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A BOURDIEUSIAN APPROACH TO THE OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF INTERPRETERS IN TURKEY

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THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis titled as **"A Bourdieusian Approach to the Occupational Choices of Interpreters in Turkey"** has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honor.

24/03/2023

Nazlı Müge AKÇİÇEK

ABSTRACT

Master's Thesis

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The number of translation and interpreting departments has increased in Turkey in the recent years and with the opening of more MA and PhD programs in translation studies, the field of interpreting and the role of interpreters have started to be examined more. Public and professional images, status, prestige, self-perceptions, roles and obligations of interpreters and translators have started to be searched more with the rise of translation and interpreting studies. Although many students graduate from translation and interpreting departments every year in Turkey, graduates mostly prefer the field of written translation as opposed to the field of interpreting and the number of interpreters is generally lower than the number of translators doing written translation. Therefore, this study aims to examine the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters (both consecutive and simultaneous interpreters) in Turkey based on the cultural capital, economic capital, social capital, symbolic capital and habitus concepts of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and tries to show the differences between freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters in terms of their occupational choices. In this sense, semi-structured interviews based on qualitative research method were conducted with 5 freelance interpreters and 5 in-house interpreters. Within the theoretical framework of the concepts of Bourdieu, the study presented the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters and revealed that there are differences between freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters in terms of their occupational choices in Turkey.

Keywords: Bourdieu, interpreting, interpreters, freelance interpreters, in-house interpreters, occupational choices.

ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Türkiye'deki Sözlü Tercümanların Meslek Seçimlerine Bourdieucu Bir Yaklaşım

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Türkiye'de son yıllarda mütercim-tercümanlık bölümlerinin sayısı artmış ve çeviribilim alanında daha fazla yüksek lisans ve doktora programlarının açılmasıyla birlikte sözlü tercümanlık alanı ve sözlü tercümanların rolü daha fazla incelenmeye başlanmıştır. Tercümanlık çalışmalarının yükselişiyle birlikte sözlü tercümanların ve yazılı tercümanların kamusal ve profesyonel imajları, statüleri, prestijleri, öz algıları, rolleri ve yükümlülükleri daha fazla araştırılmaya başlanmıştır. Türkiye'de her yıl çok sayıda öğrenci mütercim-tercümanlık bölümlerinden mezun olsa da, mezunlar sözlü tercüme alanından daha çok yazılı tercüme alanını tercih etmekte ve sözlü tercüman sayısı genellikle yazılı tercüme yapan tercüman sayısından daha az olmaktadır. Bu nedenle bu çalışma, Fransız sosyolog Pierre Bourdieu'nün kültürel sermaye, ekonomik sermaye, sosyal sermaye, sembolik sermaye ve habitus kavramlarından yola çıkarak Türkiye'deki tercümanların (hem ardıl hem de simültane tercüman) mesleki tercihlerinin ardındaki nedenleri incelemeye ve meslek seçimleri açısından serbest tercümanlar ile kurum tercümanları arasındaki farklılıkları ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır. Bu bağlamda 5 serbest tercüman ve 5 kurum tercümanı ile nitel araştırma yöntemine dayalı yarı yapılandırılmış röportajlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bourdieu'nün kavramlarının kuramsal çerçevesinde tercümanların mesleki tercihlerinin nedenlerini ortaya koyan çalışma, Türkiye'de serbest tercümanlar ve kurum tercümanları arasında meslek seçimlerinde farklılıklar olduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Bourdieu, sözlü çeviri, sözlü tercümanlar, serbest tercümanlar, kurum tercümanları, mesleki tercihler.

A BOURDIEUSIAN APPROACH TO THE OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF INTERPRETERS IN TURKEY

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIIC	International Association of Conference Interpreters
ASAM	Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants
ÇEVBİR	Çevirmenler Meslek Birliği
ÇİD	Çeviri İşletmeleri Derneği
TKTD	Türkiye Konferans Tercümanları Derneği
TÖMER	Turkish and Foreign Language Application and Research Center
TRT	Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu

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INTRODUCTION

With the rise of translation and interpreting studies, public and professional images, status, prestige, self-perceptions, roles and obligations of interpreters and translators have started to be searched and studied more. The topic has attracted the interest of many scholars and many articles and dissertations have been written on that topic. Many works that take translators' status and roles from a sociological perspective pioneered the studies.

When we look at the progress of interpreting in terms of its institutionalization in Turkey, two main developments come to the forefront. The first one was the opening of translation and interpreting departments. The first translation and interpreting department was opened at Hacettepe University in the beginning of 1980's and then at Boğaziçi Univeristy at undergraduate levels. In the 1990's, interest to translation and interpreting studies increased and more translation and interpreting departments at undergraduate levels were opened at various universities. In addition to that, MA programs in conference interpreting were opened in Bilkent University and Boğaziçi University. Today, many universities like Boğaziçi University, Hacettepe University, İstanbul University, Yıldız Technical University also offer PhD programs besides their undergraduate and MA programs in translation and interpreting (Diriker, 2015: 92-93).

The second important event in the institutionalization of interpreting was the establishment of The Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey (TKTD) in 1969. The association has played a very important role in setting professional standards about the profession (Diriker, 2015: 93).

The above mentioned developments regarding the institutionalization of the profession have been quite important and especially the establishment of the Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey has created an awareness in public about the roles of interpreters and the standards of the profession.

Today, there are more than 50 universities that have translation and interpreting departments in Turkey and many students graduate from these universities every year. Besides giving written translation courses, the departments also give interpreting courses (both consecutive and simultaneous interpreting) to

their students. The universities offer these interpreting courses as compulsory or elective courses. In some universities, students are subject to aptitude tests (these tests are applied in order to evaluate the competence of students for simultaneous interpreting) in order to take simultaneous interpreting courses. Graduates of translation and interpreting departments work in the field of written translation, interpreting or they prefer to work in both areas.

As the number of translation and interpreting departments has increased in the recent years in Turkey and as more MA and PhD programs have been opened in translation studies, the field of interpreting and the role of interpreters have started to be examined more.

The present study aims to examine the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters (both consecutive and simultaneous interpreters) based on the cultural capital, economic capital, social capital, symbolic capital and habitus concepts of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. As the roles, status and self-perceptions of translators and interpreters have started to be examined from a sociological perspective, the concepts of Bourdieu have started to be used a lot recently in translation studies. By exploring the relationship between these concepts and the occupational choices of interpreters, the study seeks answers to the below research questions:

1) What are the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters in Turkey?

2) Do the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters differ between freelance interpreters and interpreters working for an institution? If so, which factors are at the forefront among freelance interpreters and among interpreters that work for an institution?

Within the content of the study, semi-structured interviews with a qualitative approach were conducted with 5 freelance and 5 in-house interpreters. Both freelance and in-house interpreters do consecutive and simultaneous interpreting and they are experienced in both fields. The answers of the interpreters have been analyzed within the theoretical framework of the concepts of Bourdieu.

The study consists of four chapters. The first chapter of the study, which consists of three parts, will present the literature review on the subject. The first part

of the literature review will present the studies on the status and self-images of translators and interpreters. The studies will also shed light into how the status and image of translators and interpreters are affected by different factors such as their workplaces, their income, education, expertise and the policies of the country. The second part will present the research on the status and roles of interpreters in Turkey. The last part will present the studies that look at the translators and interpreters' status and self-perceptions from a sociological perspective by using the concepts of Bourdieu.

The second chapter will give information about the theoretical framework of the study. The theoretical framework of the study consists of two parts. As the theoretical framework of the study is based on the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu and as they have started to be used a lot recently in translation studies in order to examine the status, self-perceptions and roles of translators and interpreters from a sociological perspective, the notions of field, capital and habitus will be explained in detail in this part. First, a brief information about Bourdieu will be given and then his concepts will be explained in detail.

The third chapter will focus on the methodological framework of the study. The methodology section consists of four parts. In the first part, the aim and scope of the research will be explained by presenting the research questions of the study. In the second part, methodological approach of the study will be defined. In the third part, data collection method and the interviewees will be described in detail and detailed information about the participants will be given in *3.3.1* section of the study. In the last part, the type of the interviews and the interview questions will be explained and interview questions will be presented in *3.4.1* section of the study.

With regards to the interview questions, the interview questions will consist of six parts. The first part that consists of general questions aims to get a general idea about the participants and it includes questions such as age, language combination and work experience of interpreters. The second part consists of questions on the background information of the interviewees that aims to find out how the habitus of the interpreters affects their professional choices. The third part consists of questions on the education and expertise of interpreters that aims to find out how the cultural capital of the interpreters affects their professional choices. The fourth part includes

questions on income that tries to find out to what extent economic capital affects the occupational choices of interpreters. The fifth part consists of questions on membership to associations / power that tries to find out the effect of social capital on interpreters' occupational choices. The last part is related with questions on recognition / visibility that aims to find out the effect of symbolic capital on the occupational choices of interpreters.

This chapter will also shed light into the reasons why qualitative research method based on semi-structured interviews is adopted and why online interviews are mostly preferred in the study. Detailed information about the participants will also be given.

The fourth chapter will present the data analysis of the interviews. This chapter, which consists of three parts, will analyze the data of the freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters separately based on the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu. The first part in this chapter will present the data analysis of freelance interpreters. This part will consist of six subparts. The first subpart will present the data analysis of freelance interpreters based on the habitus concept of Bourdieu. The second subpart will present the data analysis of freelance interpreters based on the cultural capital concept of Bourdieu. The third subpart will present the data analysis of freelance interpreters based on the economic capital concept of Bourdieu. The fourth subpart will present the data analysis of freelance interpreters based on the social capital concept of Bourdieu. The fifth subpart will present the data analysis of freelance interpreters based on the symbolic capital concept of Bourdieu and the last subpart will present an overall evaluation of the data analysis of freelance interpreters.

The second part in this chapter will present the data analysis of in-house interpreters. This part also consists of six subparts. The first subpart will present the data analysis of in-house interpreters based on the habitus concept of Bourdieu. The second subpart will present the data analysis of in-house interpreters based on the cultural capital concept of Bourdieu. The third subpart will present the data analysis of in-house interpreters based on the economic capital concept of Bourdieu. The fourth subpart will present the data analysis of in-house interpreters based on the social capital concept of Bourdieu. The fifth subpart will present the data analysis of

in-house interpreters based on the symbolic capital concept of Bourdieu and the last subpart will present an overall evaluation of the data analysis of in-house interpreters.

The last part will present an overall evaluation of the data analysis of both freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters in terms of their occupational choices.

The conclusion part will present the final evaluation of the data analysis of both the freelance and in-house interpreters and show the reasons behind the occupational choices of freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters in Turkey.

CHAPTER 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review consists of three parts. The first part will look at the studies on the status, and self-images of translators and interpreters. The second part will look at the research on the status and roles of interpreters in Turkey and provide an insight into that topic. Finally, as this study explores the professional choices of interpreters from a Bourdieusian approach, the last part will be based on the studies that look at the translators and interpreters' status and self-perceptions from a sociological perspective by using the concepts of Bourdieu.

1.1. THE STATUS AND SELF-IMAGES OF TRANSLATORS AND INTERPRETERS

Public and professional images, status, self-perceptions, roles and obligations of translators and interpreters have been examined a lot and there are many valuable works that shed light on that topic. As an earlier example, Sela-Sheffy (2006: 244) examines how literary translators in Israel build their public image in order to set themselves apart from their peers and gain more symbolic capital as professional translators. The findings of the study reveal that although non-literary translators are partially cautious of improving their impersonal professional status of their occupation, literary translators construct their prestige mostly on individual 'artistic-like glory' (Sela-Sheffy, 2006: 250). Literary translators build a peculiar symbolic capital for their occupation and use it to boost their standing as translators and also their prospects in other careers (Sela-Sheffy, 2006: 251).

Similarly, Dam and Zethsen's (2009) study is a good example in terms of analyzing the serious problems that are faced by the high-profile members of the translation profession in terms of their prestige and status. On their study based on the Danish company translators, Dam and Zethsen (2009: 3-4) made a large-scale empirical study by taking into account four parameters which are salary, education/expertise, visibility and power / influence. The results of their study show that the translators' salaries are usually lower than they should be, their expertise level is not recognized enough and their influence is limited to the point that they are

almost non-existent. They state that empowerment and action are needed to improve their status (Dam and Zethsen, 2009: 5). It is an important study in terms of showing how the translators perceive their prestige and status with regards to visibility, expertise and power.

In a similar vein, Koskinen (2009: 93) examines in what ways different institutional and organizational settings have an effect on the translators' professional actions and identities based on the data consisting of institutional documents, interviews and observations. The results of her study show that both the institutional and physical space of the translators can intensely alter their status and motivation (Koskinen, 2009: 93). Accordingly, Diriker (2009: 72) examines the meta-discursive presentation of simultaneous conference interpreters and interpreting with the aim of gaining an insight into the professional image of conference interpreters. Her study is based on the discourses of professional organizations, academia and Turkish media and the results of her study reveal that there is a notable difference between the professional images represented by the interpreters and non-interpreters and how this situation is seen on the self-perceptions and behaviors of interpreters (Diriker, 2009: 88-89).

Related with defining the status of interpreters, Wadensjö (2011) distinguishes the status of interpreters into three as status as social ranking, status as group membership and participation status or alignment in social interaction. Similarly, in her article, Ruokonen (2013: 327) examines definitions of translators' professional status and makes an empirical research on translator status from three perspectives adapted from Chesterman (2000) which are comparative model, process model and causal model. The study looks at the translators' status from comparative, causal and agency perspectives and the findings of the study show that translators' status is in fact low but there are indicators that it can be improved through increased visibility and cooperation among translators and other agents (Ruokonen, 2013: 336).

With regards to the status and image of translators, the institutional image of the translators was also studied. Sarıgül (2015) provides a detailed analysis of the institutional image of the translators starting from the Ottoman period to the modern Republic. Sarıgül (2015: iv) focuses on the institutional translator's image from a historical perspective and studies the image of this professional group from the eyes

of the state starting from the 15th century Ottoman Empire to the modern Republic of Turkey. Sarıgül (2015: iv) states that institutional translators had a high status in the Ottoman Empire but that situation did not continue in the Republican Period as the leading state officials shifted their policy towards the promotion of literary translation. The study examines how the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey differ in terms of treating their institutional translators by examining the translators' incomes, privileges and rights. The findings of the study show that the Ottoman Empire attached more importance to the translators and the translators established a more positive image but that positive image started to decrease considerably in the early Republican period because of the change in state policy (Sarıgül, 2015: iv). This study provides a valuable insight into the status and image of translators as it presents how the shift in state policy affected the image of the translators starting from the Ottoman Empire to the modern Republic of Turkey.

The above mentioned studies provide a comprehensive analysis on showing how the status and image of the translators are affected by various factors such as the physical places that they work, their salary, the education and the expertise and the policies of state.

In addition to the studies on the status and the image of the translators, the legal status of interpreters is also one of the topics that has attracted the interest of scholars. With regards to that, Üstünsöz (2010: 1) examines the legal status of translators and the elements that play a role in the establishment of their self-images and also the discourse they use in representing their professional status under certain conditions that involve the threat of conviction. Her study also focuses on a case study related with the prosecution of Aslı Biçen, the translator of the novel *The Bastard of Istanbul* (translated into Turkish as *Baba ve Piç*) written by the author Elif Şafak in 2006 (Üstünsöz, 2010: 9). Üstünsöz (2010: 10) states that even though the charges against the translator were declined in the first hearing, the case itself launched a campaign and also an academic and professional debate. Related with the case, Üstünsöz states:

> *Çevbir (Literary Translators' Society) put forth the argument that the translator should not be "shot", or prosecuted as s/he has the sole responsibility to translate the message (a text or a speech) from one language into another, in compliance with the properties of both languages and cultures, in a "faithful, accurate and impartial manner" (Üstünsöz, 2010: 10).*

The results of Üstünsöz master's thesis reveal that the legal status of translators in Turkey is quite controversial as they are defined differently in two different laws. The Law on Intellectual and Artistic Works sees the translator as the owner of the processed work. On the other hand, the press law defines translators as the owners of the work in situations where the source writer is not a Turkish citizen and / or lives abroad (Üstünsöz, 2010: 112). According to Üstünsöz, this definition of translator has led the prosecutions of many translators (2010: 112). This study is important in terms of providing a comprehensive analysis regarding the legal status of translators in Turkey based on a case study by presenting the controversial issue of two different laws that protect the legal status of translators.

