Study Based on the Opinions of Interpreters)* (Master's Thesis). Sakarya University.

Pöchhacker, F. (1999). "Getting Organized": The evolution of community interpreting. *Interpreting*, *4*(1), 125–140. https://doi.org/10.1075/intp.4.1.11poc

Pöchhacker, F. (2004). *Introducing interpreting studies*. Routledge.

Polat Ulaş, A. (2020). Becoming an interpreter through experience: The perceptions of the nonprofessional public service interpreters in Turkey. *RumeliDE Journal of Language and Literature Studies*, *19*, 661–700.

Polat Ulaş, A. (2021). *Public Service Interpreters Bridging Communication Gaps for Syrian Refugees in the Turkish Context* (Doctoral Thesis). Dokuz Eylul University.

Pöllabauer, S. (2013). Community interpreting. In C. A. Chapelle (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics* (pp. 1–7). Blackwell Publishing Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405198431.wbeal0159

Pöllabauer, S. (2015). Interpreting in asylum proceedings. In H. Mikkelson & R. Jourdenais (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting* (pp. 202–216). Routledge.

Pym, A. (2014). *Method in translation history*. Routledge.

Pym, A., & Orrego-Carmona, D. (Eds.). (2012). Agents and their network in a publishing house in Iran. In *Translation Research Projects 4* (pp. 37–50). Tarragona.

Pym, A., Grin, F., Sfreddo, C., & Chan, A. L. J. (2012). *The status of the translation profession in the European Union*. European Commission, Directorate-General for Translation. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/publications/studies/translation_profession_en.pdf

Ra, S., & Napier, J. (2013). Community interpreting: Asian language interpreters' perspectives. *The International Journal of Translation and Interpreting Research, 5*(2), 45–61. https://doi.org/10.12807/ti.105202.2013.a04

Resmi Gazete. (2013). *Ceza Muhakemesi Kanununa Göre Tercüman Bilirkişi Listelerinin Düzenlenmesi Hakkında Yönetmelik*. https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2013/03/20130305-6.htm

Resmi Gazete. (2017). *Uluslararası sağlık turizmi ve turistin sağlığı hakkında yönetmelik*.. https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2017/07/20170713-3.htm

Rillof, P., & Buysse, L. (2015). Getting organized to beat Babel in multilingual service encounters: The European network for public service interpreting and translation (ENPSIT). *The International Journal of Translation and Interpreting Research*, *7*(3), 186–197. https://doi.org/10.12807/ti.107203.2015.a13

Ritchie, J., & Lewis, J. (2003). *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. SAGE Publications Ltd.

Roat, C. E., & Crezee, H. M. (2015). Healthcare interpreting. In H. Mikkelson & R. Jourdenais (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of interpreting* (pp. 236–253). Routledge.

Roberts, R. P. (1997). Community interpreting today and tomorrow. In S. E. Carr, R. P. Roberts, A. Dufour, & D. Steyn (Eds.), *The Critical Link: Interpreters In The Community: Papers from the First International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health, and Social Service Settings* (pp. 7–26). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Romantšik, R. E., & Karu, K. (2014). Establishment of the institution of social service interpreting: Conditions, problems and prospects. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *154*, 353–359. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.10.162

Ruano, M. R. M. (2017). Developing public service translation and interpreting under the paradigm of recognition: Towards diversity-sensitive discourses on ethics in PSIT. In C. Valero-Garcés & R. Tipton (Eds.), *Ideology, Ethics and Policy Development in Public Service Interpreting and Translation* (pp. 21–37). Multilingual Matters.

Schäffner, C. (1999). The concept of norms in translation studies. In C. Schäffner (Ed.), *Translation and Norms* (pp. 1–8). Multilingual Matters.

Schjoldager, A. (1995). An exploratory of translational norms in simultaneous interpreting: Methodological reflections. *Hermes Journal of Linguistics*, *14*, 65–87.

Schjoldager, A. (2017). Silvana E. Carr, Roda Roberts, Aideen Dufour, and Dini Steyn (eds.): The Critical Link: Interpreters in the Community. Papers from the First International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health, and Social Service Settings. *HERMES - Journal of Linguistics*, *11*. https://doi.org/10.7146/hjlcb.v11i20.25460.

Seleskovitch, D. (1976). Interpretation: A psychological approach to translating. In R. W. Brislin (Ed.), *Translation: Applications and Research* (pp. 92–116). Gardner Press.

