

55. A review of actor-oriented capitals and investments in the field of interpreting in Türkiye

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Dilruba TEMUÇİN²

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Abstract

This study aims to reveal the significance of the habitus and capitals of interpreters in Türkiye and the investments made to acquire such capital, and by employing a descriptive approach through the framework of Bourdieu's Field Theory and Latour's Actor-Network Theory (ANT) (1999). Within the scope of our study, Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital have been used to discuss the position of interpreters in the field in Türkiye. Using a historical perspective, we will discuss the “actants” i.e. human and non-human actors that have played an influential role since the emergence of the profession in Türkiye. According to the ANT, it could be concluded that in Türkiye, these actors may consist not only of individuals but also of agents such as organizations such as TKTD and Türkiye AIIC VEGA, remote working conditions that have become widespread with Covid-19, and volunteering movements that emerged after the 2023 Kahramanmaraş earthquakes. During the research process of this study, sources such as interviews, webinars held on virtual platforms, newspaper clippings, the online archives of TKTD, and memories shared in books, theses and books on the history of translation and interpreting have been explored. Following our research, it has been determined the first interpreters in Türkiye acquired similar capitals and habituses, whereas present interpreters that accumulate different types of capitals depending on current circumstances and needs such as use of technology and first aid knowledge for community interpreting. Our study shows that the valued capitals play a key role in determining the position of actants in academia and the interpreting sector, resulting in a new dynamic between actants with the network.

Keywords: Interpreting Studies, Agency in Interpreting, Sociology of Translation, Actor-Network Theory (ANT), Bourdieusian Sociology of Translation.

Türkiye’de sözlü çeviri alanında eyleyen odaklı sermayeler ve yatırımların incelemesi

Öz

Bu çalışma, Bourdieu'nun Alan Kuramı ile Latour'un Fail-Ağ Teorisi (FAT) (1999) çerçevesinde betimleyici bir yaklaşımdan yararlanarak Türkiye'deki sözlü çevirmenlerin habitusları ve sermayeleri, bu sermayelerin edinimi için yapılan yatırımların önemini ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlamakta olup bu sermayeleri edinmek için yapılan yatırımlara da odaklanacaktır. Betimleyici bir

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yaklaşım benimseyerek çalışmamız Bourdieu'nun Alan Kuramı'nda öne sürmüş olduğu "habitus" ve "sermaye" kavramları ve Latour'un "fail" (actant) ve "ağ" kavramları üzerinden Türkiye'deki sözlü çevirmenlik yapan eyleyenlerin alandaki konumları tartışılmıştır. Tarihsel bir perspektiften yararlanarak sözlü çevirmenlik mesleğinin ortaya çıkışından itibaren etkili rol oynayan "eyleyenler" ele alınacaktır. Fail-Ağ Teorisine göre, Türkiye'de bu eyleyenler sadece kişilerden değil, aynı zamanda TKTD ve Türkiye AIIC VEGA gibi oluşumlar, COVID-19 Pandemisi sonucu yaygınlaşan uzaktan çalışma koşulları ve 2023 Kahramanmaraş merkezli depremler sonucu ortaya çıkan gönüllülük hareketleri gibi eyleyenlerden de oluşabilir. Çalışmanın araştırma sürecinde kaynak niteliğinde olan röportaj videolarından, görüşmelerden, sanal platformlarda gerçekleştirilen webinar demeçlerinden, gazete küpürlerinden, TKTD arşivi, kitaplarda aktarılan anılardan, çeviribilim tarihi üzerine yazılmış tez ve kitaplardan yararlanılmıştır. Araştırmamız sonucunda, tarihsel olarak baktığımızda Türkiye'deki ilk tercümanların benzer sermaye ve haptiuslara sahip olduklarını, günümüzdeki tercümanların ise güncel koşullara ve ihtiyaçlara bağlı olarak teknoloji kullanımı ve ARÇ için ilk yardım bilgisi gibi farklı sermaye türlerini edindiklerini saptadık. Bu araştırma ayrıca değer verilen sermayelerin akademi ve sektörde yer alan faillerin ağ içerisindeki konumlarını belirlemede önemli bir role ve ağ içerisinde yer alan faillerin kendi içerisinde yeni bir dinamiğe sahip olduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sözlü Çeviri Çalışmaları, Sözlü Çeviride Eyleyenlik, Çeviri Sosyolojisi, Fail-Ağ Teorisi (FAT), Bourdieu Sosyolojisi.

1. Introduction

Within the history of Interpreting Studies (IS), sociological approaches have been used to conduct micro-sociological studies (Inghilleri, 2015, p.389) which heavily rely on discourse-based (Mason, 2015, pp.111-116) and interpreter-mediated interpersonal and intercultural interactions (Wadensjö, 1998; Mason, 1999 and 2001; Metzger, 1999; Roy, 2000) or macro-sociological studies (Inghilleri, 2015, p.389) that heavily stress the agency of individuals- i.e. interpreters- in the social settings in general. Nevertheless, as interpreting is a socio-linguistic action (Inghilleri, 2015, p.388) that involves individuals, groups of individuals, and other unalive objects, the complexity of the relationships of human and unalive objects determines and is determined by social, economic, and cultural factors at stake.

Translation and interpretation are purposeful social actions constructing an interactive interaction dynamic among social agency, and social actions, structures (Kung, 2015), this interaction has been stressed as part of "The Social Turn" (Pöchhacker, 2006; Pöchhacker, 2008, pp.38-40) or "The Sociological Turn" (Angelelli, 2012; Angelelli, 2014). Translation and [Interpreting] Sociology utilizes the terms such as "capital" and "habitus" to depict 'turns' within this field. In this sense, it would be beneficial to study this context in the interpreting field in Türkiye.