The next part will focus on the research on the status and roles of interpreters in Turkey and provide an insight into that topic.

1.2 THE STATUS AND ROLES OF INTERPRETERS IN TURKEY

The status and roles of interpreters in Turkey have started to be examined a lot recently. Especially with the rise of studies on healthcare interpreting and court interpreting, research on community interpreting has started to take more attraction as they give insight into the status of interpreters. In addition to that, with the increase of the global rise of immigration between countries, community interpreting has become one of the most prominent fields all around the world and also in Turkey. This situation has led to the increase on the studies and research on the topic and they shed light into the status and roles of community interpreters from a sociological perspective.

Related with the status and roles of interpreters in Turkey, studies on healthcare interpreting and court interpreting come to the forefront. With regards to the applications of healthcare interpreting in Turkey, Öztürk (2015: vii) focuses on the status quo of medical interpreting within the framework of community interpreting studies abroad. With the aim of showing the key role of interpreting services in health tourism (Öztürk, 2015: 2-3), the results of her study show that professionalism is important in healthcare interpreting and specific standards and

accreditation programs are needed for the interpreters that would be recruited in healthcare interpreting (Öztürk, 2015: 128).

In a similar vein, healthcare interpreting was also studied in terms of subjectivity. Duman's (2018: v) study aims to show how healthcare interpreters 'experience subjectivity before, during and after the process of interpretation'. Duman (2018: v) asserts that impartiality and objectivity are universally recognized qualities of healthcare interpreters. In order to assess this understanding in Turkey, interpreters' reflections of subjectivity on their translations and professional experience were explored and whether the interpreters are impartial or not on their views and decisions was also questioned by Duman (2018: v).

Based on hermeneutic approach as a methodological framework, Duman (2018: v) conducted in-depth interviews to explore the duties, responsibilities, professional backgrounds and decision-making processes of the interpreters. The results of her study reveal that the healthcare interpreters that participated in the research might have different approaches to the principles specified in the international codes of professional ethics and their subjective decisions and judgments mostly shape their professional experience (Duman, 2018: v). The document analysis of her study also showed that the qualities related with the principle of impartiality can also change according to the context of the countries and therefore, the need to prepare a reference document of professional ethics for healthcare interpreters is very important for the profession (Duman, 2018: v). Her study is an important work in terms of showcasing the need for the preparation of professional ethics and taking the attention into that topic. Similarly, Özsöz's (2019: viii) study is also an important work in terms of examining the dialogue interpreting within the frame of medical tourism.

With regards to the institutional field of community interpreting, Arslan (2018: vii) concentrates both on the translators and interpreters that are involved in translation and interpretation practice and also on the roles and obligations of all participants in the practice in her study. Related with the area of community interpreting, which has its own obligations within itself, Arslan (2018: vii) points out that there is not a legal framework in Turkey and therefore, a legal base should be prepared. With her study, the structure of community practice is shown and different

suggestions are represented by exploring the problems in the field and the importance of community interpreting is also aimed to be shown (Arslan, 2018: vii).

Research and studies on the roles of community interpreters have also started to take attraction in Turkey especially with the rise of the immigration of Syrian refugees. For instance, in her master's thesis, Koçlu (2019: viii) examines the communication problems faced by the Syrian refugees, the problems of the institutions that provide service to refugees and the problems of individuals working as interpreters based on questionnaires. At the end of the research realized in Sakarya, it has been suggested that individuals working in the field of community interpreting should have translation and interpreting education, community interpreting courses included in the curriculum of the university departments should be based on more practice and 'a pool of interpreters' should be created' and steps towards professionalization should be taken (Koçlu, 2019: 157).

Similarly, Erdoğan's (2021: iv) study aims to show the current profile of community interpreters in Turkey as there has been an increase in the number of Syrian refugees since 2011. The research involves the community interpreters who work in different non-governmental organizations in Sultanbeyli in Istanbul that act as a bridge between local citizens and refugees and tries to show their roles as interpreters, their level of profession and their communication with the service providers and clients in their institutions (Erdoğan, 2021: iv). The study tries to show the relation between translation and migration via ethnographic and qualitative analysis methods (Erdoğan, 2021: iv).

Syrian refugees were also studied by Polat-Ulaş (2021: iv) who examined the public service interpreters that ensure communication between refugees / migrants and the host country's officials. Although Turkey does not have an institutionalized public service interpreting policy, it has taken some initiatives to meet the communication needs of Syrian refugees and for this reason; public service interpreters have been employed at different institutions (Polat-Ulaş, 2021: iv). In this respect, the research addresses the public service interpreters that ensure the communication needs of refugees in the units of the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) and examines the social, cultural, educational and professional backgrounds of the interpreters and institutional and

other outside situations that encircle them (Polat-Ulaş, 2021: iv). Based on semi-structured interviews with the interpreters working in Izmir, Mersin, Adana and Gaziantep, the findings of the study reveal that public service interpreting is mostly an unrecognized and undervalued service field in Turkey and most of the interpreters that work do not have the related resources to establish a professional identity (Polat-Ulaş, 2021: v).

With regards to refugees, Aral-Duvan (2021: iv) also describes the network and the actors involved in the court interpreting service network in Turkey and examines whether the actors in the network have an effect on the perception of the position and the work of the court interpreters or not. Within this frame, case studies were carried out in two trials in which the refugees benefit from the interpreting service in Arabic to Turkish in Kayseri and Antalya cities. The data of Aral - Duvan's research is composed of open-ended questionnaires and short interviews (Aral - Duvan, 2021: iv). The findings of Aral – Duvan's (2021: iv-v) study reveal that the networks have not been permanent and have changed in each trial and the court interpreters have also formed local and small networks before the process of interpreting with the purpose of getting involved in the network safely as there is deficiency problems in the procedures.

In addition to these studies, the status and self-perceptions of translators were also examined by using the concepts of French theorist Bourdieu in Translation Studies. As this thesis will also use the concepts of Bourdieu to examine the occupational choices of interpreters, the next part of the literature review will be based on the studies that took the translators' and interpreters' status and self-perceptions from a sociological perspective.

1.3 BOURDIEU'S CONCEPTS IN TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING STUDIES

The concepts of Bourdieu have been highly used in the field of translation studies and many academic works have looked at the process of translations and the status of translators from a sociological perspective by employing the notions of Bourdieu.

Tahir – Gürçağlar's (2001) dissertation can be considered as one of the earliest examples that uses the concepts of Bourdieu. Her study examines the diverse nature of translated literature starting from the proclamation of the Republic until 1960 (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001: vii). The results of her study show that the notions of translation both affected and were affected by cultural processes in Turkey and the political and poetological factors that governed the production and reception of translations showed a variation for different groups of readers (Tahir – Gürçağlar, 2001: vii).

In a similar vein, Erkul Yağcı (2011: 1) examined and questioned the pioneering role translation played in the history of reading and readers in Turkey between 1840 and 1940 by using Bourdieu's concepts of field, agency and habitus. Her study is an attempt to discover what the readers in the period of 1840-1940 were reading and their selection, reviewing and reading processes. Within this context, her study was designed to answer specific questions on readers and their reading habits (Erkul Yağcı, 2011: 3). By giving answers to these specific questions in her study, she shed light on the translation history of the period between 1840 and 1940 (Erkul Yağcı, 2011: 49).

In terms of examining the effect of habitus on translation, Alkhawaja (2019: 9) describes the extent to which the habitus of the agents and intellectual trajectory affect the end product of translation and tries to comprehend how the experiences and backgrounds of translators affect the translation process. By using the Bourdieu's concept as a theoretical framework, she interviewed with the translator Trevor Le Gassick in order to find out how the translator's background and experiences affected his translation process and tries to figure out if the translator has a specific amount of freedom in his choice of strategies and practices (Alkhawaja, 2019: 9). The findings of her study reveal that the translator's habitus and intellectual life experiences heavily affect the process of translation and the end product (Alkhawaja, 2019: 9).

With regards to the roles of interpreters from a sociological perspective, Eraslan's (2011) study is an important work that examines the roles of consecutive interpreters in relation to context by using the habitus concept of Bourdieu as one of the three main concepts of her theoretical framework. The results of her study show

that there might be a gap between the role definitions of interpreters and the methods that they are expected to use and user expectations also change based on situational factors and the interpreters' role perceptions do not precisely match with reality (Eraslan, 2011: iii).

Similarly, with regards to the self-perceptions of interpreters, Aguilar Solano's (2012) dissertation is an important research that employs Bourdieu's theory with the aim of examining the interpreters' perception of their positioning in two healthcare institutions in Spain based on 'participant observation of volunteer interpreters, audio-recorded interpreter mediated interaction and focus-group interviews with volunteer interpreters' (Aguilar Solano, 2012: 6).

The status, self-perceptions and roles of interpreters working in different fields like healthcare or legal settings have also been explored from a sociological perspective by employing Bourdieu's concepts. In her master's thesis, Duraner (2015: iv-v) examines the roles of the actors that take part in the legal translation market and problematizes the effect of their roles and relationship on the translation process via in-depth interviews with six translators, four translation agencies and eight clients in Izmir, Ankara and Istanbul. In her master's thesis, the positions and roles of the actors are examined via Pierre Bourdieu's concept of capital and the findings of the study reveal that the actors within the network play different roles and they have an influence in the different stages of the legal translation process such as ethics, quality and workflow (Duraner, 2015: v).

With regards to healthcare interpreting, Şener (2017: iv– v) examines the role of interpreters in Turkish healthcare settings through Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital. The findings of the study reveal that there is a lack of an explicit job description and code of ethics in Turkey and this situation leads to difficulties in practice for healthcare providers, interpreters and also patients and it poses a risk for the quality of service (Şener, 2017: v).

Similarly, related with the role perceptions of the interpreters, in her exploratory study, Gökçe (2018: iv) examines the field of sign language interpreting in Turkey with a specific focus on the role perceptions of sign language interpreters in Turkey and also the social and psychological factors that affect them. Based on semi-structured interviews and questionnaires, the findings of the study reveal that

the profession is still at the initial stage of its development and the perceptions of the sign language interpreters with regards to their role and profession are mostly affected by the inequalities in the distribution of some types of capital among the actors in the field (Gökçe, 2018: iv).

In terms of examining the self-perceptions of translators working in public and private sectors in Turkey, Coşkun – Aysal's (2019: iv) study is a crucial work that examines how the public and private sector translator's social, symbolic, cultural capital and habitus are connected with their self-perceptions of status as professionals in Turkey. Based on semi-structured in-depth interviews, the findings of her study reveal that translation is not a totally established profession in Turkey and the translators' belief shows that translation profession has a lower and middling status in society (Coşkun-Aysal, 2019: iv). Coşkun – Aysal's wok has been a source of inspiration for the present study as it also uses the notions of Bourdieu in examining the public and private sector translators' self-perceptions of status. However, this study differs in the way that it tries to find out the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters and why they prefer interpreting instead of written translation.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of this study is based on the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and habitus will be used in order to understand the professional choices of the interpreters in Turkey. The concepts of Bourdieu have started to be used a lot recently in translation studies as the status, self-perceptions and roles of translators and interpreters have started to be examined from a sociological perspective. The notions of field, capital and habitus will be briefly explained in this section.

Before explaining the concepts of Bourdieu, brief information about his life will be given. Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), who was a French sociologist, was a public intellectual in the tradition of Emile Zola and Jean-Paul Sartre and his concept of habitus was effective in recent postmodernist humanities and social sciences (https://www.britannica.com/biography/Pierre-Bourdieu). Bourdieu was affected from E. Durkheim and structuralist ideas. His works focus mostly on the fields of education, economic change, language, literature, philosophy, law, universities, science, religion and etc. (Öztürk, 2005: 143).

According to Bourdieu, it was not enough just to look at what was said or what happened in order to comprehend interactions between people or to define an event or social phenomenon (Thomson, 2008: 67). It was crucial to explore the social space where interactions and events took place (Bourdieu, 2005: 148). Bourdieu discusses social life as a game and generally refers to it as a football game. Just like similar to a football field, the social field consists of positions taken by social agents and there are boundaries. Because of that there are limits of the things that can be done and the things that can be done are shaped by the conditions of the field (Thomson, 2008: 68 - 69).

For Bourdieu, the game that takes place in social places or fields is competitive with different agents using different strategies to continue or improve their position. Accumulation of capitals is at stake in the field because they are both within the process and also the products of a field (Thomson, 2008: 69). Bourdieu defines four types of capital which are economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital. Just like in a football field, players who begin with

particular forms of capital are advantageous at the beginning as the field depends on that capital and also produces more of that capital. Lucky players can use their capital advantage to accumulate more and to be more successful than others. Fields are also shaped in line with the game that is played on them as they have their own rules and histories and star players (Thomson, 2008: 69). In the next part, the definition of capital and its types are explained in detail.

2.1. CAPITAL

According to Bourdieu "The social world is accumulated history and the capital is accumulated labor" (1986: 241). Capital takes time to accumulate and it has the potential to 'produce profits and to reproduce itself' (Bourdieu, 1986: 241). With regards to the forms of capital, Bourdieu defines four types of capital which are economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital.

Economic capital is related with monetary issues and it includes all types of financial savings and it is "at the root of all other types of capital" (Bourdieu, 1986: 252) because all other types of capital are transformed or hidden forms of economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986: 252). In addition to that, economic capital gives the agents the opportunity "to invest in other types of capital, namely cultural and social capital" (Polat-Ulaş, 2021: 76).

Cultural capital refers to educational qualifications and it can be seen in three forms as embodied, objectified and institutionalized (Bourdieu, 1986: 243). Embodied cultural capital is "external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus and cannot be transmitted instantaneously by purchase or exchange" (Bourideu, 1986: 243). The accumulation of embodied cultural capital depends on the period, the social class and the society and encompasses the whole period of socialization (Bourdieu, 1986: 245-246).

The objectified state of cultural capital is presented in material objects and media like paintings, writings, instruments and monuments and it can be converted into both economic and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986: 246-247). The institutionalized form of cultural capital is presented in the form of academic qualifications such as certificates or diplomas (Bourdieu, 1986: 247). Bourdieu states

that institutionalized form of cultural capital gives agents "a legally guaranteed value with respect to culture" (1986: 248). With regards to academic qualifications, it is also possible to compare qualification holders and exchange them and in this respect, Bourdieu remarks:

> *By conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital possessed by any given agent, the academic qualification also makes it possible to compare qualification holders and even to exchange them (by substituting one for another in succession). Furthermore, it makes it possible to establish conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital. This product of the conversion of economic capital into cultural capital establishes the value, in terms of cultural capital, of the holder of a given qualification relative to other qualification holders. (Bourdieu, 1986: 248).*

Social capital refers to the resources that are connected to possession of a permanent network of relationships or membership in a group, which provides its members support and credential (Bourdieu, 1986: 249). The volume of the social capital that an agent has depends on the network of connections and the size of the other capitals (economic, cultural or symbolic) that he has and the network of relationships can be realized in two types such as durable liabilities like feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship or in the form of institutional rights (Bourdieu, 1986: 249-250).

The last form of capital is symbolic capital. Bourdieu defines symbolic capital as "any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which cause them to know it and to recognize it, to give it value" (Bourdieu, 1998: 47). The efficiency of symbolic capital is based on 'real practices of communication' and from this point of view, symbolic capital cannot be institutionalized, concretized and or added into habitus as it is presented and raises solely in intersubjective reflection and could be recognized just in there (Siisiäinen, 2000: 13). Although economic and cultural capitals have unique forms of existence like money, diplomas or certificates, symbolic capital exists "only in the eyes of others" (Siisiäinen, 2000: 13). As it gives power to those who have it, it also gives a legitimized form of distinction to all other forms of capital (Siisiäinen, 2000: 13). Siisiäinen states that "Bourdieu's idea is that economic, cultural, and social capital becomes meaningful and socially effective

only through the process of symbolic translation" (2000: 14). The other forms of capital becomes more powerful via the process of symbolic transformation. Symbolic capital is a power given to those who have gained adequate recognition 'to be in a position to impose recognition' (Bourdieu, 1989: 23).

2.2. HABITUS

The notion of habitus is pivotal to Bourdieu's theoretical framework. It is his approach of describing the regularities of behavior that are related with social structures like class, gender and ethnicity without making social structures specific of behavior or losing the visibility of the individual's own agency (Power, 1999: 48).