Seymen, G. D., & Selcen Aslan, A. (2019). Türkiye'de çevirinin toplumsal görünürlüğü ve gelişiminde çeviri derneklerinin rolü. *RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, *15*, 377–390. https://doi.org/10.29000/rumelide.580650

Shakespeare, C. L. (2012). *Community interpreters speaking for themselves: The psychological impact of working in mental health settings* (Doctoral Thesis). Doctorate in Clinical Psychology University of Hertfordshire. https://uhra.herts.ac.uk/handle/2299/9156

Shlesinger, M. (1989). Extending the theory of translation to interpretation: Norms as a case in point. *Target*, *1*(1), 111–115. https://doi.org/10.1075/target.1.1.09shl

Shuttleworth, M., & Cowie, M. (2014). *Dictionary of translation studies* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Şener, O. (2017). *Healthcare Interpreting in Turkey: Roles and Ethics from a Sociological Perspective* (Master's Thesis). Dokuz Eylul University.

Şener, O., & Kıncal, Ş. (2019). Role and ethics in healthcare interpreting in Turkey. *Çeviribilim ve Uygulamaları Dergisi*, *27*, 201–219.

Tahir-Gürçağlar, Ş., & Diriker, E. (2004). Community interpreting in Turkey. *Çeviribilim ve Uygulamaları*, *14*, 73–92.

Tipton, R., & Furmanek, O. (2016). *Dialogue interpreting: A guide to interpreting in public services and the community*. Routledge.

Toury, G. (2000). The nature and role of norms in translation. In L. Venuti (Ed.), *The Translation Studies Reader* (pp. 198–211). Routledge.

Toury, G. (2012). *Descriptive Translation Studies - and beyond* (Rev. ed.). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Townsley, B. (2007). Interpreting in the UK community: Some reflections on public service interpreting in the UK. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, *7*(2), 163–170. https://doi.org/10.2167/laic272.0

Turan, D. (2018). Sağlık çevirmenliği: Hekim-hasta iletişimi ve hekimin iktidar pozisyonunun değerlendirilmesi üzerine bir çalışma (Health care interpreting: A study on the physician– patient communication and the assessment of the physician's position of power). *Journal of Turkish Studies*, *13*(20), 751–777. https://doi.org/10.7827/TurkishStudies.13715

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (1951–1967). *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*. https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10

van Manen, M. (1990). *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*. State University of New York Press.

Wadensjö, C. (2005). Community interpreting [E-book]. In M. Baker (Ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (pp. 33–37).

Wang, B. (2012). A descriptive study of norms in interpreting: Based on the Chinese-English consecutive interpreting corpus of Chinese premier press conferences. *Meta: Translators' Journal*, *57*(1), 198–212. https://doi.org/10.7202/1012749ar

Williams, L. (2005). Interpreting services for refugees: Hearing voices? *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care*, *1*(1), 37–49.

Yıldırım, A., & ŞImşek, H. (2011). *Sosyal bilimlerde nitel araştırma yöntemleri* (8th ed.). Seçkin Yayıncılık.

Yücel, B. E. (2018). *Mahkeme çevirmeninin rolü ve görünürlüğü* (Doctoral Thesis). İstanbul Üniversitesi.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Approval of the Ethical Committee of Dokuz Eylul University

HIZMETE OZEL

T.C.
DOKUZ EYLÜL ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜ
HUKUK MÜŞAVİRLİĞİ

ACELE

Sayı : E-87347630-659-207339 04.03.2022
Konu : ETİK KURUL İZNİ- GAMZE GÜRLEYEN

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

İlgi : 25.02.2022 tarihli ve E-57485104-300-202478 sayılı yazınız.

İlgide kayıtlı yazınıza istinaden Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Araştırma ve Yayın Etik Kurulunun 01.03.2022 tarihli toplantısında alınan 24 sayılı karar ile Enstitünüz mütercim tercümanlık Anabilim Dalı ingilizce mütercim tercümanlık yüksek lisans Programı Öğrencisi Gamze GÜRLEYEN'in, "Community Interpreting Network in Turkey: Perceptions on(Non) Professionalization and Beyond" başlıklı çalışması kapsamında yapacağı uygulamanın etik açıdan uygun olduğuna karar verilmiş olup, alınan karar Makamımızca onaylanmıştır.

Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini rica ederim.