This study aims to reveal the significance of interpreters' habitus and capitals as well as demonstrate the continuous cycle of transformation, e.g., the dynamic conversion, of the correlation among "actors/actants", "capitals", "investments" and "habitus" notions since the emergence of the profession in Türkiye. Furthermore, the roles and positions of interpreters and the interpreting field in Türkiye will be discussed in terms of Translation Sociology.

2. Conceptual Framework

2.1. Bourdieu’s Field Theory and Translation Studies Correlation

Firstly, we should discuss “capital” which is defined as the accumulated labor(s) that have been accumulated by actors or groups of actors (agents/performers; intermediaries, etc.) that enables actors to restructure the social energy in the form of reified or living labor (Bourdieu, 2018, p.15). There are several forms of capital, namely economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital, all of which have a dynamic nature and can convert into another form.

Economic capital refers to capital that can be turned into money promptly and directly and incorporates institutionalization in the form of property rights (Bourdieu, 2018, p.17). Economic capital coexists with the cultural capital in a dominating hierarchical network. (Bourdieu, 2018, p.24).

Cultural capital is all kinds of knowledge and/or information that an agent possesses. For instance, cumulative knowledge or information can be specific- i.e., translation and interpreting skills- or general such as world knowledge. Cultural capital can be accumulated in three ways: The "embodied state" described by Bourdieu (2018:17) refers to the enduring dispositions of the physical body and the mind. In translation and interpreting studies, the "embodied state" refers to the long-term linguistic and cultural competence developed by professionals in the field. Through extensive training and immersion, translators and interpreters acquire a deep understanding of languages and cultures, allowing them to navigate between languages, convey meaning accurately, and adapt to different cultural contexts. This embodied state is the result of their experience and integrated language skills. The "objectified state" (Bourdieu, 2018:17) pertains to the presence of these dispositions in tangible objects such as artworks, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, and so on. An example of the "objectified state" in translation and interpreting studies can be observed in the material resources used by translators and interpreters during their process. These may include dictionaries, glossaries, term banks/ termbases, reference books, translation/interpreting technologies, or specialized interpreting equipment. These tangible objects serve as tools that facilitate the translation and interpreting process, allowing practitioners to access information, verify terminology, and enhance their overall performance. Furthermore, Bourdieu (2018:19-20) suggests that the objectified state can be transmitted through its materiality. Lastly, the "institutionalized state" (Bourdieu, 2018:17) encompasses educational qualifications and/or certifications obtained by the agents (Bourdieu, 2018:20-21). Qualifications can be degrees or diplomas in translation or interpreting, professional certifications from recognized organizations or associations, and memberships in professional bodies.

Given particular conditions, cultural capital is a type of capital that can be converted into economic capital. Moreover, it can be linked to institutionalization in the form of property rights. Social capital, on the other hand, includes social obligations or connections. Due to its nature, social capital is characterized by institutionalization in various forms, as indicated by its name (Bourdieu, 2018:17). Through the accumulation of social capital, belonging to a group is prioritized. Within this form of capital, there is a clustering phenomenon where real or potential resources come together, regardless of their quantity, through the establishment of a resilient network based on mutual friendships and recognition relationships (Bourdieu, 2018:21). The obligations, privileges, and trust that arise from this network of connections, whether directed towards the actor or developed within or outside of it, are also part of social capital and have relevance within this type of capital. This type of capital can be converted into economic capital given specific conditions. Lastly, symbolic capital is defined as “the acquisition of

a reputation for competence and an image of respectability and honorability” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 291). This capital is closely related to the reputation of a social actor. Moreover, symbolic capital acts as a social force that interacts and exists with other capital forms.

While accumulating capital, individuals are influenced directly or indirectly by the norms, tendencies, expectations, values, cultural framework, characteristic traits, behavior patterns, and many other factors that belong to the society in which they exist. However, these phenomena cluster and solidify over time, forming a more comprehensive and organized structure, consisting of individual-level tendencies, expectations, values, characteristic traits, and behavior patterns. To describe these interactions, Bourdieu proposes the ‘habitus’ notion (Maton, 2012, p.50). Habitus is defined as “a subjective but not individual system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 86). This collective entity consists of “internalized structures” and “schemes of perception” that structure one’s worldview and “apperception” of the world in which they exist (Bourdieu, 1977, p.86). Habitus both shapes and is shaped by material circumstances, practices, perceptions, and emotions. Within the habitus, certain ideas, concepts, objects, etc. are given a different value and priority. Habitus posits and contains and bestows particular properties. According to Bourdieu(1977), properties that are given value within the habitus come to constitute cultural capital. Moreover, a sense of habitus is passed on through the institutions like family settings, education institutions, and workplaces, as these institutions reinforce and restructure culture and social settings. In this sense, Bourdieu(1977) underlines that the habitus (re)produces both itself and its subjects through its institutions which results in habitus reproducing sociocultural conditions through which subjects relate to each other.

These capital forms may convert into other capitals since they are closely related to the individual’s habitus within a ‘field’, which determines the individuals’ actions and practices. A field is a structure of relative positions within which the actors and groups think, act and take positions (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015, p. 10). These relative positions are defined by the volume and structure of their capital (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015, p.10). In this sense, the conversion of capitals, habituses, and fields is observable as actions have dynamic nature. In Translation studies, Bourdieu’s field theory and the concepts that belong to it, have been used to reveal the motives that drive interpreters to the profession by taking Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, capital and *illusio* (Polat Ulaş & Gündüz, 2020), to explain the translator’s self images and actions in the field of translation of Iran (Sela-Sheffy, 2005), to investigate the transformation in Turkish readers’ attitude from the 1930s to the 2010s (Işıklar Koçak & Erkul Yağcı, 2019).