The term habitus described by Bourdieu is a set of acquired models of behavior, thought and taste and Bourdieu uses this word to establish a link between social structures and social practice. This notion also offers a ground for a cultural approach to structural analysis (Öztürk, 2005: 145). Bourdieu defines habitus as "the past which survives in the present" (Bourdieu, 1977: 82). He states that:

> *Habitus is a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (Bourdieu, 1990: 53).*

Bourdieu believes that human's habitus is different from individuality. An individual shares his / her habitus with the people who have same living conditions but each individual has his / her own interiorizing process. This is what makes up his / her personality and vision of social habitus. Bourdieu asserts that the same living conditions and same position lead to same habitus (Öztürk, 2005: 146). Habitus shapes individual actions. It stems from mostly unconscious internalization (specifically during early childhood) of objective chances that are common to the members of a social class or community. Habitus is dominated by the earliest experiences common to the members of the same class. Bourdieu highlights that

individuals who internalize similar experiences share the same habitus (Swartz, 1997: 103-105).

Habitus is not just the output of structures and producer of practices but at the same time the reproducer of structures. Habitus has the tendency to produce practices that encounter with the social conditions that generated it (Power, 1999: 49). It is structured by one's past and present situations like family, the background of the family, ubringing and educational experiences. It shapes one's perception to life and affects his / her present and future practices. However habitus does not affect one's action alone. Bourdieu states that practices result from the relationship between a habitus and a field. The social and physical spaces we fill are structured and the relation between these two structures leads to practices (Maton, 2008: 51-52).

Habitus concentrates on our way of thinking, feeling and being. It deals with how we carry our history into our present situations and how we give decisions accordingly. As this is a continuing process, our past experiences shape our present conditions. We are faced with a lot of different options in our lives and our choices are both based on our current situation (the position we have in a specific social field) and also our past experiences. Our choices also shape our future opportunities and choices and open a path that structures our understanding of ourselves and the world (Maton, 2008: 52-53).

Within the frame of the concepts described above, the interpreters' occupation choices will be examined via semi-structured interviews with 5 freelance and 5 in-house interpreters and the factors that most affect the choices of interpreters will be found out in this study. For instance, in terms of economic capital, the income of the interpreters will be analyzed as well as their perception of income. Related with cultural capital, educational background and the academic qualifications like diplomas or certificates of the interpreters will be examined. The departments that they graduated will also be explored. In terms of social capital, the membership of interpreters to associations will be examined to find out to what extent this situation affects the interpreters' occupational choices. With regards to symbolic capital, the visibility and recognition of interpreters will be explored.

Lastly, the habitus of the interpreters, their family background, educational background of their families and the language acquisition of the interpreters will be

analyzed. As a result of the interviews with the interpreters, the factors that most affect the occupational choices of the interpreters will be discussed in relation to habitus and capital.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The methodology part of this study consists of four parts. Firstly, the aim and scope of the research will be explained in detail. Secondly, methodological approach of the study will be defined. Thirdly, data collection method and the interviewees will be described in detail. Lastly, the type of the interviews and the interview questions will be explained.

3.1. AIM AND SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

The present study aims to reveal the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters (both consecutive and simultaneous interpreters) based on the economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, symbolic capital and habitus concepts of Pierre Bourdieu that are explained in detail in the theoretical framework of this study. With this aim in mind, the current study seeks to explore the relationship, if any, between the capital (cultural, economic, social, symbolic) and occupational choices of interpreters. In order to do so, it will seek an answer to the below research questions:

1) What are the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters in Turkey?

2) Do the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters differ between freelance interpreters and interpreters working for an institution? If so, which factors are at the forefront among freelance interpreters and among interpreters that work for an institution?

The answers to these research questions will shed light to the occupational choices of interpreters in Turkey and will showcase why the interpreters prefer this field instead of written translation. The results will be discussed in relation to capital and habitus.

3.2. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The methodological framework of this study is based on qualitative research method in order to explore the occupational choices of the interpreters. With regards to qualitative research, Creswell states:

> *Qualitative research begins with assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens, and the study of research problems inquiring into the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is inductive and establishes patterns or themes. The final written report or presentation includes the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher, and a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and it extends the literature or signals a call for action (Creswell, 2007: 37).*

According to Creswell (2007), qualitative research method can be conducted for a number of reasons as stated below:

- It can be conducted to examine a problem or an issue as there can be a need to search a group or population and define changeables that can be measured or listen to silenced people,
- It can be conducted when a detailed comprehension of an issue is needed that can be gained through direct communication with people,
- It can be conducted to encourage people to share their stories, listen to them and lessen the power relationships that take place between a researcher and the participants in a research,
- It can be conducted when a literary, flexible style is preferred to convey stories or poems without the limitations of formal academic forms of writing,
- It can be conducted in order to comprehend the situations or environments where participants of a research deal with a problem,
- It can be conducted with the aim of following a quantitative research and define the links in causal theories,
- It can be conducted to produce theories when theories for specific populations or samples are not adequate or when present theories are not adequate enough to tackle the complex nature of a problem that is searched.

- It can be conducted when quantitative measures and statistical analyses are not appropriate to solve a problem (Creswell, 2007: 39 - 40).

In the light of the above mentioned features of qualitative research, the present study uses qualitative research method as a group of interpreters (both consecutive and simultaneous) are examined in terms of their professional choices and their preferences on interpreting vs. written translation.

3.3. DATA COLLECTION METHOD AND INTERVIEWEES

The data collection method of the study is based on semi-structured interviews in order to explore the occupational choices of the interpreters in Turkey. This type of interview model is preferred as it gives more flexibility to the researcher. Before describing the semi-structured type of interview, the types of interviews are briefly explained. There are three types of interviews, namely as structured, unstructured and semi-structured interviews.

Structured interviews are types of interviews in which the interviewer goes through a list of meticulously prepared questions providing that the order of the questions and the wording is completely the same in each case. Closed questions are generally used. The benefit of this type of interview is that it assures the same topics are covered in all cases and eases comparability of responses from different participants, along with quantification. The disadvantage of this type of interview is that the collected data will stay within the limits anticipated by the researcher and the interview does not give space for new insights that might come out during the interview and because of that, researchers can lose a whole area of concern as they do not think of asking questions about it (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 172).

As closed questions are often used in this type of interview and as it does not allow new ideas to come up during the interview process, this type of interview was not preferred in this thesis study.

Unstructured interviews can be defined as a free-flowing process in which the interviewer uses a set of guiding questions at their secrecy in order to bring out the necessary information in a way that best suits the specific situations of the interview.

The aim is often to see the research topic from the viewpoint of the interviewee and to comprehend why they have this specific point of view. Interviewers can improvise and open-ended questions let participants to say as much as they want. As a result, the collected data has the tendency to reflect more correctly the concerns of the participants although this can lead to the problems of comparability. As it requires more interpretation, the analysis is more difficult and time-consuming. In this type of research, quantification is never a goal but can be used, for instance to emphasize the repetition of some topics (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 172).

Although these types of interviews provide the participants the opportunity to give more detailed answers to the open-ended questions, there can be the problem of comparability as the questions are prepared in a more free flowing style in the form of guiding questions. Therefore, this type of interview was not preferred in this study.

Semi-structured interviews are in-between these two types of interviews as aforementioned. Just like in structured interviews, there is an interview schedule that is used, there are more open-ended questions and there is more flexibility that gives permission to changes in the order of the questions that are asked and to ask new questions (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 172-173).

With regards to semi- and unstructured interviews, Saldanha and O'Brien (2013) state:

> *Semi- and unstructured interviews (and focus groups) tend to shift the balance of power away from the researcher and towards the research participant, allowing for the co-construction of knowledge. As a result, participants can feel empowered by the role they are taking and change their behaviour accordingly. For this reason, interviews and focus groups are often used in action research (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 173).*

Semi-structured interviews give more flexibility and allow the researcher to introduce new questions during the interviews and also strengthen the role of the participants. Therefore; the present study uses this type of interview. As it will be presented in the next part, the interview questions in this study mostly consist of open-ended questions and provide the flexibility to the researcher to introduce new questions if and when necessary. In this way, the aim is to have in-depth answers from the interviewees with regards to the professional choices of the interpreters.

3.3.1. The Participants

10 interpreters were included in this study. In order to make comparison possible between freelance interpreters and interpreters working for an institution, 5 freelance and 5 in-house interpreters were chosen. With regards to that, the data analysis will be made separately for freelance interpreters and interpreters that work for an institution.

The average age of freelance interpreters is 48. The youngest interpreter is 42 years old and the oldest interpreter is 66 years old as of the year 2021. All of the freelance interpreters are female. Four of the freelance interpreters graduated from translation and interpreting department and one of them has a degree in a different field. With regards to their language combination, four of them interpret between English and Turkish and one of them interprets between English, German and Turkish. They translate between these languages. Related with the work experience of freelance interpreters, their average year of work experience is 22 years as of the year 2021. The freelance interpreter, who has the least experience, has 12 years of experience and the freelance interpreter, who has the longest experience, has 36 years of experience as of the year 2021.

When we look at the interpreters that work for an institution, the average age of them is 36. The youngest interpreter is 25 years old and the oldest interpreter is 48 years old as of the year 2021. 4 of the in-house interpreters are female and one of them is male. All of them graduated from translation and interpreting departments. With regards to their language combination, they interpret between English and Turkish. Related with their work experience, the average year of work experience is 14 years as of the year 2021. The in-house interpreter, who has the least experience, has 4 years of experience and the in-house interpreter, who has the longest experience, has 26 years of experience as of the year 2021. Lastly, two of the interpreters work in a public institution, two of them work in foreign institutions and one of them works in a private institution.

3.4. TYPE OF INTERVIEWS AND INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

In this study, online and face to face interviews have been conducted. Online interviews were conducted via zoom platform. 1 interview was conducted face to face and 9 interviews were conducted online. Only one interview was able to be conducted face to face because half of the interpreters live outside Izmir, in another city and as most of them have a very busy schedule, only one of the interpreters was able to spare some time for face to face interview. As the Covid-19 pandemic situation was still going on as of the year 2021, online interviews were mostly preferred by the participants and as online interviews are time-efficient, they provided flexibility to the participants as they have a busy schedule. Therefore, participants were able to schedule the time of the interviews according to their work programs and they felt more comfortable while answering the questions as they either participated in the interviews from their homes or offices. These are the advantages of online interviews. On the other hand, it is also important to mention some of the advantages of face to face interviews. In face to face interviews, the interviewer does not encounter with problems such as slow internet connection or access problems that might occur in online interviews. It is an important advantage. Another advantage of face to face interviews is that, the interviewer can feel more comfortable to ask extra questions in order to get detailed information as there is face to face interaction and the duration of the interview can be extended as there isn't a sharp time limit just like in online interviews.

3.4.1. Interview Questions

The interview questions consist of six parts. The first part consists of general questions, the second part consists of questions on the background information of the interviewees that aims to find out how the habitus of the interpreters affects their professional choices. The third part consists of questions on the education / expertise of interpreters that aims to find out how the cultural capital of the interpreters affects their professional choices. The fourth part includes questions on income that tries to find out to what extent economic capital affects the occupational choices of

interpreters. The fifth part consists of questions on membership to associations / power that tries to find out the effect of social capital on interpreters' occupational choices. The last part is related with questions on recognition / visibility that aims to find out the effect of symbolic capital on the occupational choices of interpreters.

The interview questions are as follows:

Part 1: General Questions

(Birinci Kısım: Genel Sorular)

The first part consists of six questions that aims to get a general idea about the participants. It includes questions such as the age, language combination and work experience of interpreters. The questions in this part are as follows:

1) What is your age?
   (Yaşınız nedir?)
2) What is your language combination?
   (Dil kombinasyonunuz nedir? Hangi dillerden tercüme yapıyorsunuz?)
3) Do you work as a freelance interpreter or do you work for an institution?
   (Serbest tercüman olarak mı yoksa kuruma bağlı olarak mı çalışıyorsunuz?)
4) How long have you been working as an interpreter?
   (Ne kadar süredir sözlü tercüman olarak çalışıyorsunuz?)
5) Did you start working as an interpreter after graduation from the university or have you worked in different areas? If yes, where did you work and what was your profession?
   (Üniversiteden mezun olduktan sonra hemen sözlü tercüman olarak çalışmaya başladınız mı yoksa farklı alanlarda mı çalıştınız? Eğer evetse, nerede çalıştınız ve mesleğiniz neydi?)
6) Do you both do consecutive interpreting and simultaneous interpreting?
   (Hem ardıl hem de simultane çeviri yapıyor musunuz?)

Part 2: Background information:

(İkinci Kısım: Özgeçmiş)

Part two consists of nine questions that aims to give information about the background of interpreters. The answers to the questions on this part will give an

idea about the habitus of the interpreters. The questions related with the language acquisition, university degree and the education level of the interpreters and also the education background of their parents will shed light on the habitus of the interpreters. The questions in this part are as follows:

1) What is your education level? (BA degree, MA degree or PhD degree)
   - Could you please specify the names of the departments that you studied?

   (Eğitim seviyeniz nedir? (Lisans, Yüksek Lisans, Doktora?) (Mezun olduğunuz bölümleri belirtir misiniz?)
2) If you graduated from translation and interpreting department, was it a deliberate or a random choice? Did you plan to become an interpreter before you chose to study in that department or did you decide to become an interpreter while you were studying in that department or after graduation?)

   (Eğer mütercim tercümanlık bölümünden mezun olduysanız bu bilinçli mi yoksa rastgele bir seçim miydi? Bu bölümde okumaya başlamadan mı yoksa bölümde okurken mi veya bölümden mezun olduktan sonra mı sözlü tercüman olmaya karar verdiniz?)
3) Do you think that graduating from translation and interpreting department is a privilege in the interpreting market? If so, what are the advantages?

   (Sizce mütercim tercümanlık bölümünden mezun olmak sözlü çeviri piyasasında bir ayrıcalık mı? Eğer öyleyse avantajları neler?)
4) If you did not graduate from translation and interpreting department, have you received any training in order to become an interpreter?

   (Eğer mütercim tercümanlık bölümünden mezun değilseniz sözlü tercüman olmak için herhangi bir eğitim aldınız mı?)
5) Why did you become an interpreter?

   (Neden sözlü tercüman oldunuz?)
6) How did you learn your foreign language / languages?

   (Yabancı dilinizi / dillerinizi nasıl öğrendiniz?)
7) Do your parents speak any foreign languages? If so, did this situation affect you to learn a foreign language?

   (Ebeveynleriniz yabancı dil konuşuyor mu? Eğer konuşuyor ise bu durum sizin yabancı dil öğrenmenizde etkili oldu mu?)

8) What is the education level of your parents? Are they university graduates? If so, did this situation affect you to have a university education?
   (Ailenizin eğitim geçmişi nasıldır? Her ikisi de üniversite mezunu mu? Eğer öyleyse bu durum sizin üniversite eğitimi almanızı etkiledi mi?)
9) Are there any other interpreters in your family? If so, did it affect you to become an interpreter?
   (Ailenizde sizden başka sözlü tercüman var mı? Eğer varsa bu durum sizin sözlü tercüman olmanızı etkiledi mi?)

Part 3: Education / Experience

(Üçüncü Kısım: Eğitim / Deneyim)

The third part consists of six questions that are related with the role of having a degree in translation and interpreting department, whether experience is required or not in order to become an interpreter and the role of experience in becoming an interpreter. The answers to these questions will show the cultural capital of the interpreters and give insight into the effect of cultural capital on the occupational choices of interpreters. The questions in this part are as follows:

1) Do you think that graduating from translation and interpreting department is an advantage in becoming an interpreter? What do you think of the role of a university education in that profession?
   (Sizce mütercim tercümanlık bölümünden mezun olmak sözlü tercüman olmakta bir avantaj mı? Bu meslekte üniversite eğitiminin rolü ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?)
2) Do you think that experience is required to become an interpreter? If yes, could you please elaborate why it is needed?
   (Sizce sözlü tercüman olmak için deneyim gerekli mi? Eğer evetse neden gerekli olduğunu detaylandırır mısınız?)
3) Should all interpreters have a degree in translation and interpreting or can it be learned on the job? If you think that it can be learned on the job, could you please elaborate how? What are your recommendations?

(Sizce bütün sözlü tercümanlar mütercim tercümanlık bölümünden lisans derecesine sahip olmalılar mı yoksa bu işte de öğrenilebilir mi? Sizce işte öğrenilirse nasıl olduğunu detaylandırır mısınız? Tavsiyeleriniz nelerdir?)

4) If you graduated from translation and interpreting department, how did your academic education contribute to your work as an interpreter? How can you define the quality of translation and interpreting departments' education in Turkey? In your opinion, do they meet the demands of the interpreting market?