Prof.Dr. Nükhet HOTAR
Rektör

Bu belge, güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.
Doğrulama Kodu: 80410186-D716-4B82-B6FF-B52BFFCAB596 Doğrulama Adresi: https://turkiye.gov.tr/dokuz-eylul-universitesi-ebys
Adres: Kültür Mahallesi, Cumhuriyet Blv No:144, 35220 Konak/İzmir
KEP Adresi : dokuzeylulniversitesi@hs01.kep.tr
Bilgi için:Pelin ALTIN
Memur

HİZMETE ÖZEL

- 15033604 - 15033604 - 15033604 - 15033604 -

Appendix 2: Consent Form of the Interviews

Bu çalışma, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Öğretim Üyesi Doç. Dr. Şeyda KINCAL danışmanlığında İngilizce Mütercim ve Tercümanlık Tezli Yüksek Lisans Programı bünyesinde yürütülmektedir. Çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye'deki toplum çevirmenliği ağının meslekleşememe durumu ve bu koşullarda toplum çevirmenlerinin etik anlayışının nasıl şekillendiği incelemektir. Bu doğrultuda, yapılacak yarı yapılandırılmış röportajlar aracılığıyla, etik anlayışı şekillendirebilecek unsurlar olarak alandaki canlı/cansız aktörler analiz edilecek ve ağdaki rolleri Aktör-Ağ kuramı çerçevesinde incelenecektir. İncelemenin ardından elde edilen sonuçlar ışığında alandaki normlar (davranış kalıpları) tespit edilecek ve toplum çevirmenlerinin bu ağ içerisinde etik algılarını nasıl şekillendirdikleri belirlenecektir. Araştırmanın alandaki mevcut durumu yansıtmaya ve eksikleri tespit etmeye katkı sağlaması amaçlanmaktadır.

Tezde çevirmen ve kurum isimleri anonim kalacak olup hiçbir şekilde adları geçirilmeyecektir. İzniniz doğrultusunda görüşmeler sırasında ses kaydınız alınacak olup sağlayacağınız veriler yalnızca analiz amacıyla kullanılacaktır. Çalışmaya katılımınız tamamen isteğe bağlıdır ve herhangi bir aşamada katılımı reddedebilirsiniz.

Katılımınız ve desteğiniz için teşekkür ederim.

Appendix 3: Interview Questions for Community Interpreters

GENEL NİTELİKLER VE DENEYİM

1. Hangi dil çiftlerinde çalışmaktasınız?
2. Eğitim düzeyiniz nedir? Hangi bölümden mezunsunuz?
3. Toplum çevirmeni olarak hangi alanlarda (mahkeme, hastane, devlet dairesi, göçmenlik bürosu vb.) çalışıyorsunuz?
4. Neden bu alanları tercih ettiniz/ediyorsunuz (ilgi, terminoloji bilgisi, iş fırsatı, mecburiyet vb.)?
5. Bu alanla ilgili bir eğitim almış mıydınız (örn. üniversitede toplum çevirmenliği/sağlık çevirmenliği/mahkeme çevirmenliği dersi vb.)?
6. Alandaki tecrübelerinizden bahseder misiniz?
7. Aldığınız ücret sizin için yeterli mi?
8. Kurumunuzda başka çevirmenler de var mı? İş birliği içinde mi çalışıyorsunuz, bireysel mi?

ROLLER

9. Görev tanımınız, sorumluluklarınız ve haklarınız nelerdir, bu konuda bilgilendirildiniz mi? Görev tanımınızın dışında bir iş yapmak durumunda kalıyor musunuz (örn. yazılı çeviri de yapmak, sağlık çevirmenliğinde muhasebe işleriyle uğraşmak, hastaya hastanedeki süreçte refakat etmek vb.)?
10. Toplum çevirmenliği rolünüzü nasıl tanımlarsınız (köprü görevi, aracı, iletişimi kolaylaştıran vs.)? Çevirmenin bu alandaki rolü aktif midir yoksa pasif mi? Deneyiminize dayanarak, bu rolün aktif veya pasif olmasından ne anlıyorsunuz?
11. Çeviri sürecinde taraflar arasındaki iletişimi nasıl yönetiyorsunuz? Birinci kişi ağzından mı, yoksa üçüncü kişi ağzından mı ("… dedi" şeklinde) çeviri yapıyorsunuz?
12. Gerekli gördüğünüz kısımlarda çeviriye müdahale ederek ekleme/çıkarma/açıklama (kültürel farklılıklar, konunun teknik ve anlaşılmaz olması vb. dolayı) yapıyor musunuz?