2.2. Latour’s Actor-Network Theory and Translation Studies Correlation

Actor network theory (ANT) emerged in the mid-1980s with the work of Latour. The theory provides a conceptual frame that enables exploration of how a network of contacts link different actors and bring about a project (Latour, 1987). The theory consists of three core concepts: actor, network and translation, all of which possess specific characteristics and are related to each other.

This theory is significant since, unlike Bourdieu, it includes non-human entities as actors within a network. According to the ANT, “actors” can be people such as interpreters, investors, academicians, and translators as well as artifacts, identities and relations. This term “actor” or “actant” embodies not only human actors but also the agency of unalive subjects or ‘nonhuman actors’ (Sayes, 2014). The notion of ‘non-human actors’ is controversial as it covers a range of objects and phenomena such as

texts/inscriptions (Callon, 1986a; Latour, 1986), economics (Callon,1999), subcultures (Gomart & Hennion, 1999), organizations (Lee & Hassard, 1999), or disciplines such as Translation Studies (Kung 2015). This heterogeneous amalgamation of actors includes the agency of nonhumans. Due to the complexity and relation between these actors, ANT theory puts forward a “volitional actor”, i.e. actant. An actant is any agent, collective or individual that can associate or disassociate with other agents (Ritzer, 2004). Latour’s definition of an actant includes a variety of concepts, ideas, individuals and systems. Actants enter into networked associations, which in turn define them, name them, and provide them with substance, action, intention and subjectivity (Ritzer, 2004, p.1). ANT looks at each actant within a network so as to determine its value.

Networks are processual, built activities that are performed by human and non-human actors of which they are composed (Ritzer, 2004, p.1). Networks not only include actants but also determine how these actants will act and relate to one another. ANT looks into the ways networks overcome resistance, gain internal strength, juxtapose elements with the network, prioritize certain qualities and motivations of actors. This may be done in various manners, for instance, existing actors may “introduce” or “recruit” new actors resulting in a continuous motion and change within these networks. The actors and networks are formed reciprocally since the network forms extends, and transforms in the interactive connection of the actor (Cai & Guo, 2020). According to ANT, human and non-human actors have the power with a network to induce action and invite new actors into the network (Jones, 2009) as well as the power to define their identity within this given network. The third concept of ANT is Translation, which is used slightly different from the term “translation” in translation studies. Translation within ANT is the process of establishing identities and conditions of interaction, and of characterizing representations (Ritzer, 2004, p.2).

In the Bourdieusian sociology of translation, agency is discussed at the individual level, and the participation of other multiple actors within the translation production process is overlooked. Bourdieu’s theoretical has been criticized by translation scholars due to the overemphasis on explaining the action of individual agents and the lack of strength in studying the participation of multiple translation agents in the translation process (Buzelin, 2005; 2007). This has resulted in translation researchers complementing Bourdieu’s theory by adding Latour’s actor-network theory so as to investigate the role of different agents. This enabled researchers to have a closer look into the process of translation production involving the mediation of multiple professionals (Abdallah, 2005; Buzelin, 2005, 2007; Jones, 2009; Kung, 2010). For this purpose, Buzelin (2005) suggests that questioning “what is happening” by “who and what” and “how”, would enrich ‘Bourdiesian analyses in translation studies’ by applying Latour’s Actor-Network Theory (ANT) as a complementary conceptual framework (Buzelin, 2005; Inghilleri, 2005), and becomes the first to introduce the actor network theory into translation studies by pointing at the role of translations and network in translation studies (Buzelin, 2005). For instance, this approach may be adopted for investigating the selection of texts to be translated text as well as selecting the production team of translation in specific “actant webs” such as critics, translators, editors, publishing houses, etc., and determining which elements should be legitimized (or not) and restricted. In the case of certain rejections or restrictions, translations can be re-translated or the publishing house can even be changed for the economic capital and the ‘status’ of the translations via social and/or symbolic capital indicating the socio-economic, socio-cultural, and socio-political atmosphere of the intended market. Within this scope, studies in translation studies used Bourdieu and Latour’s concepts to highlight the power relations and conversions that travel back and forth between the mediation of translation professionals and institutions (Abdallah, 2005; Buzelin 2005, 2007; Inghilleri, 2005; Jones, 2009; Kung,2010).

3. Methodology

In this study, we aim to conduct qualitative research by adopting Historical and Descriptive Approaches. To achieve this objective; secondary sources, i.e., interviews, webinars held on virtual platforms, newspaper clippings, the online archives of TKTD, and memoirs shared in books, theses, and books have been utilized as research materials. By doing such, the socio-cultural profile of the interpreting field in Türkiye is explored.

We applied Bourdieusian concepts of the sociology of translation and Latour's agent network theory jointly since Bourdieu's theory provides a framework for understanding how individuals' habitus, or dispositions, which are shaped by their social position and how these dispositions influence their actions. Latour's theory, on the other hand, offers a way of understanding how networks of actors, including both human and non-human actors, interact to produce social order.

With the aim of demonstrating how Bourdieu's concepts of "habitus" and "capital" and Latour's concepts of "network" and "actant" can not only reveal how interpreters position themselves and how these positions are determined within the sector of Türkiye but also explore how these actants, their capitals and habituses evolve, interact with each other, and develop the network. For this purpose, we have taken a historical approach and initiated our research by scrutinizing the emergence of interpreting in Türkiye and looking into the habitus of the first conference interpreters the capitals they possessed. Memoirs, autobiographies and TKTD archives were our primary source in the investigation of the first conference interpreters. So as to portray the development of the profession, we took milestones in Türkiye such as the establishment of Translation and Interpreting departments, the Turkey- EU accession negotiations and Izmit Earthquakes as a reference point. Recent milestones from 2020 to present, which are "actants" according to Latour's theory, were then selected and researched further. Using ANT, the dynamics between various actants within Türkiye were examined in the light of the capitals, habituses of the past and present interpreters and actants in Türkiye. Bourdieu uses the concept "agent" to refer to what Latour refers to as "actors". To avoid confusion over the terms, in this paper we shall use Latour's concept of "actant" to refer to both "human actors" and "non-human actors" of the interpreting sector in Türkiye and exclude Bourdieu's "agent" concept. To limit the scope of the paper, Bourdieu's "field" and Latour's "Translation" concepts will not be included due to the terms' broad nature.