   (Eğer mütercim tercümanlık bölümünden mezun olduysanız sizin akademik eğitiminiz sizi sözlü tercümanlığa nasıl hazırladı? Türkiye'deki mütercim tercümanlık bölümlerinin eğitim kalitesini nasıl tanımlarsınız? Sizce sözlü çeviri piyasasının taleplerini karşılıyorlar mı?)

5) Do employers give importance to a degree in translation and interpreting more than experience in your work or do they give importance to experience more than a degree? In your opinion, which one is more important and why?

   (İşinizde işverenler mütercim tercümanlıkta lisans derecesine sahip olmaya deneyimden daha mı fazla önem veriyorlar yoksa deneyime mi daha fazla önem veriyorlar? Sizce hangisi daha önemlidir ve neden?)

6) Besides your degree in translation and interpreting or your experience in that field, what are your other peculiarities that help you to become an interpreter? (knowing two or more foreign languages? Having certificates in that field? … etc.)

   (Mütercim tercümanlıktaki lisans dereceniz veya deneyiminiz dışında sözlü tercüman olmanızdaki diğer özellikleriniz nedir? (iki veya daha fazla dil bilmek? Bu alanda sertifika sahibi olmak?...v.b)

Part 4: Income

(Dördüncü Kısım: Gelir)

The fourth part includes five questions on income. The answers to the questions on this part will reveal whether the interpreters are satisfied with their income or not and whether working as a freelance interpreter or working for an institution has an effect on the income or not. The answers of the interpreters to these

questions will show the effect of economic capital on their occupational choices. The questions in this part are as follows:

1) How can you define the income of the interpreters in Turkey?
   - high / very high / moderate / low / very low
     (Türkiye'deki sözlü tercümanların gelirini nasıl tanımlarsınız?
   - Yüksek / çok yüksek / orta / düşük / çok düşük)
2) Do you think that working as a freelance interpreter or working for an institution affects the income? In what ways, could you please elaborate?
   (Sizce serbest olarak veya bir kuruma bağlı olarak çalışmak geliri etkiliyor mu? Ne şekillerde? Detaylandırır mısınız?)
3) Does the income of the interpreters (both consecutive and simultaneous) have an effect on the choice of your profession?
   (Sözlü tercümanların (hem ardıl hem de simultane) geliri bu mesleği seçmenizde etkili oldu mu?)
4) How satisfied are you regarding your income?
   (Geliriniz ile ilgili ne kadar memnunsunuz?)
5) Do you think interpreters earn what they deserve?
   (Sizce sözlü tercümanlar hak ettikleri gibi kazanıyorlar mı?)

Part 5: Membership to Associations / Power

(Beşinci Kısım: Kurumlara Üyelik / Güç)

This part consists of four questions that are related with membership to associations and the advantages of being a member of an association. The answers to these questions will show the effects of social capital on the interpreters' professional choices. The questions in this part are as follows:

1) Are you a member of a translation association? If yes, please specify the name of the association. Answer the second, third and fourth questions if you are a member of an association. If not, pass to part 6.
   (Bir çeviri derneğine üye misiniz? Eğer öyleyse hangi derneğe üye olduğunuzu belirtiniz. Eğer bir derneğin üyesi iseniz ikinci, üçüncü ve dördüncü soruları cevaplayınız. Değilseniz altıncı kısma geçiniz).

2) Do you think that being a member of an association makes you well-known in the interpreting market and eases you to get more woks?
   (Sizce bir derneğe üye olmak sizi sözlü çeviri piyasasında daha bilinir yapıyor mu ve daha fazla iş almanızı kolaylaştırıyor mu?)
3) Do you think that being a member of an association reinforces your position and status in the interpreting market?
   (Sizce bir derneğe üye olmak sözlü çeviri piyasasındaki pozisyonunuzu ve statünüzü güçlendiriyor mu?)
4) What are the other advantages of being a member of an association?
   (Bir derneğe üye olmanın avantajları nelerdir?)

Part 6: Recognition / Visibility / Prestige

(Altıncı kısım: tanınırlık / görünürlük / prestij)

This last part consists of ten questions that are related with visibility and prestige. In this part, the answers to the visibility of the interpreters in their work places, the recognition of the profession in society and the influence of interpreters in their workplaces will be found. As these questions are related with the notion of symbolic capital of Pierre Bourdieu, the effect of symbolic capital on interpreters' occupational choices will be examined. The questions in this part are as follows:

1) Are interpreters visible in society? Do they get enough respect from the society?
   (Sözlü tercümanlar toplum da görünür mü? Toplumdan yeteri kadar saygı görüyorlar mı?)
2) Is your work visible in the workplace? Is it appreciated?
   (Çalıştığınız yerde yaptığınız iş görünür mü? Takdir görüyor mu?)
3) Is "anyone who speaks English can do interpretation" approach widespread among interpreters and is it a threat to the interpreting profession? If you think that it is a threat to the profession, in what ways is it a threat?
   ("İngilizce konuşan herkes sözlü tercüme yapabilir" yaklaşımı sözlü tercümanlar arasında da yaygın mı ve bu sözlü çeviri mesleği için bir tehdit oluşturuyor mu? Eğer tehdit olduğunu düşünüyorsanız, hangi açılardan bir tehdittir?)

4) Which factors affect the visibility of an interpreter?

- Translation Associations
- Employers
- Quality of the Work
- Clients
-Translation and interpreting technologies

(Hangi faktörler sözlü tercümanın görünürlüğünü etkiler?

- Çeviri Dernekleri
- İşverenler
-İşin niteliği
-Müşteriler
-Yazılı ve sözlü çeviri teknolojileri)

5) Do interpreters have an influence in the workplace? If yes, what kind of an influence?

(Sözlü tercümanların iş yerinde bir etkileri var mı? Varsa nasıl bir etkileri var?)

6) Do interpreters have an influence on the translation fees?

(Sözlü tercümanların çeviri ücretleri üzerinde bir etkileri var mı?)

7) Could you please rate the visibility of interpreters in society?

Very high / High / Moderate / Low / Very Low

(Sözlü tercümanların toplum içerisindeki görünürlüklerini derecelendirir misiniz?)

8) What can be done to improve the visibility of interpreters in society?

(Sözlü tercümanların toplumdaki görünürlüklerini arttırmak için ne yapılabilir?)

9) How do you see the status and prestige of interpreters in society?

(Sözlü tercümanların toplumdaki statü ve prestijlerini nasıl görüyorsunuz?)

10) How do you see your status and prestige in your workplace?

11) (İşyerindeki statü ve prestijinizi nasıl görüyorsunuz?)

With the answers to these interview questions, the answers to the aforementioned research questions will be found. The reasons behind the occupational choices of freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters will be discussed so as to explore the relationship between cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital and the occupational choices of interpreters in Turkey and the

answers will showcase why the interpreters prefer the field of interpreting instead of written translation.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter consists of three main parts. As aforementioned, the interviews were realized with five freelance interpreters and five in-house interpreters. Therefore, the data of the freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters will be analyzed separately based on the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu namely as habitus, cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital. First, the data analysis of freelance interpreters will be presented and then the analysis of in-house interpreters will be presented with the subtitles namely as habitus, cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital. The last part will present the overall evaluation of both the freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters. The names of the interpreters and the names of the institutions where they work will be kept confidential. Therefore, the interpreters will be referred to as Interpreter 1, Interpreter 2, Interpreter 3 and so on.

4.1. DATA ANALYSIS OF FREELANCE INTERPRETERS

As aforementioned in *3.3.1 Data Collection Method and Interviewees* part of this study, the average age of freelance interpreters is 48. The youngest freelance interpreter is 42 years old and the oldest freelance interpreter is 66 years old as of the year 2021. All of the freelance interpreters are female. Four of the freelance interpreters graduated from translation and interpreting departments and one of them has a degree in psychology. With regards to their language combination, four of them interpret between English and Turkish and one of them interprets between English, German and Turkish. They translate between these languages. Related with the work experience of freelance interpreters, their average year of work experience is 22 years. The freelance interpreter, who has the least experience, has 12 years of experience and the freelance interpreter, who has the longest experience, has 36 years of experience as of the year 2021. In addition to that, all of the freelance interpreters do both consecutive and simultaneous interpreting. Two of the interpreters stated that they started interpreting when they were students at

university. One of them stated that she started working as a conference interpreter right after graduation while working as a research assistant at a university at the same time. Interpreter 2 (2021), who does not have a degree in translation and interpreting department, stated that she worked in her own field for one year and then she started working as an interpreter. Interpreter 3 (2021) stated that she worked in a different sector as she was living abroad and when she returned to Turkey, she started working as an interpreter.

4.1.1. Habitus of Freelance Interpreters

Related with the habitus of freelance interpreters, nine questions were asked to the freelance interpreters. The first question in this part was related with the education level of the interpreters. All of the freelance interpreters except one graduated from translation and interpreting department. Two of the interpreters, who graduated from translation and interpreting departments, have also master's degrees and one of them has Phd. For example, Interpreter 4 has 3 master's degrees. Her first master's degree is in the field of translation and interpreting, her second master's degree is in the field of translation studies where she studied abroad and her last master's degree is in the field of social anthropology. She is also continuing her Phd studies in the field of sociology. She is in the process of writing her dissertation. Interpreter 5, who also has a bachelor's degree in translation and interpreting department, has a master's degree in translation and interpreting department and Phd in cognitive sciences.

The second question in this part was related with whether studying at translation and interpreting department was a deliberate choice for freelance interpreters or not. Two of the interpreters stated that studying in translation and interpreting department was a deliberate choice for them and they planned to become an interpreter before they chose to study in that department. For instance, Interpreter 1 stated:

> *It was deliberate. I wanted to become an interpreter when I entered the university. The Gulf War broke out after I entered the university. At that time, there were only two translation and interpreting departments. When the Gulf War broke out when we were at university, I told people that we would be*

interpreters just like the lady doing the simultaneous interpretation on TV. It was easier to tell in that way.[1]

[Bilinçliydi. Sözlü tercüman olmayı da okula girerken istiyordum. Körfez savaşı ben okula girdikten sonraydı. O zamanlar iki tane mütercim tercümanlık bölümü vardı. Biz okurken körfez savaşı olunca hah oradaki kadınlar gibi olacağız diye anlatmak kolay olmuştu.] (Interpreter 1, 2021).

From a similar perspective, Interpreter 5 (2021) stated that she also decided to become an interpreter before she chose to study in that department as her high school teacher was a graduate of translation and interpreting department and she was familiar with the department. She also stated that she was a successful student at university and was good at in interpreting courses.

In contrast to Interpreter 1 and Interpreter 5, two of the interpreters, Interpreter 3 and Interpreter 4 (2021) stated that studying translation and interpreting was a random choice for them. For example, Interpreter 3 (2021) remarked that it wasn't a deliberate choice for her to study in that department but while she was studying in the department, she had the chance to get to know the occupation, she liked it and thought that she could do it as a profession. This question was not asked to Interpreter 2 as she is not a graduate of translation and interpreting department.

The third question in this part was related with whether graduating from translation and interpreting department is a privilege in the interpreting market or not and the advantages of graduating from that department. For this question, two of the interpreters stated that graduating from translation and interpreting department is a privilege in the market. For instance, Interpreter 3 and Interpreter 5 (2021) emphasized the benefits of taking interpreting courses from the professionals that work in the interpreting market and stated that it is very valuable to benefit from their experiences.

In contrast to Interpreter 3 and Interpreter 5 (2021), two of the interpreters stated that they do not see graduating from translation and interpreting department as a privilege. For instance, Interpreter 1 (2021) remarked that she does not see graduating from translation and interpreting department as a hundred percent advantage and stated:

[1] Translation of all the excerpts from the interview transcripts was made by the writer of the thesis.

> *Well, I cannot say it is a hundred percent advantage but as you learn the techniques and learn to respect the profession, you get a formation but interpreting is based on experience more than university education. You do not have the opportunity to gain experience at school, at least it was like that for me. We couldn't have interpreting experience. You learn better outside school.*
>
> [Hani yüzde yüz avantaj diyemeyeceğim ama evet teknikleri öğrendiğiniz için ve işe saygı duymayı öğrendiğiniz için hani bir formasyon almış oluyorsunuz tabii. Ama tecrübeye daha çok dayanıyor tabii sözlü çeviri ya okuldan ziyade. Okulda çok fazla bir tecrübe fırsatı bulamıyorsunuz ya da en azından benim okuduğum okulda öyleydi. Sözlü tercüme tecrübemiz olamadı. Dışarıda daha iyi öğreniyorsunuz.] (Interpreter 1, 2021).

From a similar point of view, Interpreter 4 (2021) noted that graduating from translation and interpreting department is advantageous for the interpreter as it gives an idea about the notion of interpreting but it is not a privilege in the interpreting market. She also added that it is better to do a master's degree in translation and interpreting department rather than having a bachelor's degree because if people have a bachelor's degree in a different field such as in economics, medicine or literature, they will have background knowledge in that field and they can be specialized in that field. For example, they can be specialized in legal interpreting or medical interpreting.

This question was not asked to Interpreter 2 as she is not a graduate of translation and interpreting department.

The fourth question in this part was prepared for the interpreters that do not have a degree in translation and interpreting department. The question was related with whether they received any training in order to become an interpreter or not if they did not graduate form translation and interpreting department. Related with that question, only one interpreter, Interpreter 2, does not have a degree in translation and interpreting department. She has a major in psychology. Her process in becoming an interpreter started when she was younger. Interpreter 2 (2021) mentioned that she went to Germany with her family when she was a child as her father was a diplomat and she started to learn German starting from childhood. She first started by doing translation in German and then when she started working as a psychologist, she didn't do that profession a lot because as she can speak German, English and French, she mostly did translations in there. After that, she started working in another institution and she started doing consecutive interpreting as she had talent.

From the answer of Interpreter 2 to that question, it can be deduced that it is not a must to be a graduate of translation and interpreting department in order to be an interpreter. In the case of Interpreter 2, it can be seen that as she has talent in learning languages, she became a successful interpreter. It is also important to mention the advantages of learning a foreign language at a young age. As she started learning foreign languages starting from childhood and as she was living abroad, it was easier for her to acquire languages.

The fifth question in this part was related with the background reasons of interpreters in choosing that profession. With regards to the question of "Why did you become an interpreter?" three of the interpreters stated that they like interpreting, they have an interest in that field and they prefer interpreting rather than written translation as written translation is more exhausting and requires more effort than interpreting.

In contrast to Interpreters 1, 3 and 5, two of the interpreters, Interpreter 2 and Interpreter 4 (2021) stated that they started interpreting by coincidence. There wasn't a specific reason for them. For instance, Interpreter 2 (2021), who has a degree in psychology, noted that a friend of her forced her to enter to the field of simultaneous interpretation and at first, she was scared but as she became successful, she continued in that field.

As can be seen from the answers to these questions that the freelance interpreters have different motives in choosing that profession.

The sixth question in this part was related with how the interpreters learned their foreign language / languages. With regards to the foreign languages of the freelance interpreters, three of the interpreters stated that they started learning a foreign language at high school. In addition to that, Interpreter 3 (2021) added that she also learned French at university in prep class in a level that she can do translation but she doesn't do translation from French. Similarly, Interpreter 4 (2021) denoted that she can also speak German and French but not in a level that she can do translation.

On the other hand, two of the interpreters stated that they learned their foreign language / languages in primary school and in secondary school. For instance, Interpreter 2 (2021) noted that she went to Germany after primary school and she

learned German in there in four months in prep class and she also learned English and French in there. In a similar vein, Interpreter 5 (2021) stated that she started learning English in the fourth grade of primary school and also studied English for one year in prep class in high school. She also added that she took German as a second foreign language at university for four years and also went to German courses in Tömer (Ankara University Turkish and Foreign Languages Application and Research Center) and got a diploma from there.

From the answers to these questions, it can be deduced that freelance interpreters have a great talent in acquiring languages as most of them can speak more than one foreign language.

Related with the habitus of the freelance interpreters, the last three questions in this part were related with the education level and the foreign language knowledge of the interpreters' parents. With regards to that, the seventh question in this part was related with whether the interpreters' parents speak any foreign languages or not and whether this situation affected them to learn a foreign language or not. With regards to the foreign language knowledge of the interpreters' parents, two of the interpreters stated that their parents do not speak any foreign languages.

In contrast, three of the interpreters stated that either one or both of their parents speak a foreign language. For instance, Interpreter 2 (2021) stated that both of her parents learned a foreign language but as they weren't fluent speakers, they did not affect her to learn a foreign language. In a similar vein, Interpreter 4 (2021) noted that her father is fluent in English but this situation did not affect her to become an interpreter but it affected her to like English because when she was a child, they used to buy her children books in English.