ETİK İLKELER

13. Toplum çevirmenliği alanındaki etik ilkelerin (genel olarak: gizlilik, doğruluk, tarafsızlık, saygı, profesyonellik, profesyonel gelişim) bilincinde misiniz? Bilincindeyseniz bu bilinci nasıl edindiniz (örn. çalıştığınız kurum tarafından bu konuda bilgilendirildiniz mi, işe başlamadan önce kurum tarafından veya üniversitenizde eğitim verildi mi)?
14. Çeviri faaliyetlerinizde bu ilkeleri ne derece göz önünde bulunduruyorsunuz?
15. Genel olarak bu ilkelerin toplum çevirmenliği için önemi nedir? Mesleğe ne gibi olumlu/olumsuz etkileri vardır? Çevirmeni profesyonelleştirir mi, yoksa kısıtlar mı?
16. Çalıştığınız işyerinde bu ilkelerin uygulanıp uygulanmadığı kontrol ediliyor mu? Çalıştığınız kurumun bu ilkeleri ihlal etmenizi istediği oldu mu?
17. Kendi duygu durumlarınız ve ahlaki değerleriniz, eylemlerinizi etkiliyor mu? Değerlerinizin, çalıştığınız işyerinin veya vakaların etik ilkelerle çatıştığı durumlar oluyor mu? Bu durumda nasıl hareket ediyorsunuz? Örnek verir misiniz?
18. Çeviriye ihtiyaç duyan kesimin (mülteci, hasta, suçlu vb.) içinde bulunduğu sorunlu durum sizi ne derece etkilemektedir? Yoğun duygu durumu barındıran ortamlarda çevirmen olarak nasıl bir yol izlemektesiniz?
19. Her vaka, farklı derecede önemli ilkelerin uygulanmasını gerektirmektedir. Vakanın ve ilkelerin önemini karşılaştırır mısınız?
20. Etik ilkeler açısından sizi en çok zorlayan/etik ilkelerin dışında hareket etmenizi gerektiren bir vakanız olduysa gizlilik ilkesi çerçevesinde anlatabilir misiniz?
21. Çalıştığınız kurumla bunu paylaştınız mı, yoksa kendiniz mi çözmeye çalıştınız? Paylaştıysanız nasıl bir sonuçla karşılaştınız, paylaşmadıysanız nasıl bir yol izlediniz? Bu sorunun üstesinden gelmenizde hangi aktörler etkili oldu/devreye girdi?

KURUMSALLAŞMA VE MESLEKLEŞME

22. Genel olarak baktığımızda toplum çevirmenliği alanında ülkemizde herhangi bir meslekleşme, standartlaşma ve kurumsallaşma bulunmuyor. Bunun sonucu olarak da etik ilkeler ve çevirmenin hakları/sorumlulukları açık ve kesin bir çerçevede korunmuyor ve genel bir kontrol/denetleme mercii de bulunmuyor. Bu durumda kurumsallaşmanın olmaması sizi nasıl etkiliyor? Bu eksikliğin etkilerini görüyor musunuz? Görüyorsanız nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
23. Çevirmenlik alanında meslekleşme, standartlaşma ve etik ilkelerin eksikliği konusundaki fikrinizi ve bu eksikliği giderebilecek önerilerinizi paylaşır mısınız? Ne tür eylemler alınmalıdır? Bu eylemleri hangi aktörler yürütebilir (örn. çeviri dernekleri, akademisyenler, hükümet, bakanlıklar, yasalar, iş yerleri, çevirmenler vb.)?

AKTÖRLER

24. Bu işe ulaşmanızda etkin rol oynayan aktörler kimler/neler olmuştur? İşe alım süreciniz nasıldı?
25. Toplum çevirmenliği mesleğinde haklarınızın korunduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
26. Alanınızla ilgili herhangi bir derneğe üye misiniz?
27. Sizce bu alandaki en etkin aktörler kimlerdir? (örn. çevirmenin kendisi, alınan eğitim, iş yeri, çeviri derneği, diğer toplum çevirmenleri vb.)
28. Alanınızdaki aktörlerin (işveren, dil sorunu yaşayan kişi, meslektaşlarınız, çeviri dernekleri vb.) mesleğinizi, bakış açınızı ve çeviri sürecinizi nasıl etkilediğinden bahseder misiniz? Eylemlerinizi olumlu veya olumsuz yönde etkiliyorlar mı, nasıl?
29. Toplum çevirmenliği mesleğinizi yürütürken karar ve kontrol mercii olarak kendinizi mi görüyorsunuz, yoksa çalıştığınız kurumu mu? Süreçte size güven duyuluyor mu?