

A Bourdieusian Perspective on the Public Service Interpreters Working at the Non-Governmental Organizations¹

Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarında Çalışan Toplum Çevirmenlerine Bourdieu'nun Sosyal Kuramı Işığında Bir Bakış

Research/Araştırma

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ABSTRACT

Due to the Syrian civil war, nearly 3.5 million Syrians have taken refuge in Turkey in the last nine years. Although Syrians and Turks are regionally and culturally close to each other, there is the linguistic difference, leading to communication barriers between them. Public service interpreters are recruited to meet the communication needs in healthcare institutions, especially in provinces with the highest Syrian populations, and in other state institutions and courts. Furthermore, a limited number of non-governmental organizations, such as Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM), recruit interpreters. Turkey is a country which has faced flows of refugees only recently, and thus adequate steps regarding immigration policies have not been taken yet in the country. Therefore, public service interpreting for refugees has not developed sufficiently, and the number of well-trained interpreters among

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those providing service is quite low. In this regard, this study aims to examine the professional trajectory of the interpreters working at ASAM through the interpreters' professional perceptions and the institutional conditions affecting their interpreting activities. More specifically, based on Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio*, the motives that have driven the interpreters to the job they are engaged in and the forms of capital (un)available to them in their work trajectory will be discussed. To this end, the interviews conducted with the interpreters, the interviews with ASAM officials and the institutional documents are used as data sources in the discussion. Within the frame of the professional trajectory of the interpreters, who have been engaged in NGO interpreting with the motives of using their available cultural and linguistic competence and of helping refugees, the social bonds developed with refugees, albeit in a restricted manner, and their limited authority against other professional groups emerge as the leading issues.

Keywords: public service interpreters, *habitus*, capital, *illusio*, non-governmental organization

ÖZET

Son dokuz yılda Suriye iç savaşından dolayı yaklaşık 3,5 milyon Suriyeli Türkiye'ye sığınmıştır. İki toplum bölgesel ve kültürel olarak birbirine yakın olsa da aralarında iletişim engellerine yol açan dil farklılığı mevcuttur. Dil engeline yönelik başta mülteci nüfusun fazla olduğu şehirlerdeki sağlık kuruluşları olmak üzere diğer devlet kurumları ve mahkemelerde toplum çevirmenleri hizmet vermektedirler. Ayrıca, Sığınmacılar ve Göçmenlerle Dayanışma Derneği (SGDD) gibi sınırlı sayıdaki sivil toplum kuruluşu da tercüman istihdam etmektedir. Türkiye büyük bir göç dalgası ile ancak son zamanlarda karşılaşılan bir ülkedir ve ülkede göçmen politikaları konusunda henüz yeterli adımlar atılamamıştır. Bu nedenle, mültecilere sağlanan toplum çevirmenliği hizmetleri yeterli düzeyde gelişmemiştir ve yeterli düzeyde eğitim almış tercümanlar da oldukça azdır. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışmada SGDD'de çalışan tercümanların mesleki faaliyetleri, tercümanların kendi mesleki algıları ile çeviri faaliyetlerini etkileyen kurumsal koşullar üzerinden incelenecektir. Tercümanları bu işe yönelten saikler ve mesleki faaliyetleri sırasında kendileri için mevcut olan/olmayan sermaye türleri Pierre Bourdieu'nun *habitus*, sermaye ve *illusio* kavramları ışığında tartışılacaktır. İncelemede tercümanlar ile gerçekleştirilen mülakatların yanı sıra kurum yetkilileri ile gerçekleştirilen mülakatlar ve kurumsal dokümanlar veri kaynakları olarak kullanılmaktadır. Var olan dil becerilerini kullanmak ve mültecilere yardım etmek gibi saiklerle SGDD'de çalışmaya başlayan tercümanların sınırlı da olsa mültecilerle kurdukları sosyal bağlar ve diğer meslek grupları karşısındaki sınırlı yetkileri mesleki faaliyetleri kapsamında öne çıkan durumlardır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: toplum çevirmenleri, *habitus*, capital, *illusio*, sivil toplum kuruluşu

1. Introduction

Political developments in the 21st century, especially in the Middle East and Africa, have led to various forced migration movements. One of the most recent examples is the Syrian refugee crisis, following the civil war that broke out in March 2011. Inner conflicts have dragged the country to a chaotic atmosphere, where hundreds of people

were injured and killed (Turkish Red Crescent, 2018). According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)², nearly 6 million Syrians have been forced to emigrate, and more than 3.5 million of them have taken refuge in Turkey. Today Syrian refugees are living under the temporary protection status with the local populations in many provinces of Turkey. Although Turkish and Syrian societies share common history and cultural codes, the most prominent difference between them is their languages, posing challenges for refugees especially in the areas of housing, health and education (Ataman, 2015; COMCEC, 2016; Bölükbaş, 2016; AFAD, 2017; Biçer, 2017; Şan&Koçlu, 2018).

Several studies show that Syrian refugees want to learn Turkish for education and job opportunities and for better communication with Turkish people and in public institutions, and to this end, some participate in language courses (Dillioğlu, 2015; Bölükbaş, 2016; Biçer, 2017). However, a large number of refugees, especially women, cannot participate in language learning activities for many reasons such as the great difference between Turkish and Arabic languages, the lack of time due to the need to work or to look after children, the insufficiency of language courses and the lack of information on how to access the courses, among others (Dursun, 2018, September 3; Yücel *et al.*, 2018, p. 41). Refugees need interpreters in public institutions to have access to rights and services. Yet in the absence of effective interpreting services, they have to either pay varying fees for interpreters themselves or receive help from neighbors (Şan&Koçlu, 2018, p. 13; Yücel *et al.*, 2018, p. 32).

Considering that language training initiatives for refugees can produce only long-term results, it is important to develop policies that mitigate refugees' communication and integration problems in the meantime. One of those policies can be effective interpreting services in public institutions. In the most general sense, public service interpreting is the type of interpreting that removes the communication barrier between official staff and clients at public service settings such as police stations, immigration offices, healthcare facilities, schools, among others (Wadensjö, 1998, p. 33). Public service interpreting has developed to varying degrees in various countries. Overall, it can be said that in countries with a long history of migration and with language access laws, such as Canada, Sweden and Australia, the profession is relatively better institutionalized with training courses, certification examinations and professional associations; in others with a recent history of migration such as Italy and Spain, it is less established (Hale, 2015, p. 67). Likewise, public service interpreting cannot be said to have developed to the desired extent in Turkey, which has only recently faced the flows of immigrants.

² <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria>

In Turkey, free interpreting services to refugees are mentioned in the Temporary Protection Regulation (Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği) (2014), yet the quality and scope of these services are not specified. In this respect, UNHCR provides interpreters to a number of institutions such as the units of the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services, and within the scope of SIHHAT, the EU-supported healthcare project, interpreters are employed in various healthcare institutions in the provinces with the highest Syrian populations. In-house translators and interpreters are staffed at Provincial Directorates of Migration Management. For the courts, interpreter lists are drafted annually by provincial justice commissions of judicial courts pursuant to the regulation on drafting the lists of interpreters based on the Code of Criminal Procedure, and interpreters are selected among Turkish citizens providing the necessary conditions. Moreover, non-governmental organizations (hereinafter NGOs) such as the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (hereinafter ASAM) and Kızılay Community Centers also employ in-house interpreters. Yet despite the mentioned needs and initiatives, public service interpreting has not yet developed sufficiently as a profession in Turkey.