The eighth question in this part was related with the education level of the interpreters' parents, whether they are university graduates or not and whether that situation affected them to have a university education or not. Related with the education level of the interpreters' parents, only one of the freelance interpreter's parents are both university graduates and of course that situation affected her to have a university education.

Related with this question, four of the interpreters stated that either one of their parents is a university graduate or high school graduate. All of them stated that

their families gave great importance to university education and encouraged them to take university education.

The last question in this part was related with whether there are any interpreters in the interpreters' families and whether that situation affected them to become an interpreter or not. Only one of the interpreters, Interpreter 4 (2021), stated that there was a family member who was an interpreter but that situation did not affect her to become an interpreter.

In conclusion, with regards to the answers of the freelance interpreters to the questions regarding their habitus, it can be seen that they started learning a foreign language at a young age and they are very skilled in learning a foreign language as four of them can speak more than one foreign language like German or French or both German and French and they stated that they learned their second foreign languages at university or by going to a private course. Related with their educational background, it can also be said that they are very successful as most of them mentioned that they entered the universities with high scores. It is also important to mention that one of the interpreters has three master degrees and one of them has both a master degree and PhD. With regards to the educational background of their families, it can be deduced that they are all raised in families that gave great importance to university education and encouraged them to learn a foreign language at a young age. Therefore, it can be said that the habitus of freelance interpreters comes to the forefront as an important reason for them to choose that profession.

4.1.2. Cultural Capital of Freelance Interpreters

Related with the cultural capital of freelance interpreters, six questions were asked to the participants in this part. As aforementioned, four of the freelance interpreters graduated from translation and interpreting department and one of the interpreters has a major in psychology.

The first question in this part was related with whether graduating from translation and interpreting department is an advantage in becoming an interpreter or not and their opinions on the role of a university education in that profession. Two of the interpreters stated that graduating from translation and interpreting department is

an advantage in becoming an interpreter and they find the role of a university education important in that profession. For instance, Interpreter 3 (2021) noted that graduating from translation and interpreting department provides advantages especially in the field of interpreting as it provides opportunities for practice specially in consecutive and simultaneous interpreting. Interpreter 3 (2021) also added that university education is not solely enough to be a good interpreter; interest, effort and competence are also needed.

In a similar vein, Interpreter 5 (2021) remarked that graduating from translation and interpreting department is advantageous and a four-year undergraduate education prepares the students to the profession, ensures them to enter the profession more comfortably and aims to prepare them according to the expectations of the profession.

In contrast to Interpreter 3 and Interpreter 5, the other two freelance interpreters, Interpreter 1 and Interpreter 4 (2021), stated different views on the advantages of graduating from translation and interpreting department and on the role of university education. For instance, Interpreter 1 (2021) expressed that graduating from translation and interpreting department is not a big advantage and it doesn't mean that all the graduates from translation and interpreting departments will do great interpreting.

From a different point of view, Interpreter 4 (2021) stated that the university education on translation and interpreting should be given on a master's degree level not on a bachelor's degree level as there are different master's degree programs on translation and interpreting that provide opportunities for students to be specialized in certain fields like written translation or oral interpreting. Interpreter 4 (2021) also highlighted that as there will be fewer people on master's degree programs, better results will be obtained.

This question was not asked to Interpreter 2 as she is not a graduate of translation and interpreting department.

The second question in this part was related with whether experience is required to become an interpreter or not and interpreters' opinion on why it is needed or not. All of the freelance interpreters stated that experience is required to become an interpreter. They emphasized that the more you interpret, the better you get in that

profession. They also highlighted the importance of practice and internship during university education and working with experienced interpreters when you first start this profession. In this regard, Interpreter 5 (2021) noted that activities in the lessons like role plays, study visits or participating in the conferences as listeners can be a good opportunity to gain experience.

The third question in this part was related with whether all interpreters should have a degree in translation and interpreting or not and whether it can be learned on the job or not. All of the freelance interpreters stated that this can also be learned on the job. For instance, Interpreter 1 (2021) remarked that the important thing in that profession is to be competent on languages, to read and work a lot. Interpreter 1 (2021) also highlighted that under an experienced interpreter's guidance, someone, who does not have a degree in translation and interpreting, can start interpreting and he / she can take the education at work. In a similar vein, Interpreter 2, Interpreter 3 and Interpreter 4 (2021) emphasized that the profession can also be learned on the job if you work with experienced people and benefit from their feedback. With regards to that question, Interpreter 5 (2021) pointed out that the profession can also be learned on the job but interpreters who do not have a degree in translation and interpreting department might come across with some difficulties because they generally work on the field that they graduated like engineering or psychology and because of that, it is always in one direction and they don't work on a wide spectrum but as they gain more experience, they start working in better conditions.

From the answers of the freelance interpreters to that question, it can be deduced that the freelance interpreters give great importance to experience in that profession and highlight the importance of working with experienced people.

The fourth question in this part was related with the contribution of academic education to the profession and how the freelance interpreters define the quality of translation and interpreting departments' education in Turkey and whether they meet the demands of the interpreting market or not. Related with the contribution of academic education to their profession, two of the interpreters, Interpreter 3 and Interpreter 5 (2021), stated that they were very pleased with the education that they took at the university. They mentioned that they received a good education from the academicians that are very qualified and experienced in their fields. For instance,

Interpreter 3 (2021) mentioned that besides the courses on translation and interpreting, they also took courses related with journalism, media literacy and courses on different fields that were very beneficial for them. Both Interpreter 3 and Interpreter 5 (2021) expressed that they had the opportunity to take courses during their university education from the interpreters that were working in the interpreting market.

In contrast to Interpreter 3 and Interpreter 5, two of the interpreters, Interpreter 1 and Interpreter 4 (2021), stated that they weren't totally pleased with the education that they received. For instance, Interpreter 1 (2021) mentioned the lack of a language laboratory at their university and not having the chance to do practice.

Related with the quality of translation and interpreting departments' education in Turkey and whether they meet the demands of the interpreting market or not, Interpreter 1 and Interpreter 3 (2021) mentioned that a lot of translation and interpreting departments have been opened in the recent years and it is not possible for all of them to meet the demands of the market as there aren't enough qualified academicians for all the departments.

From a different perspective, Interpreter 4 (2021) stated that the translation and interpreting department education should be given as a master's degree program because in that way, there will be fewer students like 5 or 6 in the classroom and as there will be fewer students, the results will be better.

Related with the quality of the education of the departments, Interpreter 5 (2021) expressed that the departments' education quality is related with three things namely as how the curriculum is prepared, to what extent importance is given to interpreting courses and by whom the interpreting courses will be given. Interpreter 5 (2021) highlighted that the interpreting courses should be given by people who have connections with the interpreting market because the academic staff and their competence are important. She also expressed that aptitude tests (these tests are applied in order to evaluate the competence of students for simultaneous interpreting) should be applied for students that are planning to be specialized in simultaneous interpreting. Related with whether the quality of translation and interpreting departments' education meet the demands of the interpreting market or not, Interpreter 5 (2021) expressed that they meet the demands up to a certain point.

As a follow-up of the fourth question, the fifth question in this part was related with employers and whether they give importance to a degree in translation and interpreting more than experience. Two of the interpreters, Interpreter 1 and Interpreter 4 (2021) stated that employers give more importance to experience. On the other hand, Interpreter 3 and Interpreter 5 (2021) stated that it changes depending on the employer and the content of interpreting. From a different perspective, Interpreter 2 (2021) expressed that employers just look whether the translation is good or not.

The last question in this part was related with the other peculiarities of the interpreters that help them to become an interpreter. They have mentioned some peculiarities namely as being curious, being open to learning, having interest on different topics, loving to read and listen, being able to work under stress and pressure, staying calm, knowing more than one language, having good communication skills, being a good team member and being a planned person.

In conclusion, it can be said that all the freelance interpreters that were interviewed give great importance to experience in that profession and it can be deduced from their answers that they have worked a lot to be successful in that profession. For example, most of them mentioned that they started doing translations and oral interpreting when they were students and most of them can speak more than one foreign language. It is obvious that they invested themselves a lot. Therefore, cultural capital is a very important factor for freelance interpreters to choose this profession.

4.1.3. Economic Capital of Freelance Interpreters

Related with the economic capital of freelance interpreters, five questions were asked in this part. The first question in this part was related with the income of the interpreters in Turkey. Two of the interpreters defined the income of interpreters in Turkey as moderate, one of them as good, one of them as above moderate, close to high and one of them as low. For instance, Interpreter 3 (2021), who defined the income of interpreters as above moderate, close to high, stated that it changes according to the number of working days of the interpreter, whether the interpreter is

freelance or working for an institution and also the working languages of the interpreter. All of the freelance interpreters also expressed that the economic fluctuations in Turkey also affected their income in a negative way.

As a follow-up of the first question, the second question in this part was related with whether working as a freelance interpreter or working for an institution affects the income or not and in what ways. All of the freelance interpreters stated that if you work as a freelance interpreter, you earn more money compared to working for an institution because they generally set the wage price policies and this also depends on the number of the working days. They also remarked that although freelance interpreters earn more, they don't get paid if they don't work or if they get ill. Therefore, institutional interpreters have job security.

The third question in this part was related with whether the income of the interpreters (both consecutive and simultaneous) has an effect on the choice of their profession or not. All of the freelance interpreters stated that the income of the interpreters did not have an effect on the choice of their profession. They stated that they do interpreting because they love and enjoy the profession, they have good communication skills and they do their jobs without getting bored.

As a continuation of question number three, the fourth question was related with whether the freelance interpreters are satisfied with their income or not. Three of the interpreters, Interpreter 1, Interpreter 2 and Interpreter 5 (2021) stated that they are satisfied with their income in Turkey's conditions.

In contrast, two of the interpreters, Interpreter 3 and Interpreter 4 (2021) stated that they were not satisfied with their income especially if the income of the interpreters in Turkey is compared to the income of the interpreters in other countries. With regards to that question, Interpreter 4 (2021) highlighted that the current economic situation and the currency depreciation in Turkey also affected their income negatively.

The last question in this part was related with whether the interpreters earn what they deserve or not. All of the interpreters stated that the interpreters don't earn what they deserve. With regards to that, Interpreter 1 (2021) pointed out that there is a decreasing situation in Izmir in the last two and three years and the income of the interpreters has decreased a lot in Izmir and it is behind Istanbul and Ankara. She

also highlighted that the number of interpreters has also increased in the recent years and this situation also affected their income negatively. From a similar point of view, Interpreter 5 (2021) stated that compared to the interpreters abroad, the interpreters in Turkey earn less as there is no professionalization.

In conclusion, it can be said that the freelance interpreters are partially satisfied with their income. They stated that they used to earn more in the past but now they all agree that the freelance interpreters don't earn what they deserve because of the current economic problems in Turkey as of 2021. They also mentioned that the income of the interpreters did not have an effect on their choice of the profession. Some of them even mentioned that they didn't even know how much they will earn when they first started the profession.

As aforementioned in the theoretical framework of this study, cultural capital can also be converted into economic capital and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986: 246-247) and it can be seen that all freelance interpreters converted their cultural capitals into economic capitals as they make their livings from that profession. Although, they all converted their cultural capitals into economic capitals, economic capital does not seem to be a strong reason for freelance interpreters to choose that profession because they all mentioned that income of the interpreters did not have an effect on their choice of the profession.

4.1.4. Social Capital of Freelance Interpreters

Four questions were asked in this part related with the social capital of freelance interpreters. The questions in this part were related with being a member of an association and the benefits of having a membership. Interpreter 4 is a member of Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey. Interpreter 5 (2021) stated that she used be a member of European Society for Translation Studies. As she was a member of an Association, the questions in this part were also asked to her. Among five interpreters, Interpreter 3 (2021) stated that she was a candidate for the Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey but as she moved from Ankara to Izmir, that process was interrupted so she doesn't have any membership to any associations.

As aforementioned, Interpreter 5 used to be a member of an association. Therefore, the questions in this part were also asked to her in order to learn her ideas about being a member of an association. Interpreter 5 (2021) stated that she used to be a member of European Society for Translation Studies and she doesn't have an active membership to any of the associations right now. She expressed that the reason for not being a member of an association or Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey is that she works at a university as an academician and she doesn't do interpreting as a full time job. Interpreter 5 (2021) also highlighted that although she is not a member of Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey, she participated in many meetings of the association and she also took her students to the introductory meetings of the association. Besides that, she also stated that she has attended many meetings of Translators Professional Association (Çevbir – Çevirmenler Meslek Birliği) and also Association of Translation Companies (Çeviri İşletmeleri Derneği). With regards to the Association of Translation Companies, she expressed that the association has its own internship network and some of her students did their internship in that association. She also added that the association also organizes workshops at universities and it gives certificates to the students. It can be deduced from the answers of the Interpreter 5 that she gives great importance to the works of the associations and she does her best to be involved in their activities.

As a follow-up of the first question, the second question in this part was related with whether being a member of an association makes the interpreters well-known in the interpreting market and eases them to get more works. With regards to that, Interpreter 5 (2021) noted that if she were a full member of Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey, she could have a wider network.

The third question in this part was related with whether being a member of an association reinforces the interpreter's position and status in the interpreting market or not. Interpreter 5 (2021) denoted that she doesn't agree with that and she thinks that as interpreters, they reinforce their status and position themselves.

The last question in this part was related with the other advantages of being a member of an association. With regards to that, Interpreter 5 (2021) pointed out that by the help of the association, you can get in touch with the associations in abroad

more easily and as the Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey works closely with International Association of Conference Interpreters (AICC), you can also participate in the works of AICC. Therefore, being a member of an association is advantageous.

As aforementioned only one interpreter, Interpreter 4 is a full member of the Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey. Therefore, the questions in this part were also asked to her.

The second question in this part was related with whether being a member of an association makes the interpreters well-known in the interpreting market and eases them to get more works. Related with that, Interpreter 4 (2021) stated that being a member of an association does not make her well-known but it provides her to work in better conditions. She also expressed that the association does not ease her to get more works as most of her clients don't know this association. Interpreter 4 (2021) also highlighted that the association brought some standards to the profession and thanks to the association; the profession is now more well-known.

The third question in this part was related with whether being a member of an association reinforces the interpreter's position and status in the interpreting market or not. Interpreter 4 (2021) noted that it reinforces the interpreter's position and status in the interpreting market as interpreters have the opportunity to act together with their colleagues.

The last question in this part was related with the other advantages of being a member of an association. With regards to that, Interpreter 4 (2021) pointed out that she had the opportunity to meet with new colleagues via the association.

As aforementioned, social capital is related with the network of relationships or membership in a group, which provides its members support and credential (Bourdieu, 1986: 249). It can be deduced from the answers of the freelance interpreters that as only one freelance interpreter is a full member of an association and only one member was a former member of an association, social capital does not seem to be among the primary reasons for freelance interpreters to choose this profession.

4.1.5. Symbolic Capital of Freelance Interpreters

Ten questions were asked in this part related with the symbolic capital of freelance interpreters. The questions in this part try to find out the visibility and the prestige of freelance interpreters in society.

The first question in this part was related with whether the interpreters are visible in society or not and whether they get enough respect from the society or not. Three of the interpreters stated that the interpreters are visible. For instance, Interpreter 5 (2021) pointed out that their visibility has increased in the recent years especially with the zoom meetings. With regards to getting enough respect from the society, Interpreter 5 (2021) stated that the interpreters don't get enough respect from the society because the society still doesn't know who is a conference interpreter or who is a simultaneous interpreter. For them, there is an interpreter who is doing the interpreting in there. With regards to that question, two of the interpreters stated that the interpreter should not be visible. For instance, Interpreter 4 (2021) highlighted that as the most important principle of interpreting is ensuring the communication in society, an interpreter must be invisible. That's why it's not a good thing to be visible in society.

As a continuation of the first question, the second question in this part was related with whether the interpreters' work is visible in the workplace or not and whether it is appreciated or not. All of the interpreters stated that their work is visible in the workplace and it is appreciated. They pointed out that most of the time, the speakers of the organizers of the meeting or conference always thank them.

The third question in this part was related with whether anyone who speaks English can do interpretation approach is widespread among interpreters or not and whether it is a threat to the profession or not. All of the interpreters stated that this approach is not widespread among interpreters and it is not a threat to the profession. They noted that this kind of approach can be the approach of someone who is not an interpreter but speaks English because if you are an interpreter, you know that the profession is not like that.