4. Findings

4.1. Bourdieusian Capital and Habitus of Interpreters Throughout History

It was in the 1950s, that early activities in simultaneous interpreting emerged. During the 1950s, Türkiye faced a troublesome period that brought about social and economic instability; nevertheless, it was also a period in which the country opened up to the world and the private sector emerged. In an interview for TKTD's book³ Okşan Atasoy, a TKTD member, explains that after the 1950s, with the increase of factories and industrial movements, conference interpreting became necessary (Vardar, 2016, p.7). Important businessmen of the time, like Nejat Ezcacıbaşı, Vehbi Koç, and Vakur Versan pioneered the translation and especially interpreting sector in Türkiye (Vardar, 2019, p.7). Nejat Ezcacıbaşı contacted the Ford Foundation, which would support and fund the establishment of the Business Administration Institute within Istanbul University in 1954. In 1955 and 1956, two American professors were invited to

³ All citations from Somnur Vardar's Bu Kulaklar Neler Duydu: Türkiye'de Konferans Çevirmenliğinin 50. yılı were translated by SEYFİOĞLU.

the Institute to offer seminars and courses to train top managers for private companies and factories. However, as the students lacked the English language proficiency required to understand their professors, the Institute began searching for interpreters (Arslan Özcan, 2017).

By 1959, the need for conference interpreting increased immensely as Türkiye’s diplomatic relations flourished. Following the coup d’etat in 1960, Türkiye entered a more stable and organized economy in which the private sector gained importance, and the founders of industrial companies, Nejat Eczacıbaşı and Vehbi Koç, decided to expand this environment of interaction among politicians, academics, and business people. Hence, they held annual conferences to discuss the country’s economic situation, which took place until the mid-1970s and were called ‘Kilyos conferences’ (Arslan Özcan, 2017). In 1962 the ‘Population Control’ conference was held in Istanbul, and it was that year in which the absence of Professional simultaneous interpreters was recognized and felt deeply. Through the initiative of Nejat Eczacıbaşı, the Ford Foundation contacted Simulta Inc., a Geneva-based interpreting company (Diriker, 2015,p.92).

This led to the first conference interpreters being sent to be taught by Gloria Wagner and lecturers from the School of Translation and Interpreting at the University of Geneva (ETI). The first person to be invited to Geneva by Gloria Wagner was Norayır Altınyan, whose expenses were paid by Nejat Eczacıbaşı, who had observed Altınyan interpreting at the Population Control conference. Eczacıbaşı also contributed to the increase in international conferences, seminars, panels et cetera, after he established The Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Konferans Heyeti (ESEKH) or briefly Konferans Heyeti (Conference Board) in 1961. Up until the 1970s, the Conference Board, a place considered ‘home’ by interpreters, strove to meet Turkey’s need for conference interpreters on its own (Dişbudak, 1996 as cited in Arslan Özcan, 2017). In 1969, a group of conference interpreters-Hasan Akbelen, Asaf Savaş Akad, Ömer Bozkurt, Zeynep Bekdik, Ertem Betil and Melik Furgaç- left the Conference Board with the desire of working according to their own principles and rules without the Board’s intervention and established “The Konferans Tercümanları Derneği” (KTD – Conference Interpreters’ Association) in 1969 (Arslan Özcan, 2017) which would lay the foundation for establishing standards and professional norms for Turkish interpreters and later become “Türkiye Konferans Tercümanları Derneği” -The Conference Interpreters of Turkey (TKTD). One of the founder members and first president of TKTD was Hasan Akbelen who became the first Turkish-speaking International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) member; as he pioneered other Turkish interpreters to become AIIC members (Vardar, 2019, p.83). Following initiatives as such, TKTD adopted European conventions, ethical rules, and norms as a basis to advocate professional standards in Türkiye; moreover, it has and supported the founding of Translation and Interpreting departments and offers suggestions to Vocational Qualification Institution (MYK), ISO, Turkish Standards Institution (TSE) (Doğan, 2011; Vardar, 2019).

The association itself possesses a habitus of its own which has different types of capital and would help accumulate and convert into other types of capitals. The first members of these interpreter associations were young individuals with advanced language skills and high cultural accumulation. Mainly graduates of Boğaziçi University (or Robert College until 1971), Galatasaray High School, Galatasaray University, or graduates of foreign universities received their first assignments as conference interpreters. The founding members of TKTD were from the same social circles. For instance, in his interview (Vardar, 2019), Ömer Bozkurt talks about how he had known Hasan Akbelen since childhood and that their fathers were acquaintances (Vardar, 2019, p.78). Both Bozkurt and Akbelen had met when they attended Galatasaray Primary School. Throughout the years, there has been a pattern in the educational background of TKTD members, they possessed similar habituses.

All of the members had a comprehensive knowledge of a foreign language; hence it could be said that their members are individuals who have accumulated cultural capital in the forms of institutionalized capital and also embodied state. Additionally, the educational institutions that the TKTD's first members had attended require a certain amount of economic capital to provide students with the necessary books and materials, especially since they are schools that give education in a foreign language. The parents of such students would have come from a similar habitus that possessed economic capital and cultural capital since the rate of university graduates was not very high until the 1980s.