Hale (2015, pp. 67-8) suggests that the major obstacles to the professionalization of public service interpreting are the lack of training programs and divergences in interpreter behavior due to the scarcity of pre-service trainings. Moreover, as a result of the lack of rewards, such as high pays, there are few incentives to encourage practitioners to invest time and money in professional development, an issue also highlighted by Rudvin (2015, p. 437). According to Rudvin (2015, p. 437), the ignorance about the necessary special skills due to public perception that anyone who knows a language can interpret, the lack of mechanisms to control interpreter performances, and the influence of other stakeholders, such as service providers or users, on interpreting performances also hinder the acquisition of professional identity by interpreters. In the absence of interpreter trainings, professional status cannot be achieved, and thus, individuals with "natural skills" tend to fill the gap of professional interpreters (Rudvin, 2015, p. 438). Hence, public service interpreting is regarded as a low-prestige occupation that does not bring sufficient income.

The role boundaries of interpreters, who cannot gain professional identity due to the above-mentioned factors, also become blurred. In the absence of training opportunities, interpreters cannot be equipped with the decision-making mechanisms necessary for interpreting performances. On the other hand, it is acknowledged that the social dynamics of communication processes in various community settings might require interpreters to go beyond the duty of conveying language mechanically, and the requirements of behaving like a machine without being involved in decision-making processes and of being invisible and neutral do not fully reflect the real-life

performances of interpreters (Barsky, 1996; Wadensjö, 1998; Roy, 2000; Bot, 2003; Angelelli, 2004; Clifford, 2004; Rudvin, 2007).

In this regard, this study aims to examine the professional trajectory of the interpreters working at ASAM, one of the NGOs, giving large-scaled service to migrants and refugees in Turkey. More specifically, the motives that have driven the interpreters to the job they are engaged in and the forms of capital (un)available to them in their work trajectory will be examined based on the interpreters' professional perceptions and the institutional conditions surrounding them and will be discussed in the light of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio*.

2. Conceptual Framework

The studies under the influence of the Cultural Turn have mostly discussed such issues as power, ideology, politics, gender and ethics, paving the way for sociological approaches to translation. In recent years, the methods proposed in the scope of the Cultural Turn have become inadequate in examining the developments such as migration and globalization and their social and cultural implications. Hence, Translation Studies have wended its way towards sociological concepts and methods. Within this framework, translation is defined as "socially regulated activity" (Hermans, 1997, p. 10), and translations are regarded as "socially-configured acts" carried out by individuals involved in social systems and conditioned by social institutions (Wolf, 2007, p. 1). Furthermore, translators and interpreters as actors, their agency and the social conditions surrounding them have become research topics since the 1990s. Considering the increasing amount of work done on translation and interpreting practices from the perspective of agents, Chesterman (2009) even suggested a new subfield, the "Translator Studies". Chesterman (2006, p. 12) divided translation sociology into three strands, namely the sociology of translations as products, the sociology of translating as the translation process and the sociology of translators, which involves the issues of translators' status and image, their rates of pay, working conditions, attitude towards their work, *habitus* and networks (Chesterman, 2009, p. 16).

The mentioned issues are mostly addressed through Bourdieu's concepts of field, *habitus* and capital. For Bourdieu (1990b), society is a social game having its own rules. Players, being familiar with these rules, participate in this game and adopt practices that are inherent to this game. The mentioned games correspond to fields in Bourdieu's framework, which are "historically constituted areas of activity with their specific institutions and own laws of functioning" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 87). For fields to function, one of the necessary laws is the autonomy of a field within the field of power

(Bourdieu, 1993b). According to Bourdieu (1986a, p. 269), an autonomous field has the power to set the dynamics related to the use of its own products.

Whether or not translation is a field in Bourdieu's sense has been a matter of discussion among translation scholars (Inghilleri, 2005; Wolf 2007; Gouanvic, 2007). Wolf (2007, pp. 110-2) argues that there are no durable relations between translation agents, who only act in specific mediation contexts for a certain period of time. Such contexts are of a transitory character due to the low institutionalization and the continuous change in the agents' interests, which is contradictory to the principle of durability for a field's reproduction. Likewise, Gouanvic (2007) speaks of the difficulty of conceptualizing translation as a field, since translated texts are configurations realized in other fields such as law, economics, and so on. Similarly, Inghilleri (2005, p. 73), focusing attention on public service interpreting, mentions that this form of interpreting is intrinsically interrelated with other fields such as law, medicine, education, well-established professions with social agents granted exceptional resources and forms of capital, providing them with authority, prestige and status. Inghilleri (2005, pp. 69-70) further argues that only through the increased professional standards can interpreters and their profession, located in "zones of uncertainty", proposed by Bourdieu (2000, pp. 157-8) as "ill-defined" social spaces between fields, move away from these zones and gain legitimate capital forms in the face of other dominant fields' agents.

In Bourdieu's framework, the motives driving agents to take an interest and take part in social spaces are described through the concept of *illusio*. As Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 116) propose, *illusio* implies being "invested, taken in and by the game" and believing that it is worth playing. Interest in the game depends on the agents' positions and trajectory, which is defined as the series of positions held by individuals and the decisions made at different moments in social spaces (Bourdieu, 1993b, p. 189). *Illusio* leads agents to employ strategies with regard to their appropriate positions and forms of capital.

Agents are engaged in fields through their *habitus*, which is defined as:

[a] system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems. (Bourdieu, 1998, p. XX)

More specifically, *habitus* is a set of dispositions inculcated in individuals by the social structures (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 1-14). Involving interaction between structure and agency, *habitus* relates to an individual's personal trajectory, particular history, identity, gender, class, cultural background, past experiences, beliefs and values. In

that sense, the acquiring of *habitus* starts in the family through both conscious and unconscious practices, and the early socialization in family forms the basis of all ensuing experiences (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 134). Through an individual's socialization process, the original *habitus* turns into an individual's professional *habitus*, being a gradual and mostly unconscious process (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 11). Thus, it can be said that *habitus* is a life-long process and the product of dispositions gained through family, class, status, ideology, education, among others.

Simeoni (1998), one of the first scholars to draw on the concept of *habitus*, argues that translators' internalization of the dictated norms through personal history, professional training and experience has led to the consideration of translation as a secondary activity and as a result, translators have adopted a submissive behavior due to this translatorial *habitus* over the years, thereby creating a low social status for them. However, Sela-Sheffy (2005) believes that it is misleading to accept that this inferior status has been formed in all cultural periods and among all practitioners. Referring to Bourdieu's (1990a) view on the diversity of *habitus*, Sela-Sheffy (2005, p. 19) suggests that the dynamics of the translation field are based on the conflict between the "predictability" and "versatility" of translators' decisions and preferences. Inghilleri (2003), examining the dynamics of public service interpreting, also highlights the diversified *habitus* among interpreters, which, she suggests, is able to change the dynamics in favor of interpreters. Inghilleri (2005) also proposes the notion of "interpreting habitus". Through experience, interpreters form "interpreting habitus", which structures and is structured by interpreting contexts, which are in turn shaped by the interactions between social agents, fields and their *habitus*. Inghilleri (2005, p. 83) argues that strong "interpreting habitus" can be realized through interpreters' strengthened "collective sense of themselves" and a strong "feel for the game", which can be acquired through interpreter training programs, established professional standards and training programs for those working with interpreters.

Capital, another important concept in Bourdieu's framework, is defined as:

accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated', embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. (Bourdieu, 1986b, p. 241)

The concept is used to explain power relations among agents within a field. Accordingly, agents struggle with each other to gain power, which allows them to take positions within the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu does not reduce capital to only material goods, rather puts forth three main forms of capital, namely economic, cultural and social capital, which are all exchangeable into each other (Bourdieu 1993a) and also into symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986b). Economic capital, being the basis of the other capital forms, involves economic possessions (1986b, p. 249). Economic capital is necessary for agents to make investments in other capital

forms, and if economic capital can be accumulated by agents, their economic needs will not be a hindrance to their cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993b, p. 68).