The fourth question in this part was related with the factors that affect the visibility of interpreters. The question was "Which factors affect the visibility of

interpreters? Translation associations, Employers, Quality of the Work, Clients, Translation and Interpreting Technologies?" Interpreters gave different answers to that question. For instance, Interpreter 1 (2021) stated that all factors affect the visibility of interpreters. From a different point of view, Interpreter 2 (2021) noted that only success affects the visibility of interpreters. With regards to that question, Interpreter 3 (2021) highlighted the importance of institutionalization and also the quality of the work for visibility. In a similar vein, Interpreter 4 (2021) mentioned that translation associations affect the visibility. From a similar point of view, Interpreter 5 (2021) also emphasized the importance of translation associations in terms of providing visibility in the country and for the professionalization. In addition to that, she also added that interpreters themselves are also in the foreground for the visibility because it is important to have a good communication with the organizing team of the conference and also the participants of the conference or meeting.

The fifth question in this part was related with whether the interpreters have an influence in the workplace or not. Almost all of the interpreters stated that they have an influence in the workplace. For instance, they have an influence regarding the mode of interpretation whether it is going to be consecutive or simultaneous. They also have an effect regarding the seating arrangements. For example, they mentioned that they always check where they will sit. In addition to that, they also pointed out that, when they go to a simultaneous interpretation, they always check the technical system and check their microphones and if there is a problem with their microphones, they immediately talk to the technical team and try to solve the problem.

As a follow-up question of five, question number six was related with whether the interpreters have an influence on translation fees or not. All of the freelance interpreters stated that they have an influence on translation fees as they are the ones that set the translation fees in the market but they also stated that conditions of the interpreting market and supply and demand equilibrium in the market also have effects on the translation fees.

The last four questions in this part were related with the visibility and status of freelance interpreters. The seventh question in this part was related with the

visibility rate of interpreters in society. Three of the interpreters stated the visibility of interpreters in society as moderate, one of them rated as good and one of them rated as low. For example, Interpreter 3 (2021), who stated the visibility of interpreters in society as moderate, expressed that the profession does not get respect like a doctor but people who know the profession respect to it.

The eighth question in this part was related with the opinions of the interpreters on the things that can be done to improve the visibility of interpreters in society. Two of the interpreters, Interpreter 1 and Interpreter 2 (2021), stated that translation associations can improve the visibility of interpreters in society. In contrast to them, Interpreter 3 and Interpreter 4 (2021) mentioned that there is no need to improve the visibility of interpreters but if it is going to be improved, it can be improved with the help of translation associations. With regards to that question, Interpreter 5 (2021) put forward a different perspective on that question and denoted that she thinks of visibility as the recognition of the profession and for the recognition of the profession, she stated that many things can be done. For instance, she mentioned that they thank to interpreters in some meetings and she thinks that this can be done in every meeting. She also added that more memory books related with the profession can be published.

The last two questions in this part were related with the status and prestige of interpreters in society. The ninth question in this part was related with how the interpreters see the status and prestige of interpreters in society. Four of the interpreters sated that people who know the profession show respect to it. For instance, Interpreter 5 (2021) stated that the society is increasingly giving more value to interpreters and the most important reason for this is that both the private sector and the public sector have started to realize the importance of interpreters. In contrast to four interpreters, Interpreter 3 (2021) stated that in their small environments, people show respect to them but in general, some negative incidents that took place in the media gave harm to their prestige and the way their profession has been reflected on the media recently is not very positive.

The last question in this part was related with how the interpreters see their status and prestige in their workplace. All of the interpreters stated that they see their

status and prestige well in their workplaces. They stated that they are appreciated by their clients and they are well respected.

In conclusion, related with the symbolic capital of freelance interpreters, it can be said that all the freelance interpreters see their work visible in their workplace and they have an influence in their workplaces and on translation fees. With regards to their status and prestige, majority of them stated that they have a high status and prestige in their working environments. Within this frame, it can be deduced that they successfully converted their cultural capital into symbolic capital as symbolic capital is related with recognition and prestige. They all mentioned that they are very well respected.

4.1.6. Overall Evaluation of Freelance Interpreters

As an overall evaluation of the data analysis of freelance interpreters, it can be said that habitus and cultural capital of freelance interpreters are the primary reasons for them to choose the profession as they all started learning their foreign languages at a young age and four of them can speak more than one foreign language like German or French or both German and French. They were also both raised in families that gave great importance to education. Most of them mentioned that they entered the universities with high scores and one of the interpreters has three master degrees and one of them has both a master degree and PhD. In addition to that, most of them mentioned that they started doing written translation and oral interpreting when they were students.

Related with the reasons for freelance interpreters to choose this profession, symbolic capital is in the second rank as they all stated that they have a high status and prestige in their working environments and they also have influence in their workplaces and also on translation fees.

With regards to economic capital and social capital, they don’t seem to be important reasons for freelance interpreters to choose the profession. Related with economic capital, all of the freelance interpreters stated that the income of interpreters does not have an effect on their choice of the profession. With regards to social capital, it can be clearly said that it has no effect on the professional choice of

interpreters as only one freelance interpreter is a member of an association and only one member was a former member of an association.

4.2. DATA ANALYSIS OF IN-HOUSE INTERPRETERS

As aforementioned in *3.3.1 Data Collection Method and Interviewees* part of this study, the average age of interpreters that work for an institution is 36. The youngest interpreter is 25 years old and the oldest interpreter is 48 years old as of the year 2021. Four of the in-house interpreters are female and one of them is male. All of them graduated from translation and interpreting department. With regards to their language combination, they interpret between English and Turkish. Lastly, related with their work experience, the average year of work experience is 14 years as of the year 2021. The in-house interpreter, who has the least experience, has 4 years of experience and the in-house interpreter, who has the longest experience, has 26 years of experience as of the year 2021. In addition to that, all of the in-house interpreters do both consecutive and simultaneous interpreting and all of them stated that they started working as an interpreter after graduation from the university. Two of the interpreters work in a public institution, two of them work in foreign institutions and one of them works in a private institution.

4.2.1. Habitus of In-House Interpreters

Nine questions were asked to in-house interpreters in order to get information about their habitus. The first question in this part was related with the education level of the in-house interpreters. All of the in-house interpreters graduated from translation and interpreting department and one of the interpreters also has a bachelor's degree in business administration department in addition to a degree in translation and interpreting department. Three of them have master's degrees. Interpreter 7 has a master's degree in business administration. Interpreter 8 has a master's degree in translation and interpreting department and Interpreter 10 has a master's degree in women's studies.

The second question in this part was related with whether studying at translation and interpreting department was a deliberate choice for in-house interpreters or not. Out of five interpreters, three interpreters stated that studying at translation and interpreting department was a deliberate choice for them and the other two interpreters stated that studying at translation and interpreting department was a random choice for them.

The third question in this part was related with whether graduating from translation and interpreting department is a privilege in the interpreting market or not and the advantages of graduating from that department. For this question, all of the interpreters stated that graduating from translation and interpreting department provided advantages for them. For instance, Interpreter 7 (2021) stated that as they learn the methods, the techniques and note taking methods in both written translation and also in consecutive and simultaneous interpretation, it is an advantage and they also gain information about the translation sector. From a similar perspective, Interpreter 8 (2021) noted that graduating from translation and interpreting department gives you knowledge on language, culture and the translation market and you graduate with a network because you set up a network with your lecturers, with the graduates and with the places that you did your internship. He also added that graduating from translation and interpreting department started to be a criterion in job advertisements of the employers, which is also very beneficial. In a similar vein, Interpreter 9 and Interpreter 10 (2021) mentioned that graduating from translation and interpreting department provided advantages as they get both theoretical and practical education before entering the interpreting market and they also had the opportunity to do practice in their simultaneous interpretation booths at their universities.

The fourth question in this part was prepared for the interpreters that do not have a degree in translation and interpreting department. The question was related with whether they received any training in order to become an interpreter or not if they did not graduate form translation and interpreting department. As all of the in-house interpreters are graduates of translation and interpreting department, this question was not asked.

The fifth question in this part was related with the background reasons of interpreters in choosing that profession. With regards to the question of "Why did you become an interpreter?" the interpreters stated various reasons. For instance, Interpreter 6 (2021) expressed that she enjoys the profession, likes communicating with people, meeting with new people and mediating the communication between people. From a similar perspective, Interpreter 8 (2021) pointed out that in that profession, you have the opportunity to earn high amount of money and have a life standard above average. He also added that he finds the profession enjoyable, he loves it and the profession is dynamic. In a similar vein, Interpreter 9 (2021) stated that she likes the challenges of the profession, it is more interactive, and you are with people. She added that in written translation, you need to isolate yourself, you work on the computer for hours and you are alone but as interpreting is interactive, she prefers it. From a similar point of view, Interpreter 10 (2021) pointed out that it has always been enjoyable for her to meet with new people, to do interpreting on different topics and to provide communication between people. She also added that doing written translation for long hours was a little bit boring for her as it is a lonely process and you are on your own.

The sixth question in this part was related with how the interpreters learned their foreign language / languages. With regards to that question, all of the in-house interpreters stated that they started learning a foreign language when they were children and most of them can speak more than one foreign language. For instance, Interpreter 6 (2021) stated that as her father was British, she learned it from her father and besides that she took Spanish courses at university and she learned French at her work but she doesn't do translation in Spanish and French. Interpreter 7 and 8 (2021) stated that they started learning English in the fourth grade of primary school. Interpreter 7 (2021) also stated that she took French and Spanish courses at university and she can do written translation in these languages. In a similar vein, Interpreter 8 (2021) stated that he learned French at university but he doesn't do written translation or interpreting in French. Similarly, Interpreter 10 (2021) also stated that she started learning English at a young age, in secondary school. She also knows Russian and French but not in a level that she can do written translation or interpreting. One of the interpreters, interpreter 9 (2021) stated that she went to

primary school in a foreign country and she learned her foreign language (English) in there. It can be deduced from the answers of the freelance interpreters that they have a great talent in learning languages as the majority of them can speak more than one foreign language.

Related with the habitus of in-house interpreters, the last four questions in this part were related with the education level and the foreign language knowledge of the interpreters' parents. With regards to that, the seventh question in this part was related with whether the interpreters' parents speak any foreign languages or not and whether this situation affected them to learn a foreign language or not. With regards to the foreign language knowledge of the interpreters' parents, three of the interpreters stated that although one of their parents speaks a foreign language, this situation did not affect them to learn a foreign language. Related with that question, Interpreter 6 (2021) stated that both of her parents speak English and as her father is British, she didn't have a choice not to learn English. From a different perspective, Interpreter 8 (2021) remarked that his family emigrated from Caucasus so they speak a different dialect of Turkish and actually his mother tongue is that dialect, therefore, he asserted that it might be an advantage in his language learning.

The eighth question in this part was related with the education level of the in-house interpreters' parents, whether they are university graduates or not and whether that situation affected them to have a university education or not. Related with the education level of the interpreters' parents, three of the interpreters stated that both of their parents are university graduates and that situation affected them to have a university education. In contrast to that, Interpreter 9 (2021) expressed that although her mother was a graduate of vocational high school and her father was a retired pilot, it didn't affect her to have a university education because she stated that in her period, back then, everybody would like to go to university. Related with that question, Interpreter 8 (2021) stated that his parents did not continue their education after primary school.

The last question in this part was related with whether there are any interpreters in the interpreters' families and whether that situation affected them to become an interpreter or not. Related with that question, only one interpreter stated

that her older sister graduated from translation and interpreting department and she was influenced by her. She added that they graduated from the same university.

In conclusion, with regards to the answers of the in-house interpreters to the questions regarding their habitus, it can be seen that they started learning a foreign language when they were children and they are very skilled in learning a foreign language as two of them can speak both Spanish and French, two of them can speak French and one of them can speak both French and Russian although they do not do interpreting in these languages. Related with their educational background, it can also be said that they are very successful as most of them mentioned that they entered the universities with high scores. It is also important to mention that one of the interpreters has a bachelor's degree in business administration department in addition to a degree in translation and interpreting department and she also has a master's degree in business administration department. Besides that, two of the interpreters have master's degrees. One of them has a master's degree in conference interpreting and one of them has a master's degree in gender mainstreaming and women studies. With regards to the educational background of their families, it can be deduced that they are all raised in families that gave great importance to university education and encouraged them to learn a foreign language at a young age. Therefore, it can be said that the habitus of in-house interpreters comes to the forefront as an important reason for in-house interpreters to choose this profession.

4.2.2. Cultural Capital of In-House Interpreters

Related with the cultural capital of in-house interpreters, six questions were asked to the participants in this part. As aforementioned, all of the in-house interpreters graduated from translation and interpreting department.

The first question in this part was related with whether graduating from translation and interpreting department is an advantage in becoming an interpreter or not and their opinions on the role of a university education in that profession. All of the in-house interpreters stated that they see graduating from translation and interpreting department as an advantage. For instance, Interpreter 6 (2021) pointed out that the courses that they took at university were very beneficial and she has seen

many advantages of them. She highlighted that they had the opportunity to do practice in the simultaneous interpretation booths at their university and it helped her to get rid of stress and get used to working in the booth. Besides that, she also added that she is specialized in the translation of legal texts and financial texts and the courses that they took at university were correlated with that. With regards to that question, the other four interpreters mentioned similar things. For example, they expressed that graduating from translation and interpreting department is an advantage because you learn the techniques and methods in interpreting, it prepares you to the profession and you have the opportunity to get the courses from the experts that work in the interpreting market.

The second question in this part was related with whether experience is required to become an interpreter or not and interpreters' opinion on why it is needed or not. All of the in-house interpreters stated that experience is required to become an interpreter. For instance, Interpreter 6 (2021) noted that experience is not just needed for interpreting but experience about life in general is needed because when you enter a new environment, the way you approach to incidents, your position are important. Similarly, Interpreter 8 (2021) remarked that even any experience that you gained in another profession not just in that profession is beneficial as it teaches you the work culture like how you can work, how you can deal with customers, how you can work as a team, how you can be prepared for a translation project, how you can cope with translation problems that you encounter before, after or during the translation. He also added that you learn to deal with this kind of problems and you learn the coping mechanism and in order to develop this coping mechanism, you need a work experience of at least one or two years and a good working experience makes a great contribution. From a similar point of view, Interpreter 10 (2021) pointed out that as interpreting does not only consist of knowing a foreign language, experience is necessary because there are many details of the profession like how you will play your role, how you can be not so visible, how you will position yourself in interpreting settings and these are not mostly taught at university; you learn it by working, experiencing and doing interpreting. By stating the difficulties of interpreting, Interpreter 9 (2021) stated that experience is absolutely necessary in interpreting because you need to work in different fields with experts and you need

to use the same jargon, the same language with the experts. It can be deduced from the answers of the in-house interpreters that all of them give great importance to experience in their profession and they see it as a very important aspect on their way for development.

The third question in this part was related with whether all interpreters should have a degree in translation and interpreting or not and whether it can be learned on the job or not. All of the in-house interpreters stated that it is not necessary to have a degree in translation and interpreting department to become an interpreter and it can also be learned on the job. With regards to that, Interpreter 6, Interpreter 9 and Interpreter 10 (2021) stated that graduates of some specific departments like graduates of medical faculty or faculty of law do interpreting very well. For instance, they only go to medical interpretations or legal interpretations and the education that they received provides a great advantage for them. From a similar perspective, Interpreter 8 (2021) stated that interpreting can also be learned on the job but it is important to have some skills. He expressed that a person can self-educate himself / herself but he / she needs support. He highlighted that firstly, an interpreter needs to know the language very well, both his / her mother tongue and the working language because you cannot learn the language in the profession. Secondly, he added that they need to find a mentor that they will give feedback to them so that they can improve themselves.

The fourth question in this part was related with the contribution of academic education to the profession and how the in-house interpreters define the quality of translation and interpreting departments' education in Turkey and whether they meet the demands of the interpreting market or not. All of the in-house interpreters stated that their academic education contributed to their work as interpreters. For instance, Interpreter 6 and Interpreter 7 (2021) stated that the academic education provided them to learn the methods of interpreting. In a similar vein, Interpreter 9 and Interpreter 10 (2021) expressed that the academic education was very beneficial for them as they had consecutive interpreting courses, note taking courses. They also added that they had the chance to do practice in the simultaneous interpretation booths.

With regards to the quality of translation and interpreting departments' education in Turkey, only one of the interpreters stated that the quality of translation and interpreting departments' education is good, one of them stated that it could be better, one of them stated that it is weak and not adequate and two of them stated that they do not have knowledge about all the translation and interpreting departments in Turkey.