The habitus and their institutionalized and embodied form of cultural capital brought the early conference interpreters' social capital. They would use their connections, i.e., social capitals, while advancing in the sector. Most of the members received/continue to receive their first jobs through their friends from their school, and lecturers, thus their social capital could be regarded as their key in setting out in conference interpreting. The founding members of TKTD valued social capital since they were persistent in establishing and belonging to their own associations. Their recognition and cultural capital which made them stand out in society, resulted in them accumulating economic capital because conference interpreting was/ still is a well-paid profession.

When the first conference interpreters received jobs, they regarded interpreting as a sideline to what they were doing at the time. However, as the jobs increased and the profession gained recognition, standards were established. Consequently, conference interpreters in Türkiye began to earn a good income from this profession, which enabled interpreters to accumulate more economic capital as their profession became standardized and increase their symbolic capital as their recognition increased correspondingly. The desire to establish norms and standards and be treated as equals resulted in advances concerning Turkish speaking conference interpreters becoming AIIC-accredited members. This movement was initiated by Akbelen, who would later convince his colleagues to become accredited. The AIIC accreditation that the TKTD members possess is both cultural and symbolic capital which would transfer into social capital and economic capital as more interpreting jobs came in, the interpreters' network would widen, and their income would increase. Nowadays, a high majority of members of TKTD are AIIC-accredited. In fact, TKTD's accreditation criteria are parallel to AIIC accreditation in terms of prerequisites, i.e. language pair classifications, a minimum number of working days condition, the necessity of receiving an invitation from a member of the association, and the need for active members acting as sponsors, et cetera (AIIC; TKTD). As of the 1980s, with the establishment of Translation and Interpreting departments, there has been a significant increase in trained interpreters who would be trained by the first conference interpreters acting as lecturers who would later become their boothmates. This tradition carried on, and as these departments generated more graduates in the field, there was an increase in these graduates' symbolic and economic capital following the success of their connections which they possessed through their social capital. Many TKTD members continued their careers in academia: Ebru Diriker, Belgin Dölay, Vedra Kıvrak, etc.

Some TKTD members are also well-known in other sectors due to their cultural, social and symbolic capital, for instance, Serra Yılmaz and Emine Uşaklıgil who are conference interpreters and TKTD members. Serra Yılmaz is an actress and film director who performed in plays, films, and television series who has become extremely popular in Italy with her acting career after participating in several Italian films. In fact, in 2017, she was given the "Queen of Comedy" award at the MIX Milano Festival that adds to her symbolic capital. Another conference interpreter and TKTD member is Emine Uşaklıgil, the granddaughter of Turkish writer Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil and daughter of Bülent Uşaklıgil former Turkish Ambassador at Copenhagen, Paris, Washington, and Cairo, who is known for her writer profile.

Besides being a writer, Emine Uřaklıgil managed the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* and wrote for both *Cumhuriyet* and *NTV*. Yılmaz and Uřaklıgil depict their common points: coming from well-established families, and living abroad for many years which brought them multilingual and versatile identities in their book *řimdilik Bu Kadar* (2018) in which they emphasize the theatrical dimension of simultaneous interpreting and that an outstanding personality, and good diction are some of the most desired qualities of interpreters (Uřaklıgil, 2018, p.206).

4.2. Actants (human and non-human actors) since the emergence of interpreting in Türkiye

Since the emergence of interpreting as a profession in Türkiye, interpreters, individuals, and groups of individuals at minor scales could be classified as “actors” who have played a role in shaping the sector. Early conference interpreters such as Hasan Akbelen, Zeynep Bekdik, Asaf Savař Akad, and Melik Furgaç, patrons such as Nejat Eczacıbařı and Vehbi Koç could be regarded as human actors due to their investments in the form of capitals. Nowadays, conference interpreters, community interpreters, sign-language interpreters, interpreting practitioners (‘practisearchers’) (Gile, 2018), and interpreter trainers are human actors in the sector. Likewise, the end-user of these interpreting services such as clients, translation offices, speakers, and listeners could also be regarded as a human actor since they hire the interpreters, and in some cases provide the interpreter with feedback or have special requests which would shape the interpreting experience.

Whereas, translation bureaus that offer interpreting services, professional associations such as TKTD, AIIC Vega, ministries with interpreting units, translation and interpreting departments at universities, conference, and congress organization companies, interpreting technologies, and RSI platforms could be listed as non-human actors within the interpreting market in Türkiye.

The impact of human and non-human actors within a network may change over time. To be more specific, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the early conference interpreters in the Turkish sector guided the later interpreters with their dispositions and practices and set the tone of the sector and profession by forming associations. Even though, TKTD remains as a significant “non-human actor” in Türkiye, with the increase in the number of interpreters and variety of the areas they work i.e., community interpreting, sign language interpreting, remote interpreting, it could be said that freelance interpreters in Türkiye have also become prominent in making collective decisions towards matters such as pricing, work hours and conditions for working in booths.

In addition, the amount and type of capital that actors within the field must possess may vary depending on current circumstances. For instance, in 2005 with the EU accession negotiations, there was an increase in demand for interpretation between European languages and Turkish as well as conferences (Çotur). These negotiations became a non-human actor for which the knowledge of EU languages became a valuable cultural capital. Another example would be the rise of remote interpreting. Following the outbreak of COVID-19, interpreters had to adapt to working remotely after lockdowns and COVID-19 restrictions. In these times, interpreters familiarized themselves with remote simultaneous interpreting (RSI) platforms to meet the demand for this new context. Moreover, some interpreters purchased technical equipment such as headphones and microphones and improved their internet connections to take on such remote assignments. This new way of working shaped not only the interpreters’ working conditions but also the perception of RSI for interpreters acting as human actors in the sector.