Cultural capital can be present in three forms, namely embodied, objectified or institutionalized (Bourdieu, 1986b). Embodied cultural capital is the product of the transformation of external resources into an individual's essential part, namely a *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1986b, p. 243). This type of capital cannot be transferred to others. Bourdieu (1986b, pp. 243-4) suggests that embodied cultural capital is accumulated unconsciously based on the social class and the period through the whole socialization process. In the discussion of this form of cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986b, p. 244) proposes the notion of "scarcity value", defined as any cultural competence generating "profits of distinction" to its holder. The objectified state of cultural capital is present in the form of material objects such as writings, instruments, paintings, monuments, and so on. This form of capital can be exchanged into economic and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986b, p. 245). The institutionalized state of cultural capital is realized in the form of academic qualifications and certificates or diplomas (Bourdieu, 1986b, p. 245). This type of capital brings its owner a legitimate cultural value (Bourdieu, 1986b, p. 245). In this respect, academic qualifications can allow agents to generate profits in social spaces in the form of a high salary.

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

Lastly, all the mentioned forms of capital can be turned into symbolic capital, which is:

any property (any form of capital whether economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents as endowed with categories of perception, which cause them to know it and to recognise it, to give it value. (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 47)

Symbolic capital is only manifested as prestige, status and recognition in others' eyes (Bourdieu, 1998). The other forms of capital can be legitimized through symbolic capital, which provides its holders with power (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 23). Accordingly,

Bourdieu (1989, p. 21) implies that those with greater symbolic capital have the capacity to determine “the scale of values” within the social space.

3. Methodology

In the present study, various data sources have been triangulated in order to understand the professional trajectory of the ASAM interpreters. ASAM³ has been chosen as the relevant institution, since it is an NGO that carries out projects and activities in cooperation with many international and national associations, organizations and institutions, particularly with the United Nations specialized agencies, to strengthen migrants and vulnerable groups and integrate them into society, and it is also one of the few NGOs recruiting staff under the title of “interpreter” in Turkey. The in-house interpreters provide services to migrants and refugees both within the institution and in other institutions such as healthcare facilities and police units.

The data includes the semi-structured interviews conducted with the interpreters and the officials assigning and working with the interpreters in the institution, as well as the institutional documents, involving the job posting of ASAM for interpreters and the interpreters’ manual prepared by ASAM officials responsible for the training of interpreters. Semi-structured interviews, the main data source of the present study, enable researchers to have access to people’s thoughts and ideas about a subject through open-ended questions (Saldanha&O’Brien, 2013, p. 169). As a flexible tool, semi-structured interviews allow certain issues to be discussed at length and new questions to be introduced (Saldanha&O’Brien, 2013, pp. 172-3). The data compiled through the interviews with the officials and the institutional documents are used as sources supplementary to the findings of the interviews with the interpreters. Due to the confidentiality principle of ASAM, the researcher was not able to observe interpreter-mediated encounters.

In order to conduct interviews with the interpreters, a request was made via e-mail from the authorities of the relevant ASAM units in the provinces of İzmir, Adana, Mersin and Gaziantep. With the regional coordinators’ approval, the authorities determined the interpreters to be interviewed and arranged the interview appointments. Then semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face with 9 interpreters, who had signed the consent form, in the mentioned provinces. The interview consisted of 36 open-ended questions under 7 titles: Social Background, Perceptions of Image and Role as Interpreters, Expectations of the Parties, Perceptions of Autonomy, Perceptions of Norms and Ethics, Challenges and Strategies, Professional

³ <https://sgdd.org.tr/>

Prospects (see Appendix 1). Lasting between 26 minutes and 90 minutes, the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Moreover, 3 officials from the three different units were also interviewed about the interpreters' work conditions and activities (see Appendix 2 for the interview questions). The interviews, lasting around 30 minutes on average, were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Lastly, ASAM's job posting for interpreters and the interpreters' manual presented to them in the in-service trainings were obtained as documents to be analyzed.

The semi-structured interviews with the interpreters have been subjected to the six-phase thematic analysis, proposed by Braun&Clarke (2006). The aim of thematic analysis is to identify important and interesting themes, namely patterns, in the data for the discussion of the research topic. The phases involve familiarizing oneself with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report. The deductive analysis method, where the analysis is guided by research questions, has been adopted. Accordingly, the interview transcripts were coded manually according to the relevant research question, and the codes, their definitions and locations in the data set were typed in the codebook in Excel format. Each NGO interpreter was assigned a number and recorded as NGOI-1,2,3... A second coder, having worked as a public service interpreter himself, also cross-checked the codes, which ensured the analysis' reliability to some extent (see Creswell, 2009, p. 177). Then the codes similar in content, important for the relevant research question and expressed by at least two respondents were categorized, and the preliminary themes were derived. After reviewing and defining themes, the thematic map, which will be presented in Figure 1, was created by the authors. The triangulation of the interview data with the other data sources raised the findings' validity to a certain extent (see Creswell, 2009).

4. Findings and Discussion

In the present study, 5 of the interviewed interpreters were female and 4 were male. Their average age is 31 and average interpreting experience is around 28 months. The interpreters' demographic profile and social background is presented in Table 1:

Table 1

The Interpreters' Demographic Profile and Social Background

Interpreter	Hometown	Ethnic Origin	Educational Background	Language Courses	Previous Work Experience	Interpreter Training	Interpreting Experience
NGOI-1	Antakya	Arab	Teaching	-	Tutored Syrian refugees in	ASAM trainings	6 months

					Turkish language		
NGOI-2	Antakya	Arab	Business Administration	Private Arabic language lessons	Interpreter in a refugee camp	ASAM trainings	4 years
NGOI-3	Aleppo	Kurdish (ancestors from a Southeastern border province in Turkey)	Dropout of French Language and Literature (Syria)	Turkish language course at ASAM	Tutored Syrian refugees in Turkish language	ASAM trainings	4 years
NGOI-4	Mardin	Turkish-Arab	Elementary and secondary education in Lebanon, German Translation and Interpreting in Turkey, also Sociology student at Open Education Faculty at a public university in Turkey	-	-	BA, ASAM trainings	1 year
NGOI-5	Mardin	Kurdish	Journalism	Language course in Saudi Arabia	Interpreter for Arab traders	ASAM trainings	3 years
NGOI-6	Antakya	Arab	Business Administration	-	-	ASAM trainings	8 months
NGOI-7	Damascus	Kurdish (ancestors from a Southeastern border province in Turkey)	Law (Syria)	-	Interpreter in a provincial directorate of migration management and also interpreting for foreign journalists	ASAM trainings	3,5 years
NGOI-8	Aleppo	Kurdish-Turkish (moved to a	High School (Syria)	Turkish language course	A short-term project for refugees	ASAM trainings	Around 3,5 years

A Bourdieusian Perspective on the Public Service Interpreters Working at the
Non-Governmental Organizations

		Southeastern border province in Turkey upon marriage)					
NGOI-9	Antakya	Arab	Teaching	Arabic language course	Interpreter for Arab tourists	ASAM trainings	1 year

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

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

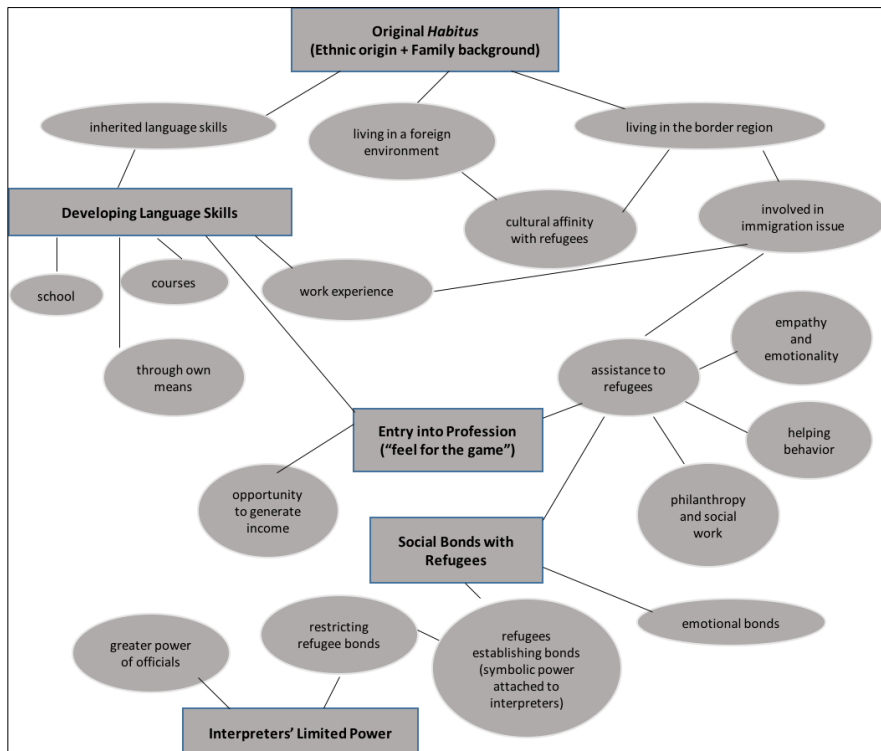
The thematic map, which has been formed by the authors based on the manual coding process, and which illustrates the motives that have driven the interpreters to the interpreting job at the NGO and the forms of capital (un)available to them in their work trajectory, is presented in Figure 1.

As shown in Figure 1, the factors contributing to the interpreters' original *habitus* are their ethnic origins, their regions of origin (mostly the southern and southeastern border regions of Turkey), the family and the social environment. By virtue of these factors, it can be said that the interpreters share many cultural affinities with Syrians, for whom they mostly provide interpreting services, and they have been involved in the immigration and refugee issue in some way. Moreover, based on the same factors, the interpreters have inherited the knowledge of Turkish, Arabic and

Kurdish, namely their working languages. In this respect, all of the interpreters affirm that the mentioned languages are spoken in the family and in the social environment. Hence, it can be argued that through the early socialization process in family and in the regions where they have lived, the interpreters have acquired the cultural knowledge and language skills, which correspond to the embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986b), being the most valuable form of capital for the interpreting profession. It can also be said that this cultural capital has turned into "scarcity value" in Bourdieu's terms (1986b, p. 244) for the interpreters in Turkey, where a large population of Syrian refugees is currently living, yet there is a limited number of people speaking Arabic. Based on the mentioned cultural capital and the involvement in the immigration issue in the social environment, 7 interpreters have also engaged in certain jobs related to migrants and refugees before the interpreting job at the NGO, such as tutoring refugees in Turkish language, interpreting in a refugee camp and in a provincial directorate of migration management and interpreting for Arab traders and tourists (see Table 1).

Figure 1

Thematic Map of the Forms of Capital (Un)Available to the NGO Interpreters



As also shown in Figure 1 under the theme of “developing language skills”, the institutionalized cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986b) in the form of school and course education can also be said to have contributed to the development of the available language skills for a number of interpreters. For instance, NGOI-3, NGOI-7 and NGOI-8 went to schools in Syria and NGOI-4 in Lebanon, where the language of instruction is Arabic (see Table 1). Besides, NGOI-2, NGOI-5 and NGOI-9 have taken Arabic language courses, and NGOI-3 and NGOI-8 have attended Turkish language courses to improve their language skills (see Table 1). Moreover, in terms of developing language skills, almost all of the interpreters mention various language-improvement activities they do by themselves, such as watching movies and series and reading books. NGOI-1 and NGOI-2 also state that the related work experience in interpreting have contributed to their available language skills.

Under the theme of “entry into profession”, the interpreters mention various motives that have driven them to the interpreting job at the NGO. In this regard, the basic motive for the majority of the interpreters can be suggested as the interpreters’ cultural capital rooted in their original *habitus*, namely the language skills acquired in the family and in the social environment, which have further been developed through education in foreign countries and courses. More specifically, NGOI-1, NGOI-2, NGOI-3, NGOI-5 and NGOI-7 imply that the mentioned cultural capital has influenced their choice of the interpreting job at the NGO. Another motive, the interpreting job being an “opportunity to generate income”, is mentioned by 2 interpreters. In this regard, NGOI-5 and NGOI-7 imply that they view this job as an opportunity to generate income by using the available knowledge of the relevant languages. Lastly, the sub-theme of “assistance to refugees” with the elements of “empathy and emotionality” and “helping behavior” is mentioned by especially NGOI-6 and NGOI-9. These interpreters express their motive in starting this job as the willingness to help refugees based on the empathy they have developed towards refugees upon facing the hardships they go through in their social environment. Moreover, NGOI-1, NGOI-2, NGOI-4 and NGOI-8 also imply the issue of assistance to refugees by touching on the concepts of philanthropy and commitment to social work.

The two emerging themes regarding the work trajectory of the interpreters are “the social bonds developed with refugees”, albeit in a restricted manner, and “the interpreters’ limited power”. Accordingly, the restricted social bonds, which can be considered as a form of social capital accumulated by the interpreters, seem to be developed in two ways: during assistance to refugees and as emotional bonds. In this regard, NGOI-1, NGOI-2 and NGOI-4 touch on the bonds they develop during assistance to refugees, and NGOI-3, NGOI-5 and NGOI-8 talk about the emotional bonds developed towards refugees in the interviews involving traumatic experiences of refugees. Furthermore, the vast majority of the interpreters (7 out of 9) speak of the

bonds that refugees struggle to establish with themselves. On the other hand, almost all of the interpreters somehow imply their limited power, which in fact refers to the interpreters' lower symbolic capital. The theme of "interpreters' limited power" emerges in the interpreters' accounts of their efforts to restrict refugee bonds and in their emphases on the greater power of officials. Accordingly, the majority of the interpreters (6 out of 9) state that they struggle to restrict the bonds and high expectations of refugees due to their limited power and authority, and the great majority of them (7 out of 9) underline the greater power of the other professional groups endowed with more symbolic capital, such as psychologists, lawyers, social workers, and their limited authority against these officials. All the themes and the related elements outlined in Figure 1 will be explained in detail in the following sections.

4.1. The *Illusio* Driving the Interpreters to the Interpreting Job at the NGO

In general, the interpreters mention various motives, the *illusio*, leading them to take an interest in the job of NGO interpreting. Especially NGOI-1, NGOI-2, NGOI-3, NGOI-5 and NGOI-7 express their *illusio* as their language skills and aptitude for the job. For instance, NGOI-1, mentioning that she has acquired Arabic knowledge in the family and through her own language improvement efforts, states:

[...] I had knowledge, but I didn't know where to transfer it. This place was a very good area⁴.

[...bir bilгим vardı ama nereye aktaracađımı bilmiyordum. Burası çok iyi bir alan oldu.]

NGOI-2, who started working in a refugee camp upon the suggestion of a lecturer when he was a university student, states that he wanted to continue using his available language skills as an interpreter. Likewise, NGOI-3, whose Turkish language skills were also recognized by the course teacher, says that she started working as an interpreter at ASAM upon the teacher's recommendation. NGOI-5 and NGOI-7, noting that interpreting was the most appropriate job to be selected as someone not being able to perform the main profession and knowing the required working languages, imply that they view interpreting as an area where they can use their "scarcity value" and can earn money, namely as an opportunity generating economic capital for them. In this regard, NGOI-5, who is a graduate of journalism yet cannot turn his academic qualification into economic capital, says:

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

⁴ Translation of all the excerpts from the interview transcripts into English belongs to the authors.

[Neden seçtim bu işi? Birincisi dil biliyordum. Ve şeydi yani, seçebileceğim arasında en iyisi buydu.]

On the other hand, NGOI-6 and NGOI-9 mention the emotional dimension of the refugee issue, the empathy and helping behavior developed through witnessing the difficulties experienced by refugees in their hometowns. They imply that their motive in starting the job is the affection they have felt after meeting with refugees and the desire to help them. NGOI-6 also asserts that she did not want to continue in her previous job, namely the banking sector, and preferred to work as an interpreter at the NGO. In this regard, NGOI-9 says:

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

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

Besides, when asked whether the income earned from the interpreting job is sufficient, NGOI-9 states that the income is not at the forefront for himself. He notes:

Well, I don't pay much attention to the income. The income is normal. Frankly speaking, it is not at the forefront for me now. It is enough as far as I can improve myself, as far as I am self-sufficient.

[Yani, gelir olarak bakmıyorum daha çok da, normal yani geliri de. Hani, ön planda değil açıkçası benim için şu an geliri. Kendimi geliştirebildiğim açıdan, kendime yettiğim açıdan yeterlidir zaten...]

Thus, it can be argued that, in saying so, NGOI-9 further implies that the motive that has driven himself to the interpreting job at the NGO is not to generate income, i.e. economic capital, but rather the humanitarian aspect of the refugee issue mentioned above.

Moreover, a group of interpreters highlight the elements related to philanthropy and commitment to social work such as moral dimension of their job, sense of happiness and satisfaction felt through humanitarian aid, willingness to continue their career in this area, and love of touching human life. The concept of humanitarian aid is also highlighted in ASAM's job posting for interpreters, whose job description includes assistance to refugees in the procedures in public institutions. The job posting denotes "having knowledge about the Humanitarian Aid Principles, the

Syrian Crisis and refugees" among the general qualifications sought in the interpreters to be recruited.

In this regard, NGOI-1 expresses her willingness to work with people due to its moral dimension as another motive (in addition to using her language skills) to start the interpreting job. NGOI-2 and NGOI-4 mention that they feel happy to support people within the frame of their job. NGOI-4, mentioning her love of people and society, also states that she decided to study Sociology at the Open Education Faculty at a public university in Turkey after she started working with refugees. Moreover, she notes that the concept of humanity comes before the job in NGO interpreting. In the same vein, NGOI-8 expresses her ability to touch people's lives as a personal characteristic she has discovered in herself.

Overall, the factors having created the "feel for the game" (Bourdieu, 1998) for the interpreters and enabling them to find the NGO interpreting worth practicing can be suggested as the desire to use the cultural capital, including language skills, and to generate income by using the mentioned capital as well as the empathy and helping behavior developed through witnessing the difficulties experienced by refugees as a result of cultural and regional affinity with them.

4.2. The Social Capital Realized as Bonds with Refugees

For the interpreters, engaged in NGO interpreting based on the mentioned motives, a form of social capital is realized as bonds with refugees developed through assistance and affection, which are rooted in the empathy and helping behavior towards refugees and in the moral dimension of humanitarian aid. While almost all the interpreters use the concept of "assistance" in describing their activities for refugees, only some of them highlight the relationships they establish with refugees through the assistance they provide. For instance, NGOI-1 and NGOI-2 state that since refugees do not know the procedures in public institutions, they need to be assisted, and they imply that they naturally develop bonds with refugees during the field work. In this respect, NGOI-1, stating that she has to explain the necessity of helping refugees vis-à-vis the prejudice towards them in public institutions, expresses the bonds developed with refugees as such:

[...] Interpreting job may be limited, you go there upon assignment, but you are there with the refugee all day. You need to convey the feeling and we can receive good feedback. So what's better than that?

[...Hani mesela tercümanlık kısıtlı olabilir, yönlendirmeyle sen gidiyorsun ama mesela gün içi tüm gün o sen danışanlasın vs. O duygusunu vermek gerekiyor ve hani iyi dönütler de alabiliyoruz. E bundan daha iyisi ne olsun?]

In a similar vein, NGOI-4, emphasizing that NGO interpreting, where the concept of humanity is more prominent, is different from interpreting in other settings, states that she patiently and sympathetically explains the institutional

procedures to refugees in the NGO and assists refugees, whose problems she already knows, in the arrangement of urgent interviews with the relevant specialists, which leads to the development of intimate relationships with refugees. In this regard, she says:

[...] Or sometimes they have a lot of problems even when coming here on the way. They are leaving the house. Their mind is busy with those problems. On the way they think about them. As soon as they see me, they come and hug me. They immediately start talking about their problems. I calm them down. I try not to listen, but they don't notice it. ... [I say] "okay, let's take a queue number and arrange an appointment for you. Go upstairs and talk with the specialists."

[...Ya da mesela bazen gerçekten çok sıkıntıları oluyor yolda gelirken bile. Evden çıkıyor. Zaten dolmuştur evde. Yolda onları düşünür, beni görür görmez işte geliyor, sarılıyor. Direkt anlatmaya çalışıyor. Ben yavaş yavaş hani, sakinleştiriyorum. Dinlememeye çalışıyorum ama fark etmiyor. Hani, hemen şey yapıyor, tamam, biz sana fiş ayarlayalım, işte, randevu ayarlayalım, işte, arkadaşlarla çık, konuş...]

Apart from the bonds developed through assistance, some interpreters also mention the emotional bonds with refugees. In that vein, in addition to the interpreters, stating that they got very emotional especially in their first interpreting experiences, some interpreters express that they try to suppress their feelings in the interviews, since they have to be careful in this sense in front of refugees. What NGOI-5 remarks about this issue is noteworthy:

It doesn't affect my service, but I am affected individually and emotionally. Well, I am not reflecting it on my service at that moment, but you are expecting... You know, to soothe that emotion in yourself. You are experiencing it. Then the effect continues. It even attracts the attention of your colleague, with whom you are together in the interview. When we talk about it, we feel sadder, thinking that we cannot do anything.

[Hizmetimi etkilemiyor ama bireysel ve duygusal olarak etkileniyorum. İşte onu o an hizmete yansıtmam ama şeyi de bekliyorsunuz. Hani, o duyguyu sakinleştirmeyi içinde... Bunu yaşıyorsunuz. Sonra etkisi sürüyor ama. Hatta bunu, sonra başka böyle mesela, beraber görüşme aldığınız arkadaşınızın da dikkatini çekiyor. Üzerine konuştuğumuzda böyle bir daha da hüzünlüyorsunuz, biz hiçbir şey yapamıyoruz diye.]

NGOI-3 and NGOI-8, coming from the same region with refugees, also mention their emotional labor by pointing out that there were times when they were affected by refugees' traumatic cases. For instance, NGOI-8, frequently emphasizing her motherhood, expresses her empathy and says:

Inevitably, I shed tears in front of the refugee. The psychologist also felt it. After all, I was a mother and untrained. Then even the refugee stopped speaking. She looked at me. Because she was a mother, and I was a mother, too.

[...İster istemez göz yaşlarım danışanın karşısında aktı. Psikolog arkadaş da duydu. Sonuçta bir anneydim ve eğitimsiz girmiştım. Sonra hatta danışan kendi de sustu. O bana baktı. Çünkü o da anneydi, ben de anneydim.]

The mentioned social bonds developed with refugees, namely a group with relatively low social, cultural and economic capital, cannot be said to generate high symbolic capital to the interpreters. As Bourdieu (1986b, p. 247) argues, in order for such relations to be productive, connections need to be established with groups endowed with a large volume of capital. However, it could be suggested that the social bonds with refugees generate a sense of moral satisfaction for the interpreters. In this regard, NGOI-8 mentions that there are refugees who always prefer to get service from her, which, according to her, is a source of pride. In a similar vein, NGOI-1 says:

[...] Maybe it [the professional status] can change according to the group we work with. I mean, right now, for example, because of the moral feeling we just talked about, for me, it's really at a top level like the backstage heroes of a cinema.

[...Hani belki çalıştığımız gruba göre de değişebiliyor. Yani, şu an mesela ben o demin dediğimiz manevi duygusundan kaynaklı şu an benim için gerçekten, bir sinemanın arka kahramanları gibi en üst boyutta olan bir seviyede.]

On the other hand, the social capital the interpreters accumulate through the institutional identity and membership has the potential for generating a “credential” (Bourdieu, 1986b, p. 246) and other types of capital for them. ASAM carries out a wide range of activities in the field of asylum and immigration in Turkey, runs projects through the United Nations funds and cooperates with the state institutions, which all bring economic, social and symbolic capital and thus social recognition to the institution. The interviewed ASAM officials also emphasize the social recognition in the eyes of the institutions. For instance, Official 1 states that all public institutions recognize the NGO, adding:

We are in constant contact with the Provincial Directorate of Migration Management, Governorship and the other places. After all, everyone facilitates each other's work. So we can look at it in that way. In other words, ensuring this correlation contributes greatly to the progress of the work. [...]

[Sürekli iletişim halindeyiz yani. İl Göç İdaresi olsun, valilik olsun, diğer yerler olsun. Sonuçta herkes birbirinin işini kolaylaştırıyor. Öyle bakabiliriz yani. Yani bu korelasyonun sağlanması, yani işlerin ilerletilmesi konusunda da çok büyük fayda sağlıyor....]

Likewise, Official 2 notes that they are respected for the quality of their work and there is a trust relationship between the NGO and public institutions despite some

conflicts. It can be suggested that the interpreters' membership to such an institution might confer on them the social and symbolic capital possessed by the NGO to some extent. However, it can be argued that due to their relatively less authority within the institution and the general lack of conditions for the formation of "interpreting habitus" (Inghilleri, 2005), the interpreters may not benefit from this social capital as much as the other employees with a greater amount of capital.

4.3. The Internalized Limited Authority of the Interpreters: The Interpreters' Lower Symbolic Capital

One of the most frequently mentioned issues in the interpreters' interviews is their limited authority within the institution. This issue is mostly emphasized when refugees' high expectations from the interpreters and their efforts to develop bonds with them are mentioned. Refugees' high expectations can be said to mainly stem from their sharing a common language and culture with the interpreters or their unawareness of interpreter roles and responsibilities. Most of the interpreters describe those high expectations as a problem they need to get over in the face of their limited authority. For example, in that sense, NGOI-4, frequently mentioning that refugees view herself as a person who can solve their problems, says:

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

Yani, beklentileri, mesela sorunlarını çözmek. Benim çözebileceğimi düşünüyorlar. Ya da ben çözmüyorsam bile ben yukarı çıkıp, bu danışanı alalım, hani ya da bu danışana fişsiz ya da fişli, direkt bekletmeden alalım, olayına giriyor. [...]

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

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

[Bir sıkıntısı veya sorunu olduğunda onunla aynı dili konuştuğum için hani benden medet umuyor. Olayı benim çözeceğimi düşünüyor. Öyle bir durum var.]

Refugees' unawareness of interpreter role and responsibilities might also leave the interpreters in a difficult situation. In this regard, NGOI-2 and NGOI-4 report that during the interviews, refugees may sometimes try to talk to the interpreter directly by ignoring officials. NGOI-5 states that some refugees forget about his responsibilities as

an interpreter and feel close to him, asking for his opinions about sensitive issues. He mentions:

[...] The refugee came. When the social worker went to get a document, the refugee felt close to me probably because I spoke Arabic and he said, "I have tried to flee twice." He had already told this. And then asked, "Shall I try once again? What do you think?" [...]

[...Şimdi danışan geldi. Buradaki sosyal çalışmacı arkadaşımız belge almaya gidip gelirken herhalde Arapça konuşmamdan dolayı danışan kendini bana yakın gördü ve şey dedi. Ya dedi, ben 2 defa kaçmayı denedim. Zaten onu söylemişti bir daha kaçayım, sence ne diyorsun, dedi....]

Apart from the interpreters, the interviewed officials and the interpreters' manual (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, p. 13) verify the issues of refugees' possible affinity to and high expectations from the interpreters. In this sense, Official 2 states:

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

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

Although refugees' high expectations could be considered a sign of their attributing some form of symbolic value and power to the interpreters, the interpreters struggle to reduce refugees' expectations based on their relatively limited power, even at the cost of reducing the symbolic value attached to themselves. In this respect, almost all of the interpreters state that while performing their duties, they need to remind refugees of their role and task boundaries when faced with high expectations. In that sense, NGOI-1, NGOI-2, NGOI-4, NGOI-5, NGOI-7 and NGOI-9 state that they politely remind refugees trying to engage in dialogues with themselves that their needs will be addressed by officials. For instance, NGOI-5 remarks:

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

[...Siz diyorsunuz. Bak ben bir tercümanım diyorsun. Burada hiçbir yetkim yok. Mesela hizmet alana hizmet vereceğe o güveni vermiş olmanız gerekiyor. Çünkü

o sizi tercih etmiştir. Ama hizmet alana da işte, kendinizin bir tercüman olduğunu ve hiçbir yetkinizin olmadığını belirtiyorsunuz. Yoksa diğer türlü mesela şey yapmaya başlayabiliyor. Ya sen doktorla konuşsan da bana şu ilacı da yazsa. Ama ben sadece tercümanım. Ona iletirim, dediğinizde o sizi daha iyi anlıyor.]

Similarly, NGOI-7 states that he tells such refugees:

"I am here as an interpreter. I don't give counseling. The official in charge here will answer your questions."

[...“benim burada görevim tercümanlıktır. Danışmanlık vermiyorum. Burada görevli arkadaş size bunun için cevap verecek.”]

When the interpreters' manual is examined, it is understood that the interpreters' attempts to reduce refugee expectations coincide with those stated in the manual. For instance, referring to *Freelance Court Interpreter Handbook* of the Wisconsin Director of State Courts Office (2012), the manual (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, p. 14) stipulates:

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

[Tercümandan yararlanan kişinin soruları varsa, bu sorular tercüman aracılığı ile yetkili kişi veya görüşme yapan kişiye yönlendirilmelidir; ayrıca tercüman, danışandan gelen soruları yanıtlama yetkisi olmadığı bilgisini vermelidir.]

It is also emphasized in the interpreters' manual that the interpreter's reminding interviewees about their role boundaries is an ethical rule, which protects the interpreter from unwarranted expectations, uncertainties and negative situations such as emotional abuses (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, p. 17).

While mentioning their task boundaries and limited power, the interpreters at the same time highlight the greater authority of other professional groups, endowed with relatively high economic, social and symbolic capital, such as psychologists, lawyers, social workers. They emphasize that being answerable to officials, they act in accordance with their permissions and instructions in certain situations during interactions with refugees. NGOI-3, NGOI-6, NGOI-7 and NGOI-8 even define undertaking initiative independently of officials as a problem, and especially NGOI-4, NGOI-5, NGOI-6, NGOI-7, NGOI-8 and NGOI-9 underline that those who have the main specialty, knowledge, authority and responsibility are the officials. In this sense, it can be argued that the interpreters have internalized their restricted symbolic capital compared to the other professional groups. Regarding this issue, NGOI-6 remarks:

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

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

Similarly, NGOI-4 expresses:

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

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

The interpreters' limited authority is an issue also highlighted by the interviewed officials. In this regard, when asked whether or not the interpreters can contact refugees by themselves, Official 1 asserts:

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

[Yani, böyle bir şey görüldüğü dakika, kulağımıza geldiği dakikada işe artık son vermek zorunda kalırız.]

The greater authority of officials is also frequently underlined in the interpreters' manual. For instance, it is stated that the official is the person to decide on the interpreting method (simultaneous, consecutive, etc.) during interviews (Ulusoy&Rezaei Osalou, 2019, p. 7) and to determine the need for interpreters to summarize the information (p. 9). It also stipulates that explanations will be made with the permission of the official (p. 20). The interviewed interpreters' internalization of their limited authority might be explained to some extent through the perceptions of the interviewed officials and the stipulations in the interpreters' manual, which partly reflect the institutional perception. Moreover, the general lack of opportunities for public service interpreters' professional development as well as the low awareness towards the interpreting profession in society might also be factors affecting the situation.

5. Conclusion

In response to the growing refugee population in recent years in Turkey, interpreting services are provided at various public institutions, courts and several NGOs. ASAM, one of these NGOs, providing wide-range of services to refugees and migrants, employs in-house public service interpreters. In this study, the professional trajectory of the interpreters working at various units of ASAM in the provinces of İzmir, Mersin,

Adana and Gaziantep has been examined based on the interpreters' professional perceptions and the institutional conditions affecting their interpreting activities. More specifically, the motives that have driven the interpreters to the interpreting job at the NGO and the forms of capital (un)available to them in their work trajectory have been discussed in the light of Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, capital and *illusio*. To this end, the semi-structured interviews conducted with the interpreters, the interviews with the institution officials and the institutional documents have been used as data sources.

The interpreters working at the institution are generally Syrians and Turkish citizens of Arab and Kurdish origin coming from the border provinces in the southern and southeastern regions of Turkey. Based on their ethnic origins and the regions where they come from, the interpreters share certain linguistic and cultural characteristics with refugees. Accordingly, the most valuable capital form for the interpreters is their cultural capital rooted in their original *habitus*, namely the embodied state of cultural capital in the form of language skills acquired in the family and the social environment. Furthermore, for some of the interpreters, the institutionalized state of cultural capital in the form of education received in foreign countries and language training received at language courses can be said to have contributed to their available cultural capital. None of the interpreters, except one, has had training in the interpreting area, and the only training they have received on interpreting is the in-service trainings provided by the institution. Some of the interpreters have gained work experience in various short-term jobs related to refugees and migrants before the interpreting job at the NGO.

Based on the interpreters' accounts, the factors that have created the "feel for the game" (Bourdieu, 1998) for the interpreters and have driven them to take an interest in the interpreting job at the NGO, namely the *illusio*, can be suggested as the desire to use the available cultural capital, including language skills, and to generate income by using the mentioned capital as well as the empathy and helping behavior developed through witnessing the hardships experienced by refugees as a result of cultural and regional affinity with them.

During their work trajectory, the interpreters seem to develop social bonds with refugees, albeit in a restricted manner, through assistance and affection, which can be regarded as a form of social capital. However, such social relations with refugees, endowed with relatively lower amount of capital, cannot be expected to yield high symbolic capital for the interpreters. It can also be argued that the social capital that could be accumulated through the institutional identity and membership may bring the interpreters a limited amount of symbolic capital compared to the other professional groups, endowed with a larger amount of capital than themselves. Regarding their work trajectory, the interpreters also frequently underline their

relatively limited authority against other professional groups with higher resources and authority, an issue also implied by the interviewed officials and in the interpreters' manual prepared by the institution officials. And based on their limited authority, the interpreters struggle for restricting refugees' high expectations within the frame of their activities.

Overall, certain resources possessed by the NGO interpreters that many interpreters in other domains do not have, such as the cultural capital that has turned into "scarcity value" (Bourdieu, 1986b, p. 244) under the current conditions in Turkey, the regular in-service trainings, the economic capital in the form of a salary and the institutional identity, might yield relatively higher symbolic capital to the interpreters and might create an environment where the interpreters could form a professional identity to some extent. However, under the current circumstances, the low perception in society regarding the interpreting profession and the general lack of resources that would equip interpreters with the necessary mechanisms to develop a strong professional identity, such as comprehensive interpreter trainings, constitute an obstacle to the formation of the strong interpreter identity.

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Appendix 1: Interview Questions for the Interpreters

Social and Professional Trajectory

1. Nerelisiniz? Ana diliniz nedir?
Where are you from? What is your mother tongue?
2. Eğitim durumunuz?
Your educational background?
3. Tercümanlık eğitimi aldınız mı?
Have you received interpreter training?
4. Bildiğiniz yabancı diller? Çalışma dilleriniz?
Which foreign languages do you speak? What are your working languages?
5. Çalışma dillerinizi nasıl öğrendiniz?
How have you learned your working languages?
6. Kaç yıldır tercümanlık yapıyorsunuz?
How long have you been practicing interpreting?
7. Neden ve nasıl tercümanlık mesleğini seçtiniz?
Why and how did you choose the interpreting job?
8. Tercümanlık yapmanıza elverecek karakter özellikleriniz nelerdir?
What are your character traits that allow you to do interpreting?
9. Boş zamanlarınızda yabancı diliniz ya da çeviri ile ilgili bir şey yapar mısınız? Bunlar nelerdir?
What do you do to improve your language or interpreting skills in your free time?
10. Aile bireylerinizin eğitim ve mesleki durumu nedir? Ailede sizden başka tercümanlık yapan var mıdır?
What is the educational and professional status of your family members? Are there any other interpreters in the family?
11. Aile bireylerinizin yabancı dil becerileri nasıldır?
Which foreign language(s) do your family members speak?

Perceptions of Image and Role as Interpreters

1. Tercüman olarak rolünüzü nasıl tanımlarsınız?
How would you describe your role as an interpreter?

2. Sizce tercümanlık statü bakımından nasıl bir meslektir? Benzetebileceğiniz başka bir meslek var mıdır? Geliri tatminkar mıdır? Tercümanlığın yanı sıra başka bir işle uğraşiyor musunuz?
What kind of a profession do you think is interpreting? Is there any other profession you can compare to? Is the income satisfactory? Do you engage in another job besides interpreting?
3. Kamu görevlileri işinizle ilgili size talimat verirler mi? Size saygı duyduklarını düşünüyor musunuz?
Do public officials instruct you about your job? Do you think they respect you?
4. Sizce kamu görevlilerine tercümanlık hizmetlerine ilişkin eğitim verilmeli midir?
Do you think that public officials should be given training on how to work with interpreters?
5. Sizce taraflar tercüman olarak rolünüzü doğru algılıyor mu?
Do you think the parties of interpreting processes clearly perceive your role as an interpreter?

Expectations

1. Göçmenlerin ve kamu görevlilerinin tercüman olarak sizden beklentileri nelerdir? Bu beklentiler yaptığınız işi etkiler mi?
What are the expectations of immigrants/refugees and public officials from you as an interpreter? Do these expectations affect the work you do?

Perceptions of Autonomy

1. Tercümanlık hizmetiniz sırasında hiç inisiyatif alıyor musunuz? Alıyorsanız hangi durumlarda ve neden alıyorsunuz?
Do you undertake any initiative during interpreting? If so, when and why?
2. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında tarafların hatalı ifadelerini düzeltir misiniz? Düzeltirseniz bunu belirtir misiniz?
Do you correct the misstatements of the parties during interpreting? If so, do you inform the parties about this?
3. Size tercümanlık sırasında fikriniz sorulsa ya da tavsiye vermeniz istense ne yaparsınız?
What do you do if you are asked for your opinion or asked for advice during interpreting?
4. Tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında taraflar arasında gerginlik oluşması durumunda ne yaparsınız?
What do you do in the tense atmosphere between the parties during interpreting?
5. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında bağımsız olarak açıklama yapar mısınız?
Do you give explanations during interpreting?

Perceptions of Norms and Ethics

1. Tercümanlıkta sizin geliştirdiğiniz prensipler var mıdır?
Are there any principles that you have established in the interpreting job you perform?
2. Tarafların söylediklerini tercüme ederken onların ağızıyla mı yoksa dolaylı mı konuşursunuz?
Do you use first-person or third-person pronouns during interpreting?

3. Aynı bölgeden, kültürel yapıdan, etnik gruptan, dini inanıştan gelmek tarafsızlığını etkiliyor mu?
Does coming from the same region, cultural background, ethnic group, religious belief with immigrants/refugees affect your impartiality?
4. Tercümanlık hizmetiniz sırasında tarafların erkek-kadın olması verdiğiniz hizmeti etkiler mi? Onlar açısından bu durum fark eder mi?
Does the parties' gender affect your interpreting performance? Does this matter to them?
5. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında söylenenleri özetler misiniz? Evetse hangi durumlarda özetlersiniz?
Do you summarize information during interpreting? If so, in what situations do you summarize?
6. Tercümanlık hizmeti öncesi veya sonrasında taraflarla konuya ilişkin görüşme yapar mısınız? Yapıp yapmadığınız tercüme hizmetinizi ne şekilde etkiler?
Do you have an interview with the parties before or after interpreting? In what way does this situation affect your interpreting performance?

Challenges and Strategies

1. Tercüme yaparken alanla ilgili terim ve ifadeleri çevirirken zorlanıyor musunuz? Zorlandığınız durumlarda nasıl bir çözüm üretiyorsunuz?
Do you have difficulty interpreting field-specific terms and expressions? What kind of solutions do you come up with when you have difficulty?
2. Tercümanlık hizmetleriniz sırasında örneğin bir travma durumunda duygusal olarak etkilenir misiniz, yoksa kendinizi uzak mı tutarsınız?
Are you emotionally affected in traumatic cases during interpreting, or can you keep yourself apart?
3. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında konuşulanların yanı sıra duyguları da aktarabiliyor musunuz? Aktarıyorsanız nasıl aktarıyorsunuz?
Can you also convey emotions during interpreting? If so, how do you do it?
4. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında kültürel öğeleri çevirmek için ne yaparsınız?
How do you interpret cultural elements?
5. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında hassas ifadeleri çevirmek için ne yaparsınız?
How do you interpret abusive or vulgar speech elements?
6. Verdiğiniz tercümanlık hizmetleri sırasında lehçe/şive farklılıkları sorun teşkil eder mi?
Do the differences in dialect/accent create a problem for you during interpreting?

Professional Prospects

1. Sizce tercümanlığın meslek olarak geliştirilmesi için ne yapılmalıdır?
What needs to be done to improve interpreting as a profession?
2. Sizce tercümanlık mesleğini ne kadar sürdürebilirsiniz? 10 yıl sonra da kendinizi bu meslekte görüyor musunuz?
How long do you think you can continue in the interpreting job? Do you envisage it as a job you could also perform 10 years later?

*Tercümanlık hizmetleriniz sırasında başınızdan geçen ilginç bir olayı anlatır mısınız?

Can you narrate an interesting experience of yours during the interpreting services you have provided?

Appendix 2: Interview Questions for the Officials

1- Ülkemizdeki Suriyelilerin en temel ihtiyaçları nelerdir?

What are the main needs of Syrians in Turkey?

2- Suriyelilerin hangi ihtiyaçlarını karşılıyorsunuz?

As an NGO, what needs of Syrians do you meet?

3- Suriyeli göçmenlerin genel olarak dilsel iletişim ihtiyaçları nasıl karşılanmaktadır?

How are Syrian refugees' language needs met in general?

4- Suriyelilerle nasıl, hangi diller ve kimler aracılığıyla iletişim kuruyorsunuz?

How do you communicate with Syrians?

5- Dil ihtiyaçlarının karşılanması için en etkili yöntem sizce nedir?

What do you think is the most effective method to meet the language needs?

6- Suriyelilere hizmet veren tercümanlarla nasıl iletişime geçiyorsunuz?

How do you contact the interpreters giving service to refugees?

7- Tercümanlar genel olarak tercümanlık eğitimine sahip kişiler midir? Genel olarak eğitim durumları nedir?

Are interpreters generally trained in interpreting? What is their educational background in general?

8- Tercümanları seçme ve onlarla çalışma kriterleriniz nedir?

What are your criteria for selecting and working with interpreters?

9- Tercümanlarla gizlilik sözleşmesi türünden sözleşme yapıyor musunuz?

Do you make a confidentiality contract with interpreters?

10- Tercümanlarla aranızdaki güven ilişkisini nasıl sağlıyorsunuz?

How do you develop trust in interpreters?

11- Tercümanlar göçmenler için en çok hangi kurumlarda çalışıyorlar?

In which institutions do interpreters mostly give service?

12- Tercümanlara ne kadar ödeme yapılıyor? Ücreti kim belirliyor ve kim ödeme yapıyor?

How much are interpreters paid? Who sets the fee and who pays it?

13- Tercümanlar, göçmenler ya da kamu görevlileri için tercümanlık dışı işler de (form doldurma, eczaneden ilaç alma, vb.) yerine getiriyorlar mı? Bundan şikâyetçi oluyorlar mı?

Do interpreters also perform tasks unrelated to interpreting (filling out forms, buying medication from the pharmacy, etc.)? If so, do they complain about this?

14- Suriyelilere hizmet veren tercümanların rolünü nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

How would you view the role of interpreters giving service to Syrian refugees?

15- Göçmenlerin tercümanlardan beklentileri nelerdir? Tercümanlar beklentileri karşılıyor mu?

What are the expectations of immigrants/refugees from interpreters? Do interpreters meet these expectations?

16- Kamu görevlilerinin tercümanlardan beklentileri nelerdir? Tercümanlar beklentileri karşılıyor mu?

What are the expectations of public officials from interpreters? Do interpreters meet these expectations?

17- Tercümanlarla ilgili göçmenler ya da kamu görevlilerinden şikâyet geliyor mu? Bu durumda tutumunuz ne oluyor?

Are there any complaints from immigrants/refugees or public officials about the interpreters? In this case, what is your attitude?

18- Tercüman ihtiyacı olanlar, tercümanlarla doğrudan (sizden bağımsız bir şekilde) irtibat kurabiliyorlar mı?

Are those who need interpreters able to contact interpreters directly (independently of you)?

19- Tercümanların göçmenlere hizmet verirken bağımsız olarak inisiyatif aldıkları durumlar olur mu? Bunlar nelerdir?

Are there situations in which interpreters undertake initiative independently while giving service to immigrants/refugees? If so, what are these?

20- Tercümanların uyması gereken etik kurallar var mıdır? Bunlar nelerdir?

Are there ethical rules that interpreters must follow? What are these?

21- Tercümanların göçmenler ile çalışırken karşılaştıkları en büyük zorluklar/sorunlar nelerdir? Bu sorunlarla nasıl başa çıkarlar?

What are the biggest challenges/problems that interpreters face when working with immigrants/refugees? How do they deal with these problems?

22- Sizce göçmenlere sağlanan tercüme hizmetlerinde kalite nedir?

What do you think is the measure of quality in interpreting services provided to immigrants/refugees?

23- Sizce göçmenlere sağlanan tercümanlık hizmetleri yeterli mi? Değilse hizmetlerin iyileştirilmesi için ne tür öneriler sunabilirsiniz?

Do you think interpreting services provided to immigrants/refugees are sufficient? If not, what suggestions can you offer to improve services?

24- İşbirliği içinde olduğunuz kurumlar var mıdır? Nelerdir?

With which institutions do you cooperate?

25- Tercümanlık mesleği açısından akademik ayakla herhangi bir bağ kurma girişiminiz oldu mu? Bunun önemi nedir sizce?

Have you ever attempted to cooperate with the academic platform for interpreting services? What do you think is the importance of this?

26- Göçmenler için yaptığınız bu iş size itibar sağlıyor mu?

Does this job you do for immigrants/refugees build a reputation for you?

27- Sizce sizin statünüz nedir? Göçmenler ve kamu görevlileri sizi nasıl görürler?

What do you think is your status? How do immigrants/refugees and public officials view you?