Related with whether the quality of translation and interpreting departments' education meet the demands of the interpreting market or not, all of the in-house interpreters stated that they don't meet the demands of the interpreting market. For instance, Interpreter 8 (2021) stated that the interpreting education is mostly weak, inadequate and it is given by non-practitioners and maybe five or ten universities raise people with an education that meets the demands of the interpreting market and the success of other students that did not graduate from these universities depends on their efforts and luck. He added that if the interpreting market wants fast translations and a lot of translations but doesn't give importance to quality, the academic education meets the demands of the interpreting market but if the market wants quality and doesn't matter the cost of the translation, it doesn't meet the demands of the interpreting market. He highlighted that it is hard to find a good interpreter.

Related with the quality of education and meeting the demands of the interpreting market, Interpreter 9 and Interpreter 10 (2021) highlighted the increase in the number of translation and interpreting departments in Turkey and Interpreter 10 (2021) pointed out that the number of translation and interpreting departments has increased a lot but the quality of the departments has not increased equally with the rising of the departments.

In line with the fourth question, the fifth question in this part was related with whether the employers give importance to a degree in translation and interpreting more than experience in their work or whether they give importance to experience more than a degree and which is more important for them and why. Based on the workplaces that they work, three of the interpreters stated that their employers give importance to a degree in translation and interpreting department. One of them stated that employers give importance both to a degree in translation and interpreting department and also experience but mostly experience. Based on her two workplaces,

Interpreter 9 (2021) stated that the employers give more importance to experience than a degree in translation and interpreting department. Related with their opinions on whether a degree in translation and interpreting department or experience is more important, four of the interpreters stated that experience is more important for them and one of the interpreters stated that both a degree in translation and interpreting and experience are important for her. For instance, Interpreter 9 (2021) pointed out that it is not a must to have a degree in translation and interpreting department because the important thing is how well you can speak the language and the quality of interpreting.

The last question in this part was related with the other peculiarities of the interpreters that help them to become an interpreter besides their degree in translation and interpreting department. The interpreters stated the following peculiarities as follows: reading a lot, being open to learning, having a good memory, being good at communication, having a good relationship with people, having experience, speaking more than one language, being curious, like challenging themselves, getting education abroad.

In conclusion, it can be said that all the in-house interpreters that were interviewed give great importance to experience in that profession and it can be deduced from their answers that they have worked a lot to be successful in that profession. For example, most of them mentioned that they did their best to make use of the opportunities that their universities had offered for them like the language laboratories and second language options and all of them can speak more than one foreign language. It is obvious that they invested themselves a lot. Therefore, cultural capital comes to the forefront as an important factor for in-house interpreters to choose this profession.

4.2.3. Economic Capital of In-House Interpreters

Related with the economic capital of the in-house interpreters, five questions were asked in this part. The first question in this part was related with the income of the in-house interpreters in Turkey. Three of the in-house interpreters defined the income as high, one of them defined as good and one of them, Interpreter 10 (2021)

stated that it is hard to define it with one word because it changes according to where people work and how they work. She added that the amount of the wage depends mostly whether the interpreter is working freelance or working for an institution and deserved wages are given in international institutions but interpreters that work in public institutions might not have the same opportunities.

The second question in this part was related with whether working as a freelance interpreter or working for an institution affects the income and in what ways. The in-house interpreters stated that it changes according to conditions but they mostly agree that freelance interpreters or interpreters that work for private institutions or foreign institutions usually earn more. For instance, Interpreter 8 (2021) noted that if you work for an institution, you have a guarantee income and you get paid on the 15th or 30th of the month and the risk of being fired from institutions is low but if you are working freelance, the risk is higher; one month, you can earn a lot and one month, you can earn less.

The third question in this part was related with whether the income of the interpreters (both consecutive and simultaneous) has an effect on the choice of their profession or not. Three of the interpreters stated that the income of the interpreters has an effect on the choice of their profession and two of the interpreters stated that it did not have an effect on the choice of their profession.

As a follow-up question, the fourth question was related with whether the in-house interpreters are satisfied with their income or not. Two of the in-house interpreters stated that they are very satisfied with their income. One of them stated that she is satisfied with her income. One of them stated that the income is good and one of them stated that the income could be better.

The last question in this part was related with whether the interpreters earn what they deserve or not. Interpreters gave varying answers to that question. For instance, Interpreter 6 (2021) stated that translators that only do written translation do not earn what they deserve but consecutive or simultaneous interpreters earn. Related with that question, Interpreter 7, Interpreter 8 and Interpreter 9 (2021) expressed that freelance interpreters earn more. From a different perspective, Interpreter 10 (2021) pointed out that she doesn’t see a standard in the interpreting market and she wishes

that all of them could work in certain standards. She highlighted that institutionalization is needed to solve that problem.

In conclusion, it can be said that in-house interpreters are quite satisfied with their income as most of them defined the income of interpreters as high. In addition to that, the majority of the interpreters stated that they are satisfied with their income and most of them also mentioned that the income of interpreters has an effect on the choice of their profession. As aforementioned in the theoretical framework of this study, cultural capital can also be converted into economic capital and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986: 246-247) and it can be seen that all the in-house interpreters successfully converted their cultural capitals into economic capitals as they make their livings from that profession. It can be deduced from the answers of the in-house interpreters that economic capital seems to be a strong reason for in-house interpreters to choose this profession.

4.2.4. Social Capital of In-House Interpreters

Four questions were asked in this part related with the social capital of in-house interpreters. The questions in this part were related with being a member of an association and the benefits of having a membership. Among five interpreters, only one of them is a member of an association. The other four interpreters are not members of any associations. Only one of them, Interpreter 8 (2021) stated that he was a candidate for the Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey but he couldn't fulfill the criteria as he couldn't meet the condition of the working days within the given period because especially, in the covid period, he hardly ever had any working days. He stated that although he couldn't become a full member of the Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey, he had the chance to get information about the events of the association during his candidacy process. He pointed out that the association provides many advantages. For instance, he stated that it provides a network and cooperation opportunities. It tries to set some standards to the profession and it also organizes seminars and workshops related with the profession. Overall, although interpreter 8 is not a full member of that association, he thinks that being a

member of an association reinforces an interpreter's position and status in the interpreting market and makes him / her well-known in the interpreting market.

As only one Interpreter is a member of an association, the four questions in this part were replied by her. Interpreter 9 is a member of the Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey.

The second question in this part was related with whether being a member of an association makes the interpreters well-known in the interpreting market and eases them to get more works. Related with that, Interpreter 9 (2021) stated that as she works for an institution, she can reply that question based on her institution and mentioned that they sometimes work with interpreters outside the institution if needed and when they receive the applications, they look at the CVs and check whether the applicants are a member of the Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey because in order to be a member of that association, you need to complete a certain amount of working days and it is guiding for them. Therefore, she pointed out that being a member of such an association probably contributes interpreters in terms of getting more works.

The third question in this part was related with whether being a member of an association reinforces the interpreter's position and status in the interpreting market or not. Interpreter 9 (2021) noted that everyone does not know about the Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey or other associations but there are some institutions that organize conferences or international meetings regularly and institutions that often get interpreting service from the interpreters are aware of the associations. Therefore, she expressed that in the presence of these institutions, being a member of an association reinforces the position and the status.

The last question in this part was related with the other advantages of being a member of an association. Related with that, Interpreter 9 (2021) stated that it contributes to the improvement of rules and standards of the profession. She highlighted that the interpreters became organized and they prepared guides and leaflets on working conditions and they share these guides, leaflets, working conditions and standards with the employers and when they accept the meetings, they include them into their agreements and employers accept these standards. She asserted that all of these became possible due to this organization and institutional

structure and by coming together, interpreters raised the standards of the profession. As aforementioned, social capital is related with the network of relationships or membership in a group, which provides its members support and credential (Bourdieu, 1986: 249). It can be deduced that as only one institutional interpreter is a full member of an association, social capital is not among the primary reasons for institutional interpreters to choose this profession.

4.2.5. Symbolic Capital of In-House Interpreters

Ten questions were asked in this part related with the symbolic capital of in-house interpreters. The questions in this part try to find out the visibility and the prestige of in-house interpreters in society.

The first question in this part was related with whether in-house interpreters are visible in society or not and whether they get enough respect from society or not. The interpreters gave varying answers to that question. For instance, Interpreter 6 (2021), who works in a private institution, expressed that it is a profession that gets respect but she thinks that they don't have a visibility in society because she asserts that if you are a good interpreter, when you do your job well, people don't even understand that you are there, they even forget that there is an interpreter in there. In contrast to Interpreter 6, Interpreter 7 (2021) stated that interpreters are both visible in society and they get enough respect. From a different perspective, Interpreter 8 (2021) pointed out that interpreters are generally visible in society when there is a problem. He stated that as interpreters, they like being anonymous and he thinks that they don't have a problem of being visible because if the interpretation is done smoothly and if no problem occurs, interpreters are mostly invisible and he is pleased with being invisible. With regards to getting enough respect from the society, he expressed that interpreters get enough respect from the society because they are seen as they are doing something superhuman. In contrast to Interpreter 8, Interpreter 9 (2021) stated that interpreters don't get enough respect from the society and expressed that the profession is still not recognized enough in Turkey. She pointed out that most of the people in Turkey met with simultaneous interpreting when the Gulf War broke out and at that time there was live simultaneous interpretation on

TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Association) and people had not heard of simultaneous interpretation until that day. She asserted that the profession is still not sufficiently known today and there are beliefs like anyone who can speak English or anyone who speaks a foreign language can do translation. Therefore, she thinks that the profession doesn't get enough recognition from the society. From a similar perspective, Interpreter 10 (2021) shared some of the views of Interpreter 9 and stated that people, who know how difficult the profession is, show respect to interpreters. Similar to Interpreter 9, Interpreter 10 (2021) asserted that there is a belief like anyone who speaks a foreign language can do interpreting but she thinks that the educated part is aware of the profession.

The second question in this part was related with whether the interpreters' work is visible in the workplace and whether it is appreciated or not. Four of the interpreters stated their work is visible in their workplaces and it is highly appreciated. One of the interpreters, Interpreter 8 (2021) stated that his work is moderately visible.

The third question in this part was related with whether anyone who speaks English can do interpretation approach is widespread among interpreters or not and whether it is a threat to the profession or not. All the in-house interpreters stated that this kind of approach is not widespread among interpreters. For instance, Interpreter 6 (2021) stated that knowing a foreign language is a different thing and to be able to do interpreting is a different thing so she totally disagrees with anyone who speaks English can do interpretation approach. Related with the threat to the profession, she pointed out that graduates that graduated from different departments want to work in a translation bureau because they have an approach like 'I speak a language. I can do translation' and translation bureaus also work with them but this situation decreases the quality of translations because these people work for low fees because they don't see it as a profession so it decreases the standard in the sector. Related with that, Interpreter 7 (2021) expressed that there can be such a thought for written translation but this kind of approach does not exist for interpreting because for interpreting, you need to have good language knowledge and skills in two languages. From a similar perspective, Interpreter 8 (2021) pointed out that as interpreters, this is an approach that they don't like but he thinks that it is not a threat because he asserts that the

employers see that the oral translations that are done with the approach of 'anyone who speaks English can do interpretation' are not successful so they understand the importance of working with an interpreter. In a similar vein, Interpreter 9 (2021) noted that this kind of approach is not widespread among interpreters but it is rather widespread among employers because employers sometimes find translation fees very high, they say there is no need to pay that much money and they can bring someone who can speak English but they later understand in the meeting that it is a profession that requires experience. Therefore, she highlights that this approach is widespread among employers rather than interpreters but she doesn't think that it constitutes a threat because it is a profession that is very difficult and requires experience and if they bring someone just because he / she speaks English, they see the bad results of it and they don't repeat it for the next time and they try to find an experienced interpreter. Similarly, Interpreter 10 (2021) stated that a large majority of interpreters will agree on the fact that anyone who speaks English cannot do interpreting and she doesn't see it as a threat because they are doing a very visible job and it is very open for comparison.

The fourth question in this part was related with the factors that affect the visibility of interpreters. The question was "Which factors affect the visibility of interpreters? Translation associations, Employers, Quality of the Work, Clients, Translation and Interpreting Technologies?" In-house interpreters gave different answers to that and stated the factors that are at the front row for them. For example, Interpreter 6 (2021) stated that all of the factors affect the visibility of interpreters in different extends but she highlighted that employers and clients are at the front row for her because these people make the interpreters visible. Similarly, Interpreter 7 (2021) stated that employers, quality of the work and clients affect the visibility of an interpreter. With regards to that question, Interpreter 8 (2021) pointed out the importance of translation associations for visibility as they contact with the relevant institutions and organizations and they tell the importance of profession and professionalism to employers and also reach the potential colleagues. Interpreter 8 (2021) also expressed employers, quality of the work and clients as other factors that affect the visibility of interpreters. From a similar point of view, Interpreter 9 (2021) expressed that the quality of the work is the one that mostly affects visibility. She

also added that translation associations and employers have contributions for visibility, especially in some meetings, employers thank the interpreters, they appreciate the profession and they are really sensitive on that. From a similar perspective, Interpreter 10 (2021) highlighted that translation associations are important in this regard because one of the disadvantages of the profession is that when a problem occurs, there is always the risk of blaming the interpreter and in such cases, it is important to know that there is an association behind you and it protects you. She also added that the quality of the work is also very important for visibility.

The fifth question in this part was related with whether the interpreters have an influence in their workplace or not. All of the in-house interpreters stated that they have influence in their workplaces. For instance, they mostly mentioned that they have influence on the mode of the translation whether it is going to be consecutive or simultaneous. They also stated that they have influence on the seating arrangements. With regards to that question, Interpreter 8 (2021) pointed out the difference between working in a private sector and working for a public institution. As a public institution employee, he expressed that in the private sector, the interpreter has more influence but in a public institution, their opinions are sometimes given value and sometimes not. As a follow-up question of five, question number six was related with whether the interpreters have an influence on translation fees or not. All of the in-house interpreters stated that freelance interpreters have more influence on translation fees as they are the ones that set the prices in the market and they have the power to decrease or increase the prices.

The seventh question in this part was related with the rate of visibility of interpreters in society. For this question, two of the interpreters stated that their visibility is high in society, two of them stated that their visibility is moderate in society and one of them stated that their visibility is low in society. For instance, Interpreter 9 (2021), who stated that the interpreters' visibility is moderate in society, expressed that in terms of the recognition, visibility and appreciation of the profession, they are still not like the countries in Europe and they are behind that.

The eighth question in this part was related with the opinions of the interpreters on the things that can be done to improve the visibility of interpreters in

society. Three of the interpreters stated that translation associations can improve the visibility of interpreters as these associations get in touch with the institutions, they make meetings, they introduce the profession, and they tell the standards. Related with that question, two of the interpreters stated that is not necessary for interpreters to be visible. For instance, Interpreter 8 (2021) stated that an interpreter is not someone that the whole society needs to know because the working fields are specific, the number of people that are going to work with them, that are going to be in the same environment with them is definite so they have a little chance of reaching a high visibility and he thinks that they don't need to be visible because according to him, they are visible in the amount as it should be.

The last two questions in this part were related with the status and prestige of interpreters in society. The ninth question in this part was related with how the interpreters see the status and prestige of interpreters in society. Three of the interpreters stated that they see the status and prestige of interpreters as high in society, one of them as good and one of them as low. For instance, Interpreter 6 (2021) stated that the profession has a high prestige and it gets respect. Similarly, Interpreter 8 (2021) highlighted that the profession has a high reputation. In contrast, Interpreter 9 (2021) noted that the recognition of the profession is not enough because limited groups or people or institutions that work regularly with interpreters know the profession and they know how difficult the profession is but she thinks that it is seen as a profession in society that anyone, who knows English, can do it and this affects the status and prestige in a negative way.

The last question in this part was related with how the in-house interpreters see their prestige and status in their workplaces. Four of the interpreters stated that they see their prestige and status good in their workplaces. For instance, Interpreter 9 (2021), who works in a foreign institution, stated that they are luckier on that matter because foreigners are more aware of the difficulties of the profession and before a meeting; they talk with them and try to be helpful. Similarly, Interpreter 10 (2021), who also works in a foreign institution, expressed that international institutions might have a special place on that topic because they show respect to everyone's effort, not just to the interpreters but to every employee. Therefore, they don't have any problems.