4.3. The Investments of Actants:

In order to accumulate capitals, actants make investments. Non-human actors such as TKTD publish books, hold annual meetings, and collaborate with other non-human actors such as AIIC and AIIC Vega. While human actors such as interpreters may keep their technical knowledge up-to-date for remote interpreting assignments. Additionally, interpreters continue to add to their investments by creating terminology for conferences, learning words and speed and speech exercises (Çorakçı Dişbudak, 1991). This is mainly because interpreters consider themselves continuous students, who research and keep their curiosity alive.

Aymil Doğan, a ‘practisearcher’ (Gile, 2008) in the field of interpreting, has also suggested certain qualities which student interpreters starting out in this field need to possess, such as general knowledge, language, and cultural awareness, knowledge of professional theory and practices, technical knowledge (such as terminology from specialist areas), knowledge on the professional ethics in the field of interpreting, social behavior (the ability to express oneself, socialize and make new connections within a network) and affective qualities (the desire to learn something, the ability to take risks without hesitating) (Doğan, 2003, pp.84-87). These qualities could also be generalized to professional interpreters actively working in the market.

In fact, in Emine Uşaklıgil and Serra Yılmaz’s book *Şimdilik Bu Kadar*, they emphasize the fact that simultaneous interpreters not only need to know a language’s culture but also have to have a comprehensive knowledge of general knowledge, the literature, and politics of that language (Uşaklıgil, 2018, p.207). For this purpose, interpreters invest time to accumulate this type of cultural capital.

Another, human actor- AIIC Vega Türkiye’s representative and former TKTD president-Bahar Çotur has given speeches at numerous universities all over Türkiye, in fact, at a webinar hosted by the Translation and Interpreting Club of Bartın University (BARÇEV), “İçimde Bir Konferans Tercümanı Var Mı?” (Do I have a Conference Interpreter in me?), Çotur not only gives the students advice on learning an additional language but also reminds the students of the value of self-investment. Moreover, she remarks that due to the nature of the profession, future employees need to realize how much you [novice interpreters] are ready to invest in terms of time, effort, and even money (Sophie Llewellyn Smith, 2022). Çotur tells the students they need to be good; they must invest in themselves, refresh their information and rejuvenate. Likewise, Çotur talks about her participation in the Interpreter Summit and works with a vocal coach emphasizing the importance of self-investment and self-development (BARÇEV, 2022). She underlines the value of volunteering for the benefit of the community.

5.Non-human actors in Türkiye:

Even though there are numerous non-human actors in Türkiye, the focus of this paper shall be on non-human actors of 2020-2023. Due to the scope of this paper, we shall look into three non-human actors: AIIC Vega, Remote Interpreting, and Voluntary Emergency Disaster Interpreting movement (ARÇ), since these three actors offer a wide perspective on how non-human actors could be effective in the current interpreting sector.

5.1.AIIC-VEGA:

The VEGA Network is a global network of AIIC members that take part in guiding and mentoring newcomers, interpreters, and students with the aim of supporting potential candidates to AIIC through

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various events and workshops. The network takes the AIIC Code of Ethics as a basis. It also offers mentorship to novice interpreters and interpreting students. In Türkiye, the AIIC VEGA network is in collaboration with The Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey (TKTD), which hosts various conferences, and events such as Career Days (Çelik, 2020).

The representative of AIIC Vega Network Türkiye, Bahar Çotur is invited to many events held for novice interpreters and students, these events have a positive effect on her social capital and symbolic capital which could subsequently transfer into economic capital. The VEGA network is an example of a non-human actor in Türkiye since very few organizations or institutions offer mentorship or suggest certain criteria to enter the “field” and become a TKTD and/or AIIC member. The network’s efforts towards encouraging newcomers to become AIIC members demonstrate VEGA’s actant role with which they suggest certain criteria regarding investments and capital which tend to be accepted by TKTD members to join TKTD.

5.2. Remote Interpreting:

Even though remote interpreting (RI) was a practice that was conducted by interpreters globally, it was not until the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic that remote interpreting became a widespread practice in Türkiye. With the dissemination of technology, remote interpreting was foreseen as a possible way of carrying out interpreting services. In fact, Okuyan and Şahin (2019) found that following their surveys with 34 companies belonging to Çeviri İşletmeleri Derneği (Association of Translation Companies) the demand for RI would increase (Okuyan & Şahin, 2019). However, as the world went under lockdown, the interpreters in Türkiye joined the interpreters across the world and used remote interpreting platforms to continue meetings, conferences and seminars. Studies were conducted on the perception of remote interpreting from the interpreter’s perspective (Kıncal & Ekici, 2020). It was after the pandemic that remote interpreting was regarded as a future context for interpreting, as we can see in Ekici (2022)’s MA thesis, which explored 7 conference interpreters’ views on the future of the profession by conducting a survey during the pandemic, provides an insight into this non-human actors effect on human actors (Ekici, 2022).

RI became a centre of attraction for other non-human actors in Türkiye, such as TKTD. TKTD conducted a survey (2020) to investigate the conference interpreter's attitudes towards remote interpreting and their experience (TKTD). This survey found that RI was regarded as work that brings an additional load, difficulties, and responsibilities. Conference interpreters were of the opinion that this was because there was a need for an efficient booth partner, the anxiety of technical issues, the difficulty of communicating with booth partners, speakers not using microphones, and keeping up with several devices simultaneously (TKTD uzaktan çeviri). This new way of working would require interpreters to have the necessary skills for using such technologies, academic studies have revealed that working remotely, using interpreting technologies (Ekici, 2022; Erarslan Kıncal, 2023; Okuyan, 2019; Özdemir, 2022) are factors which influence the views of interpreters regarding RI.

The increase in remote interpreting services is closely related to global technological developments. These technological developments and improvements in remote interpreting platforms have affected the remote interpreting sector in Türkiye and the attitude of interpreters based in Türkiye. Participants in Okuyan’s (2019) study were asked to remark on their views on the tendencies and changes in the interpreting market in Türkiye. While some participants expressed their concerns, others regarded these technological developments as an opportunity (Okuyan, 2019; 2020): “The demand for interpreting over

the internet will increase as the necessary technological infrastructure is provided.” “As the internet infrastructure develops, I believe remote simultaneous interpreting systems will develop and the costs for travelling and equipment will decrease.” “With the advancement in technology and the use of artificial intelligence, interpreting will decrease in some areas.” (Okuyan, 2020, pp. 129-130). These advantages and disadvantages of remote interpreting, remote interpreting settings and technologies point to remote interpreting which is a “nonhuman actor” within the interpreting sector of Türkiye.

These technological advancements bring about changes that result in a chain of events which affect other “non-human actors” such as translation and interpreting offices and companies, remote interpreting platforms, as well as interpreters and clients, i.e. “human agents”. There is a back-and-forth relationship between the non-human actor, remote interpreting and its technologies, and human actors, the interpreters and clients since these technologies are shaped for human agents, to be used by human actors. In contrast, the development and dissemination of remote interpreting impacts human actor’s working conditions, fees and professional standards and regulations, which end up in a cycle. This cycle between non-human and human actors becomes clear in the interviews conducted by Ekici (2022): Interviewee 3 is of the opinion that RI is likely to be more commonplace in the future due to its impact on the ‘budget’:

[[Because] of the impact often on the budget, for example, the clients that we work with might prefer remote interpreting, right? [...] Having the interpreter come to a venue or organize and give huge events [for] their meetings or for their events [or] organizations, [they] would try to avoid that. And I think that could lead to remote interpreting, being more and more common in the future. (Ekici, 2022, p.65).

This change of positioning and value of cultural capital, based on technological knowledge and skills, these fairly new conditions, which are technological and remote, create a new atmosphere within the network. All of these developments are in line with Bourdieu’s emphasis on a social field not being fixed, and his emphasis on the possibility of tracing the history of its specific shape, operations, and the range of knowledge required to maintain and adapt it (Thomson, 2012, p.68).

5.3. Disaster Relief Interpreting Movements In Türkiye: Afette Rehber Çevirmenlik

Disaster relief interpreting (DRI) refers to the interpreting services provided in disaster relief contexts as part of an emergency management plan (Kurultay & Bulut, 2015, p.110). Interpreters providing DRI services become intermediaries between local people, non-governmental organizations, foreign search and rescue (SAR) teams, local authorities, relief, and logistic workers/volunteers. This type of interpreting is viewed as a type of community interpreting (Bulut & Kurultay, 2001; Kahraman, 2003). Following the emergence of the 1999 Earthquakes, Afette Rehber Çevirmenlik (ARÇ) which means “Disaster Relief Interpreting Volunteers” was formed as an initiative of volunteers in the Turkish Association of Translation. ARÇ was designed to function within a triangular model of emergency response with the collaboration of the state, civil society, and government. In 2001, ARÇ signed a protocol with the national disaster and emergency management authority (AFAD) and formed a basis for a further step toward professionalization measures in the case of an emergency or disaster (Kurultay & Bulut, 2015). In order to join this ARÇ voluntary movement, volunteers are offered training including SAR certification training by AFAD, first-aid seminars, technical seminars (for different subjects such as geomorphology, architecture, psychology, disaster management, international disaster assistance) by ARÇ trainers, and field experts (Kahraman, 2003).

Following the devastating earthquakes that occurred in February 2023, a need for interpreters occurred as multiple search and rescue teams from all over the globe came to the earthquake zone in Türkiye. ARÇ volunteers and trainers who had experience from previous disaster gathered and coordinated themselves with AFAD and other SAR teams. The Translation and Interpreting Association (Çeviri Derneği) and TKTD shared a form to call experienced and inexperienced volunteer interpreters, many platforms were created to coordinate such voluntary efforts and calls for help.

One of the founding members and first volunteers of ARÇ is the academician Prof.Dr.Alev Bulut. In an interview from March 2023, Bulut explains, “In order to fulfill the need for interpreters, previously trained ARÇ members were called, interpreters were called for using online assignment forms. Numerous volunteer interpreter application forms were received via the representatives of the Translation Association (Çeviri Derneği) and other channels, these interpreters were coordinated to meet foreign search and rescue teams (Fark Yaratıcılar, 2023). Boğaziçi University and many other student associations created terminology lists and documents to assist these volunteer interpreters and teams that speak various languages such as Spanish, German, English, Arabic, Kurdish, Chinese, etc. (Kuralay, 2023). This terminology database could be regarded as an actant within the 'subvention network” (Kung, 2015) since they determine the joint terminology to be used by the human agents with various language pairs.

Furthermore, it could be said that such voluntary interpreting experiences widen novice interpreters’ networks and introduce these interpreters to community interpreting. An event held by Hacettepe University Translation Community (HÜÇEV) invited students who had volunteered as an emergency disaster interpreter (Can ve İngilizce, 2023). This voluntary interpreting movement included students with first aid and/or mountaineering/rock climbing knowledge, which could be classified as cultural capital. In which a student states that this was their first interpreting experience and that it has increased their desire for volunteering as an interpreter. The student also adds their exposure to various community interpreting settings including military hospitals and tent schools, this interpreting work was not only on the field but also in the coordination centers so as to deploy the interpreters to the teams in need of help. In this sense, these voluntary emergency disaster interpreting movements act as a non-human actor which enables novice interpreters in Türkiye to gain experience and awareness in interpreting through this voluntary movement. This non-human actor not only shapes human actors' future careers but also offers support to NGOs and institutions such as the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), which are non-human actors.

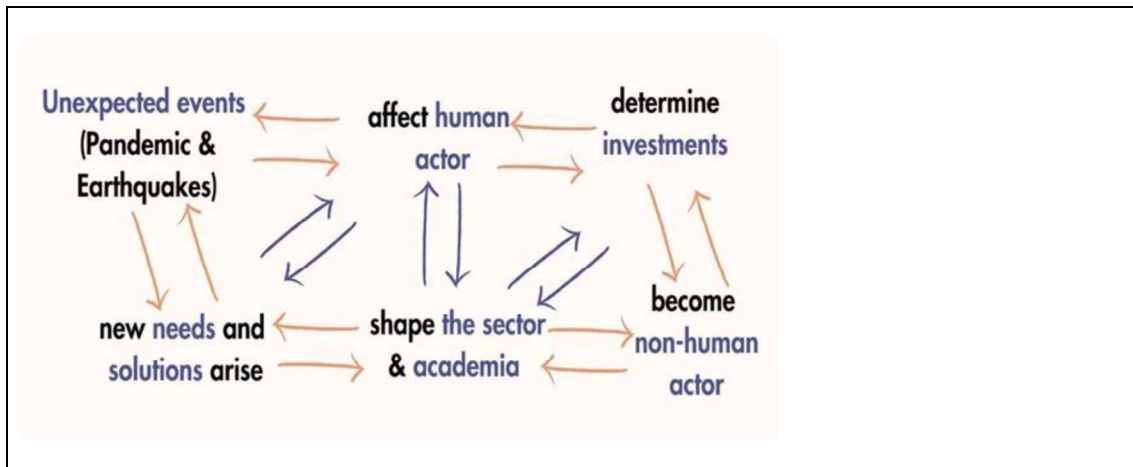
6. Discussion regarding the conversion between capitals, investments, habituses, actants & networks

Non-human actors, such as social institutions, may contain [socio-] cultural, [socio-] historical, [socio-] political specificities (Inghilleri, 2003, p.244) within social networks due to their symbolic and social capitals. Likewise, human actors such as interpreters may take advantage of their social capital, whether an association member or not, because their circle of contacts increases correspondingly. As an example, interpreters tend to receive their first jobs through the social capital(s) and network(s) they possess.

Historically, actants with their investments and capital, have determined the course of the sector and the people who will become actants. In other words, in the Turkish context, actants have made certain investments and these investments have determined the position of interpreters as actants. From this

point of view, it can be argued that historically the conversions between social agency and social structures have been carried out at the level of a single layer.

However, in some cases, unforeseen events such as the pandemic and earthquake, have brought about circumstances that led to the emergence of efforts such as ARÇ and new widely used contexts such as remote interpreting. These efforts have left a mark on the industry and have become non-human actors within Türkiye. This emergence of new non-human actors has also affected human actors and has been reflected in applications in the sector. The inclusion of these current issues such as community interpreting, remote interpreting in interpreting courses and curricula, and the establishment and application of standards are two of the most concrete indicators of a dynamic conversion taking place. The complexity of dynamic conversions of actants could be illustrated as such:



Graphic 1. The Dynamic Conversion of Actants

In addition, the capitals of the non-human actors cannot be overlooked within social networks because this dynamic conversion between the capitals actually determines the actants relations and positions as well as the capitals they will accumulate. Not only are investments made to accumulate these valued capitals but also investments made in certain areas and aspects consequently define the valued capitals. For this reason, we argue that capitals possessed and accumulated by actants are the key factors in determining the network which they belong to and shape. Actants and their capitals within the interpreting sector in Türkiye practice their profession, which consequently results in the shaping of social dimensions of socio-cultural constructs, social structures and socio-cultural actions of the interpreting “network” in Türkiye.

7. Conclusion

Interpreters, as social agents, bring their own background, knowledge, and experiences to the interpreting practice, since interpreting is deeply intertwined with broader social, economic, and cultural contexts. Interpreting as a social action encompasses not only individuals but also groups of individuals and actants which are influenced by various social, economic, and cultural factors, namely forms of capitals and capital-related investments. The dynamic interaction between actants of

interpreting practices in Türkiye is interconnected with capitals and investments, social structures, and social networks. These factors play a significant role in both interpreting practices and the “network” of interpreting in Türkiye. In fact, actants’ capitals become the key factor in determining the roles and positions of actants and investments, even in the field of interpreting itself. In conclusion, it was found that while the first interpreters in Türkiye accumulated cultural capital of similar nature and came from similar backgrounds or habituses resulting in a more linear movement between actants in the network, present interpreters prioritize a different set of capitals and need to accumulate different types of cultural capital than the first conference interpreters depending on the current conditions, resulting in a dynamic conversion of actants and capitals. Our study has shown that recent developments such as the wide use of remote interpreting and the efforts of disaster relief interpreting by ARÇ has not only valorized certain capitals that interpreters need to possess, but also shaped actants in academia and sector which produce field literature and set certain standards within the sector. This new dynamic between actants has demonstrated a new flow and positioning within the network. Moreover, we have demonstrated that approaching the field of Interpreting Studies by examining the social contexts of actants would be enlightening in gaining a better understanding of the dynamics of social networks and interactions. Thus, such an analysis could provide insights into the development and evolution of Interpreting Studies and the interpreting sector in Türkiye.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors confirm that they have no conflicts of interest concerning the work described in this study.

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