In contrast, Interpreter 8 (2021), who works in a public institution, denoted that he is not seen as very prestigious and having a high status person in his workplace, he is seen just as one of the employees.

From the answers of the in-house interpreters to that question, it can be clearly seen that there is a clear difference between the interpreters that work for a foreign institution and that work for a public institution. Interpreters that work for foreign institutions seem to have more influence in their workplaces and they see their status and prestige high in their workplaces. On the other hand, interpreters that work for public institutions seem to have less influence in their workplaces and they don't see their prestige and status as high as the interpreters that work for foreign institutions.

In conclusion, related with the symbolic capital of in-house interpreters, it can be said that the majority of the in-house interpreters see their work visible in society and all of them stated that they have some kind of influence in their workplaces. Majority of them also mentioned that they see their status and prestige good in their workplaces. Within this frame, it can be deduced that they converted their cultural capital into symbolic capital as symbolic capital is related with recognition and prestige. However, although they see their visibility high in their workplaces and they have some kind of influence in their workplaces, they think that the interpreters are not visible in society in general and they don't get enough respect from society. They mostly think that the interpreters become visible when there is a problem in interpretation. Related with their status and prestige in their workplaces, most of the in-house interpreters think that their status and prestige are good in their workplaces. It is also important to mention that in contrast to interpreters that work for foreign institutions, interpreters that work for public institutions seem to have less influence in their workplaces and they don't see their status and prestige very high.

4.2.6. Overall Evaluation of In-House Interpreters

As an overall evaluation of the data analysis of in-house interpreters, it can be said that habitus and cultural capital of in-house interpreters are the primary reasons for them to choose the profession as they all started learning their foreign languages

when they were children and they are very skilled in learning a foreign language as they all speak more than one foreign language. Related with their educational background, it can also be said that they are very successful as most of them mentioned that they entered the universities with high scores and three of them have master degrees. With regards to the educational background of their families, it can be deduced that they are all raised in families that gave great importance to university education and encouraged them to learn a foreign language at a young age.

Related with the reasons for in-house interpreters to choose this profession, economic capital is in the second rank as most of them stated that they are satisfied with their income and the majority of them stated that the income of interpreters has an effect on their choice of the profession. It is also important to mention that in comparison to the interpreters working for a public institution, the interpreters working for a foreign institution and a private institution have higher incomes.

After economic capital, symbolic capital is in the third rank for in-house interpreters to choose that profession as they stated that their work is visible in their workplaces and they have influence in there but not on translation fees. They also see their status and prestige good in their workplaces. However, although they see their visibility high in their workplaces and they have influence in their workplaces, they think that the interpreters are not visible in society in general and they don't get enough respect from society. It is also important to mention that interpreters that work for foreign institutions and private institutions seem to have more influence in their workplaces and they see their status and prestige higher compared to the interpreters that work for public institutions.

Lastly, social capital does not seem to be an important reason for in-house interpreters to choose the profession as only one in-house interpreter is a member of an association. Although most of the in-house interpreters are not members of any associations, they generally think that translation associations contribute to the development of the profession and they work a lot for the recognition of the profession and to set standards for the profession.

4.3. OVERALL EVALUATION OF THE DATA ANALYSIS OF FREELANCE AND IN-HOUSE INTERPRETERS

As an overall evaluation of both freelance and in-house interpreters, it can be said that the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters differ between freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters. The differences are briefly shown in the table below:

Reasons for Freelance Interpreters	Reasons for In-house Interpreters
1) Cultural Capital and Habitus	1) Cultural Capital and Habitus
2) Symbolic Capital	2) Economic Capital
3) Economic Capital	3) Symbolic Capital
4) Social Capital	4) Social Capital

Although the first reasons are the same for freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters, the rank of the other reasons differs. Symbolic capital is in the second rank for freelance interpreters to choose this profession because they all stated that they have a high status and prestige in their working environments and they also have influence in their workplaces and also on translation fees. After symbolic capital, economic capital is in the third rank for freelance interpreters as most of them mentioned that the income of the interpreters did not have an effect on their choice of the profession. Some of them expressed that they didn't even know how much they will earn when they first started the profession. Social capital is in the last rank for freelance interpreters to choose this profession because only one freelance interpreter is a full member of an association and only one freelance interpreter was a former member of an association.

When we look at the reasons for in-house interpreters, as aforementioned the primary reasons are habitus and cultural capital. In contrast to freelance interpreters, economic capital is the second reason for in-house interpreters to choose this profession because most of them mentioned that they are satisfied with their income and the majority of them expressed that the income of interpreters has an effect on their choice of the profession. It was also deduced from the answers of the in-house

interpreters that the interpreters working for a foreign institution and a private institution have higher incomes than the interpreters working for a public institution.

After economic capital, symbolic capital is the third reason for in-house interpreters to choose this profession because they expressed that their work is visible in their workplaces and they have influence in there but they don't have any influence on translation fees. They also see their status and prestige good in their workplaces. Although they see their visibility high in their workplaces and they have influence in their workplaces, they think that the interpreters are not visible in society in general and they don't get enough respect from society. It was also deduced from their answers that interpreters that work for foreign institutions and private institutions seem to have more influence in their workplaces and they see their status and prestige higher compared to the interpreters that work for public institutions.

Lastly, social capital is in the last rank because only one in-house interpreter is a member of an association. Although most of the in-house interpreters are not members of any associations, they generally think that translation associations have contributions to the development of the profession and they work a lot for the recognition of the profession and to set standards for the profession.

CONCLUSION

The present master's thesis has examined the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters in Turkey based on the cultural capital, economic capital social capital, symbolic capital and habitus concepts of Pierre Bourdieu. Through the data obtained from semi-structured interviews with 5 freelance and 5 in-house interpreters, the answers to the below research questions were tried to be found:

1) What are the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters in Turkey?

2) Do the reasons behind the occupational choices of interpreters differ between freelance interpreters and interpreters working for an institution? If so, which factors are at the forefront among freelance interpreters and among interpreters that work for an institution?

The study consisted of four chapters. The first chapter of the study, which consisted of three parts, presented the literature review on the subject. The first part of the literature review presented the studies on the status and self-images of translators and interpreters. The second part looked at the research on the status and roles of community interpreters in Turkey and the last part presented the studies that look at the translators and interpreters' status and self-perceptions from a sociological perspective by using the concepts of Bourdieu.

The second chapter gave information about the theoretical framework of the study. The theoretical framework of the study is based on the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu. As the concepts of Bourdieu have started to be used a lot recently in translation studies in order to examine the status, self-perceptions and roles of translators and interpreters from a sociological perspective, the notions of field, capital and habitus were explained in detail in this part.

The third chapter focused on the methodological framework of the study. The methodology section consisted of four parts. In the first part, the aim and scope of the research were explained. In the second part, methodological approach of the study was defined. In the third part, data collection method and the interviewees were described in detail and in the last part, the type of the interviews and the interview questions were explained.

As a group of interpreters are examined in terms of their professional choices and their preferences on interpreting vs. written translation, qualitative research method was adopted in this study. With regards to the data collection method, semi-structured interviews were preferred as they give more flexibility to the researcher and give the opportunity to introduce new questions during the interviews and also strengthen the role of the participants. As the interview questions in the study mostly consisted of open-ended questions, the participants had the chance to give in-depth answers to the questions.

With regards to the participants, 10 interpreters were included in the study. 5 of them are freelance interpreters and 5 of them are in-house interpreters. Among these 5 in-house interpreters, two of them work in a foreign institution, two of them work in a public institution and 1 of them works in a private institution. Online and face to face interviews were conducted with the interpreters. Online interviews were conducted via zoom platform. 9 interviews were conducted online and one interview was conducted face to face because half of the interpreters live outside Izmir and most of them have a very busy schedule. In addition to these reasons, as the Covid-19 pandemic situation was still going on as of the year 2021, online interviews were mostly preferred by the participants and as they are time-efficient, they provided flexibility to the participants. Therefore, participants were able to schedule the time of the interviews according to their work programs and they felt more comfortable while answering the questions as they either participated in the interviews from their homes or offices.

Related with the interview questions, the interview questions in the study consisted of six parts. The first part consisted of general questions that aimed to get a general idea about the participants and it included questions such as age, language combination and work experience of interpreters. The second part consisted of questions on the background information of the interviewees that aimed to find out how the habitus of the interpreters affect their professional choices. The third part consisted of questions on the education and expertise of interpreters that aimed to find out how the cultural capital of the interpreters affects their professional choices. The fourth part included questions on income that tried to find out to what extent economic capital affects the occupational choices of interpreters. The fifth part

consisted of questions on membership to associations / power that tried to find out the effect of social capital on interpreters' occupational choices. The last part was related with questions on recognition / visibility that aimed to find out the effect of symbolic capital on the occupational choices of interpreters.

The last chapter in the study presented the data analysis of the interviews. The data of the freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters were analyzed separately based on the concepts of Pierre Bourdieu namely as habitus, cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital. The names of the interpreters and the names of the institutions where they work were kept confidential. Therefore, the interpreters were referred to as Interpreter 1, Interpreter 2, Interpreter 3 and so on.

With regards to the data analysis of freelance interpreters, as aforementioned, four of the freelance interpreters graduated from translation and interpreting department and one of them has a degree in psychology and with regards to their language combination, four of them interpret between English and Turkish and one of them interprets between English, German and Turkish. Related with their work experience, their average year of work experience is 22 years as of the year 2021. As a result of the data analysis of freelance interpreters, it is seen that habitus and cultural capital are the primary reasons for freelance interpreters to choose this profession because all of them started learning their foreign languages at a young age and most of them can speak more than one foreign language. It is also important to mention that they were both raised in families that give great importance to education and most of them expressed that they entered the universities with high scores. Besides that, one of the interpreters has three master degrees and one of them has both a master degree and PhD.

Related with the reasons for freelance interpreters to choose this profession, symbolic capital is the second reason for them to choose this profession as they all stated that they have a high status and prestige in their working environments and they also have influence in their work places and also on translation fees.

With regards to economic capital and social capital, they seem to be less important reasons for freelance interpreters to choose the profession when compared with the other reasons mentioned above. Related with economic capital, all of the freelance interpreters stated that the income of interpreters does not have an effect on

their choice of the profession. Related with social capital, it can be clearly said that it has no effect on the professional choice of interpreters as only one freelance interpreter is a member of an association and only one member was a former member of an association.

With regards to the data analysis of in-house interpreters, as aforementioned all of them are graduates of translation and interpreting departments and they interpret between English and Turkish. Their average year of work experience is 14 years as of the year 2021. Two of the in-house interpreters work in a public institution, two of them work in foreign institutions and one of them works in a private institution. As a result of the data analysis of in-house interpreters, it is seen that similar to the data analysis of freelance interpreters, habitus and cultural capital are the primary reasons for in-house interpreters to choose this profession. Similar to freelance interpreters, in-house interpreters also started learning their foreign languages when they were children and all of them can speak more than one foreign language. Besides that, they expressed that they all entered the universities with high scores and three of them have master degrees.

Related with the reasons for in-house interpreters to choose this profession, economic capital is in the second rank because most of them mentioned that they are satisfied with their income and the majority of them stated that the income of interpreters has an effect on their choice of the profession. It is also important to mention that there is a clear difference in terms of the salary between the interpreters working for a public institution in Turkey and the interpreters working for a foreign institution and a private institution in Turkey. In comparison to the interpreters working for a public institution, the interpreters working for a foreign institution and a private institution have higher incomes.

Symbolic capital is in the third rank for in-house interpreters to choose that profession and social capital does not seem to be a strong reason for in-house interpreters to choose this profession.

As an overall evaluation, it can be clearly said that there are some differences between freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters regarding the reasons underlying their occupational choices. Habitus and cultural capital are the primary reasons for both freelance interpreters and in-house interpreters to choose this

profession but other reasons differ. For freelance interpreters, symbolic capital is in the second rank as they all mentioned that they have a high status and prestige in their working environments. Besides that, they also have influence in their workplaces and on translation fees. After symbolic capital, economic capital is in the third rank because most of the freelance interpreters expressed that the income of the interpreters did not have an effect on their choice of the profession.

Social capital does not seem to be an important reason for freelance interpreters as only one of them is a full member of an association and one of them was a former member of an association.

With regards to the reasons of in-house interpreters, the primary reasons (habitus and cultural capital) are also the same for them just like the freelance interpreters. Contrary to freelance interpreters, economic capital is the second reason for in-house interpreters to choose this profession as most of them expressed that they are satisfied with their income and the income of the interpreters has an effect on their choice of the profession. It is also crucial to mention that the interpreters that work for foreign institutions and private institutions have higher salaries than the interpreters that work for public institutions.

After economic capital, symbolic capital is in the third rank for in-house interpreters as they all stated that their work is visible in their workplaces and they have influence in there but not on translation fees. With regards to their visibility, although they see their visibility high in their workplaces, they generally think that interpreters are not visible in society and they don't get enough respect. It is also important to mention that interpreters working for foreign institutions and private institutions seem to have more influence in their workplaces and they see their status and prestige higher compared to the interpreters working for public institutions. Lastly, social capital is in the last rank as only one in-house interpreter is a member of an association.

Overall it can be said that although many studies have examined the translators' and interpreters' status, roles and self-perceptions from a sociological perspective by using the concepts of Bourdieu, the occupational choices of interpreters from a Bourdieusian view have not been explored so far. In this respect, this study will have a pioneering role in leading the way for further studies. This

study examines the occupational choices of interpreters based on five notions of Bourdieu namely as habitus, cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital. Future studies can explore the professional choices of interpreters by looking at the other concepts of Bourdieu such as *illusio, interest* and *doxa.* In addition to that, the present study is limited to 10 interviewees. For future studies, the number of interviewees can be increased with regards to freelance interpreters and interpreters working for an institution. Also, conducting a similar study in another location could lead to very different findings as the socio-cultural and institutional contexts where interpreters work would inevitably affect the habitus and capital related to interpreters.

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APPENDICES

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

HİZMETE ÖZEL

T.C.
DOKUZ EYLÜL ÜNİVERSİTESİ REKTÖRLÜĞÜ
HUKUK MÜŞAVİRLİĞİ

ACELE

Sayı : E-87347630-659-120077 04.10.2021
Konu : Müge AKÇİÇEK

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

İlgi : 15.09.2021 tarihli ve E-57485104-300-104379 sayılı yazımız.

İlgide kayıtlı yazınıza istinaden Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Araştırma ve Yayın Etik Kurulunun 20.09.2021 tarihli toplantısında alınan 18 sayılı karar ile Enstitünüz Mütercim Tercümanlık Anabilim Dalı İngilizce Mütercim Tercümanlık Yüksek Lisans Programı öğrencisi Müge AKÇİÇEK'in "A Bourdieusian Approach to the Occupation Choices of the Interpreters/Sözlü Çevirmenlerin Meslek Seçimlerine Bourdieucu Bir Bakış" başlıklı çalışması için 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.
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Bilgisayar İşletmeni

HİZMETE ÖZEL

Appendix 2: Consent Form of the Interviews

Gönüllü Katılımcı Onam Formu

Bu çalışma Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İngilizce Mütercim Tercümanlık Anabilim Dalı Öğretim Üyesi Doç. Dr. Şeyda KINCAL'ın danışmanlığında Nazlı Müge AKÇİÇEK tarafından "Sözlü Çevirmenlerin Meslek Seçimlerine Bourdieucu Bir Yaklaşım" başlıklı yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Çalışmanın amacı Türkiye'deki sözlü çevirmenlerin sayısının yazılı çevirmenlere göre daha az olmasından yola çıkarak sözlü çevirmenlerin yazılı çeviridense sözlü çeviri alanını seçmelerinin ardındaki nedenleri Fransız sosyolog Pierre Bourideu'nun ortaya attığı habitus, ekonomik sermaye, kültürel sermaye, sosyal sermaye ve sembolik sermaye kavramları üzerinden açıklamaktır.

Sorulara vereceğiniz cevaplar yalnızca bilimsel amaçlarla yüksek lisans tez çalışması kapsamında kullanılacak olup kesinlikle gizli tutulacaktır. Bu formu onaylamanız, araştırmaya katılım için onam verdiğiniz anlamına gelecektir.

Çalışmaya Katılım Onayı:

Katılmam beklenen çalışma ile ilgili açıklama araştırmacı tarafından sözlü olarak yapıldı. Bu araştırmaya kendi isteğimle, hiçbir baskı ve zorlama olmaksızın katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Katılımcının

Adı-Soyadı:

İmzası:

Araştırmacının

Adı-Soyadı:

E-posta:

İmzası: