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Translation in the
Era of Convergence

edited by
Lucile Davier
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Journalism and Translation in the Era of Convergence
Edited by Lucile Davier and Kyle Conway

Journalism and Translation in the Era of Convergence

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Introduction

Journalism and translation in the era of convergence

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Convergence is a chameleon: it takes a new colour in each linguistic and cultural region, each mediascape, and each organizational context, as the authors of this collective volume illustrate. It can look like the websites of newspapers (e.g. *Il Giornale* in Italy or *Le Monde* in France) that followed Donald Trump's inauguration in January 2017 with live streams combining video footage, embedded tweets from Washington correspondents, and live translation. It can look like the integrated and bilingual newsroom of a public service broadcaster (e.g. the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) where the same reporters tweet photos and videos, produce radio and TV stories, and where a different team produces web stories mixing tweets, videos, audio stories, and written text. It can look like multilingual community radios in South Africa trying to expand by reaching new audiences on social media. It can look like newspapers that have given up their print edition (e.g. Spain's *El País in English* or Canada's *La Presse*). It can also look like new media that were born in the multiplatform era and have embraced convergence and multimodality from the very start (e.g. BuzzFeed or HuffPost).

All the media in these examples take up the challenges of multilingualism, interculturalism, and convergence. Their creators wrestle with a series of questions: how to produce news for minority language communities? How to adapt content for a new audience? How to address different audiences under the same brand name? How to adjust traditional content for social networks? Through a series of case studies, this book begins to provide some answers.

These questions are embedded in the current framework of news translation, a subarea of translation studies that has boomed for more than a decade but has so far ignored the paradigm change brought about by convergence. Simply put, studies about convergence have not asked translation-related questions. Nonetheless, some communication scholars have shown that convergence has not led to the dominance of English but has instead increased multilingualism and

multiculturalism in the media. Therefore, it is high time to delve into the connections between translation in its widest meaning (Sturge 2007) and convergent journalism.

1. News translation

In translation studies, “news translation” usually refers to phenomena of translation, interpreting, and intercultural mediation at play in the production of news, whether in news organizations or, less frequently, in organizations providing journalists with press releases (Tesseur 2014). The term is less common in other disciplines such as communication, where most scholars would use words other than “translation” to discuss multilingual media environments. As a consequence, many questions related to “the multiplicity of connections and influences across borders” (Bielsa 2016: 143) are passed over in silence. To address these questions, we intend translation here in the broadest possible sense (Davier 2015; Sturge 2007), from the re-expression of bits of speech or text in a different language to the explanation of how members of a foreign cultural community interpret an object or event (Conway’s “cultural translation” [2012b, 2015]).

News translation has become an area of systematic study since the mid-2000s, and there have been attempts to categorize the landscape of research (product-based, process-based, cultural studies, reception, and historical approaches [Valdeón 2015]). So far, researchers have revealed common aspects that seem to characterize the phenomenon of translation in different news contexts. Scholars note that translations are rarely indicated as such in the news (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Conway 2011; Davier 2014; Hernández Guerrero 2010), that trained translators are generally absent from the newsrooms (García Suárez 2005; Conway 2011; Davier 2014), and that translation is not perceived as a process that is separate from news production (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Conway 2011; Davier 2014). Several studies in news translation also challenge key ideas in translation studies, such as source and target text (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Hernández Guerrero 2010; van Doorslaer 2010; Davier 2017) and author (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Schäffner 2012).

2. Convergence

What is striking about this work is it describes pre-convergence frameworks. Even recent publications examine legacy media such as news agencies (Bielsa 2016; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Davier 2017; Scammell 2016), newspapers (Matsushita

2015; Xia 2016), radio (van Rooyen 2013), or television (Conway 2011; Perrin 2013) before they took on convergent forms.

And yet convergence is everywhere around us: on the lips of all media managers, buzzing around social media, and obsessing researchers. But what does this trendy term mean? It is more than an empty shell, but it suffers from terminological confusion. It incorporates a “technological” aspect and the “notion of a process,” according to Quandt and Singer (2009: 131) in their synthesis of approaches to convergence developed since the mid-1990s. As technology is in constant evolution, the object of convergence will always be shifting. It can take both economic and organizational forms such as partnerships between media producers (e.g. between a newspaper and a television channel), cross-promotion of the partnered products with competition among journalists, simple exchange of content from one platform to another, and the creation of a pool of content disseminated in different formats (Quandt and Singer 2009). Even though technology plays a defining role, Quandt and Singer warn scholars against the prejudice that “technology ‘drives’ media change” (2009: 131): technology as such should be subordinated to the way journalists make sense of and use new tools.

Technological changes and the pressure by other media outlets to follow these trends have erased formerly clear boundaries between legacy media (Deuze 2004: 140) such as newspapers, radio, television, and information websites. Convergence may imply “some form of cross-media cooperation or synergy” between formerly separated newsrooms or staffers (Deuze 2007: 148) or the emergence of new roles at the intersection between what used to be different media. This is why convergence is sometimes also called “multiple-platform publishing” (Quandt 2008), “cross-platform production” (Quandt and Singer 2009) or “cross-media production” (Larrondo et al. 2016). In this book, convergence also comprises the creation or integration of content for or from social media (Quandt and Singer 2009).

In this respect, convergence often plays a role in the processes of localization, or “the linguistic and cultural adaptation of digital content to the requirements and the locale of a foreign market” (Schäler 2010: 209). Although localization scholars tend to focus on software, video games, and website translation, scholars of news translation have also used the term to describe the “new forms of translation” journalists employ (Orengo 2005: 169). Looking at news translation through this lens reveals the complexities characterizing the relationship between evolving technology, journalistic practices, and translation, where many different people – more than just journalists (see, for example, Tesseur 2014) – perform acts of translation that become part of the stories journalists produce. In this respect, in fact, the focus on convergence reveals the inadequacies of the lens of localization for understanding news translation. “Localization” typically describes

the centralized process of adapting a global product, often in English, for distribution in regional markets. In contrast, media outlets usually do not have a central newsroom that dispatches information to local newsrooms, and the translation journalists perform is frequently decentralized, sometimes even ad hoc. In other words, it is not only top-down, but also bottom-up or simply an act performed among peers as newsrooms exchange with each other on equal terms.

Further complicating matters is the fact that convergence can take on so many different forms that its definition must be constantly updated. Scholars agree on the fact that no two media groups produce the same form of convergence (Quinn 2005) and that “[n]o one form of convergence journalism has risen to be the best template for doing convergence” (Kolodzy 2006: 10). This multiplicity of coexisting shapes explains why researchers still call for studies about media convergence and comparisons of content across media platforms (Reich 2016).

3. Multilingualism and convergent journalism

Convergence is also intrinsically linked to languages and cultures. The idea that English has colonized the Web is misleading (Nederveen Pieterse 2015). In fact, convergence has made it possible for speakers of languages other than English to maintain their languages. For instance, an early study of internet infrastructure, Halavais (2000: 8) shows that hyperlinks in websites rarely cross international borders – German sites link to other German sites, French to French, and so on, demonstrating the “resilience of cultural structures.” In his study of influential media websites in Europe and in the United States, Quandt also reaches the conclusion that these online versions mostly feature national news, even for American and British media, which are “not ‘handicapped’ by language barriers” (2008: 733). He even notes an increase in the percentage of local news. This research is in line with Dor’s observations that the internet has become a “truly multilingual space” because “the commodification of language-related materials constitutes a huge global market” (2004: 115).

In spite of the relevance of multilingualism for convergence, few scholars have ventured in this direction, and no one has broached questions of translation or “cultural translation” (Conway 2012a, 2015). In their contrastive approach of the media, Hauser and Luginbühl (2012) conceive of language and culture as separate entities and approach the media in a pre-convergence framework (television, newspaper, etc.). On the other hand, Kelly-Holmes and Milani (2013) consider multilingual media texts as the interplay between verbal, visual, and other semi-otic modes, but do not address translation nor convergence as such. As we noted above, translation is rarely broached as such by researchers outside of translation

studies (with the exception of Baumann, Gillespie and Sreberny [2011], who only take into consideration a small part of the literature in news translation). As Bielsa argues (2016: 143), bringing the focus back on translation would make it possible to “illuminat[e] aspects that have systematically been neglected by studies deploying a national or traditional comparative approach: the multiplicity of connections and influences across borders.”

4. Platform, event, and practice

Hence this book. The essays included here all examine “the crucial intersection between media, globalization, language and translation” (Demont-Heinrich 2011: 402) at a critical time of economic and technological change, when journalists are constantly rethinking and refining their practices. They address the challenges of convergence such as the adaptation of content across platforms, increases in the pace of production, clashes in professional identities of journalists trained for the legacy media, and the training of multimedia reporters (Larrondo et al. 2016).

This book brings together scholars who are affiliated with departments of applied linguistics, communication, languages, and translation. The chapters analyze different facets of convergence, in apparently monolingual contexts (such as Japan and the Netherlands) and officially multilingual contexts (such as South Africa and Canada), in legacy media (such as radio stations or newspapers reaching out to new audiences on the web and through social networks) and digital media (such as BuzzFeed or HuffPost, formerly the Huffington Post). It looks at both production, from the point of view of reporters, and the texts produced.

We have organized the chapters around three recurrent themes – *platform*, *event*, and *practice* – to deal with a paradox of convergent media. On the one hand, scholars and practitioners tend to understand convergent media in terms that relate back to their non-convergent origins. Newspaper editors, for instance, still speak of stories that appear “above the fold,” even if the “fold” has now become a metaphor. (There is no newsprint to fold, but being “above the fold” on a website means being positioned prominently on the page.) On the other hand, convergence itself makes these origin-based distinctions obsolete. A vocabulary based on origins is inadequate.

We have addressed this paradox by choosing a different starting point. Each of the chapters deals with the platforms journalists use, the events they describe, and the practices they adopt. These themes circulate around each other in relationships of mutual dependence. We have arranged the chapters as a function of their dominant themes, as if to grab hold of a theme and hold it immobile to see how

the others move around it. Part 1 (“Platform”) draws together essays that attach more weight to the cross-platform comparisons between media artefacts. They are concerned with questions such as: in what contexts do journalists indicate that a source spoke or wrote in a different language? How do journalists adapt the same news story for multiple formats? What modes of translation (e.g. subtitling, voice-over, etc.) do they use, and in what circumstances? The chapters in Part 2 (“Event”) tackle these issues, too, but place more emphasis on the coverage of a specific event by asking questions such as: do frames vary depending on the platform? Do phenomena of convergence contribute to the globalization or the localization of news? How does the logic of social networking affect the selection of information about cultural others? Similarly, the studies classified in Part 3 (“Practice”) examine these questions but focus more on problems related to the daily realities of reporters. How do journalists make sense of multilingualism and convergence? What are the implications of journalists’ practices for how audiences perceive cultural others? Together, these three areas of focus help us begin to answer the question, what is the nature of multilingual journalism in the era of convergence?

5. Overview

5.1 Platform

The first part of this volume gathers together studies that focus on the relationship between content and the platforms that host it. It examines, for instance, different modes of translation (some are performed in real time, while others are published after the fact) across platforms ranging from hybrid (paper and electronic) to digital-only editions. The first chapter, “Translingual quoting in journalism: Behind the scenes of Swiss television newsrooms” by Lauri Haapanen and Daniel Perrin, poses a fundamental question related to the form content takes: what strategies do journalists employ to when they quote someone speaking a different language? The authors draw on information collected from journalists themselves to explain how they adapt their quotes to work within the technological constraints of a story that relies on voice-overs (shortening quotes in the original language, summarizing the voice-over in the target language because of the pace of the original voice, reformulating to facilitate pronunciation, etc.). These adaptations may become more difficult in a convergent context where the same quotations are reused for various platforms with diverging requirements.

The second chapter, “Transediting Trump: The inaugural speech reported in Italy” by Maria Cristina Caimotto, analyses quotations translated from U.S. President Donald Trump’s inaugural address and published in real time on Italian

digital newspaper websites. The author compares this corpus, which includes written and audiovisual translations, to the translated quotations printed in the paper edition of the newspapers the next morning. Caimotto's study reframes the difficulties that scholars face while investigating news translation: not only do they struggle while identifying source texts, but also target texts, which are ever-changing and can be available in the form of text, subtitles, voice-over, live posts, or tweets.

The chapter called "News translation on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English and French websites," by Philippe Gendron, Kyle Conway, and Lucile Davier, examines the visibility of translation in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English and French websites. The authors collected a corpus of national political and regional stories published digitally in English and French. Unsurprisingly, translation is more present in the French-language network, French being a minority language in Canada. In both websites, translation is signalled as such when it is deemed newsworthy by the journalists, which is more frequent in news about national politics (see also Gagnon 2012). Similarly to the previous chapter, this study highlights the difficulty of distinguishing between one web-based story and another – and thus to collect corpora.

5.2 Event

The second part of the collection is oriented around coverage of particular events, although questions of practice are never far away. In many ways, the chapters in this section work to bridge the gap between translation studies and communication, a field whose scholars have long been concerned with representation. Those interested in news have focused on framing, or the ways journalists emphasize or de-emphasize elements of a story, shaping audiences' interpretation of an object or event (Entman 1993). Although they tend not to think of representation as a form of translation, there are clear parallels between their concerns and those of translation scholars. In particular, the idea of cultural translation, borrowed from anthropology to describe the effort to explain to one cultural group how members of another interpret the world (Conway 2012a), addresses concerns raised by both groups, as the authors in this section demonstrate.

In their study entitled "News through a social media filter: Different perspectives on immigration in news on website and social media formats," Kasper Welbers and Michaël Opgenhaffen investigate the cultural translation of immigrants in five Dutch newspapers (both print and online) and in their respective Facebook posts. It appears that the framing of immigration is not significantly altered by the social media logic (a form of intralingual and intersemiotic translation, to paraphrase Jakobson [1959]), although newspaper posts on Facebook tend

to have a stronger national orientation than stories in the print and digital editions of the same newspapers.

In “Framing terrorism in the U.S., French, and Arab editions of HuffPost,” Rayya Roumanos and Arnaud Noblet are interested in coverage of the 2016 New Year’s Eve attack in Istanbul in three editions (American, Arabic, and French) of HuffPost – or in the cultural translation of one event in various media landscapes. They show how an international brand can be refashioned in different contexts depending on the expectations of local reporters. In this respect, Roumanos and Noblet demonstrate the shortcomings of localization as an analytical lens for understanding news translation, as these examples are not local adaptations of a global product. Local practices of convergence vary from one newsroom to the other, with the U.S. newsroom giving more space to external contributions whereas the other two only integrate tweets in their news stories.

5.3 Practice

Although scholars have recourse to fieldwork in the two previous sections, journalistic practice is not their main focus. In contrast, the chapters in this final section are predominantly interested in the stakeholders who give meaning to translation and convergence in their professional practice.

Kayo Matsushita anchors her study in thorough fieldwork in “Globalization of the emerging media newsroom: Implications for translation and international news flow in the case of BuzzFeed Japan,” which examines the launch of Buzzfeed Japan in January 2016. Her aim is to showcase the creation of an international news story about former U.S. President Obama’s visit to Hiroshima structured around the perceptions of Japanese citizens. Technological convergence enables transnational contacts between Buzzfeed newsrooms across the world contrary to a traditional localization process (Orengo 2005): news also flows from the local to the global. Matsushita shows that convergence may empower minority voices in global media through translation into English.

“Tracing convergence in the translation of community radio news in South Africa” by Marlie van Rooyen borrows from actor-network theory to describe two local practices of convergence where the digital divide between rural and urban areas is pronounced. In an urban Afrikaans-language community radio, technology is at the centre of news production, notably with adaptation of content for the radio’s website and Facebook page. In a rural community radio based in a township with limited internet access and technological equipment, convergence occurs all the same when content is reformatted for another medium using conventional tools such as pens and notebooks. In a national landscape with eleven official lan-

guages, interlingual, intralingual, and intersemiotic translation (Jakobson 1959) permeate the practice of radio journalists.

In the final chapter, “Technological convergence threatening translation and the cultural other: The professional vision of francophone journalists in Canada,” Lucile Davier examines the interactions between translation and convergence in a newspaper based in the bilingual area of the national capital region of Canada. With the development of the paper’s website, mobile applications, and social media platforms, the demand for audiovisual content is growing, a fact that changes the reporters’ translation practices. While translated voices are largely included in written format, they are experienced as deeply undesirable in audiovisual productions. This vision can predict the rarefaction of translation and thus the exclusion of the linguistic and cultural other in convergent media.

With contributions from four continents (North America, Africa, Asia, and Europe), this volume shows how the skin of convergence changes colour to match the colour of its surroundings. In spite of similarities that are observable across the presented studies, each case comes in a unique hue. Convergence materializes differently in the context of traditional media, community media, new media, social media, and so on. Likewise, translation comes in a myriad of shapes ranging from translated quotes published online in real time to indirect translation in a minority language or to intersemiotic translation. But one thing is certain: in the era of convergence, news translation cannot ignore audiovisual translation anymore.

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PART I

Platform

Translingual quoting in journalism

Behind the scenes of Swiss television newsrooms

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This chapter focuses on *translingual quoting* (TQ), i.e. the sub-process of news-writing by which utterances from sources are both quoted and translated. Analyses of journalists' mental and material activities suggest conceptualizing TQ as a complex and dynamic activity in which journalists' individual and collective (e.g. institutional) language awareness, knowledge, and practices interact with multi-layered contexts of text production. Based on this empirically and theoretically grounded concept of TQ, the chapter presents a two-part typology of TQ: in sequential TQ, ready-made media items or interview materials are translated into another language; in parallel TQ, interviews and/or texts for media items are produced in different languages by one and the same journalist.

Keywords: translingual quoting, quoting, text production, news-writing, progression analysis

1. Introduction

As empirical studies in newsrooms have shown, it is commonplace for journalists to select material from various sources and then weave these snippets into an independent and unique storyline (e.g. Bell 1991; Perrin 2013). If this source material happens to be in a foreign language, which is increasingly the case with global news flows and social media, it needs to be translated in one way or another. Therefore, there are good reasons to consider newsrooms social settings for interlingual activities. In fact, this state of affairs has stimulated an increasing amount of news translation research over the past few decades (for an overview, see Valdeón 2015), which can be categorized into four groups: research oriented toward didactic ends, research about translation problems or strategies, research about the definition of translation, and ethnographic research (Davier 2014: 54–5).

In a nutshell, the findings from news translation research reflect the principles of “functional translation” (e.g. Munday 2001: Chapter 5). By focusing on pragmatic, situational, and functional aspects of translation, these findings provide evidence of translation strategies by which the source texts are modified according to factors such as anticipated expectations and needs of the audience, constraints of the target medium, as well as conditions of the socio-cultural and ideological context in which a translated news item is meant to be published (e.g. Bani 2006; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Chen 2009; Davies 2006; Hernández Guerrero 2010; Kang 2007; Kuo and Nakamura 2005).

Field research in newsrooms has revealed that news translation is actually based primarily on individuals’ language awareness and implicit and tacit knowledge, not on explicit organizational knowledge (Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow 2012). This hands-on translation practice is reflected in journalists’ metadiscourse: on a regular basis, journalists take on the translation task themselves (e.g. Károly 2013: 390), but to refer to their work as straightforward translating is “almost a taboo” among journalist-as-translators (Gambier 2010: 16) because they see their work as something more complex and demanding. For example, one of the journalists under ethnographic investigation explained his decision to alter a quotation in a voice-over translation as follows:

[I]t makes no sense just to translate it / this could be done by a translator / who simply translates / I have to understand what he [the text agent] means / otherwise the audience won’t understand either.

(Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow 2012: 364; see also Davier 2014: 61–2)

Such findings show that investigating quotations and practices of quoting in the context of multilingualism and translation in the newsroom is promising from both theoretical and practical perspectives. In this article, we do so by focusing on *translingual quoting*,¹ the process of news-writing in which the original discourse is translated during quoting.

In Section 2, we first characterize the distinctive nature of quoting within journalistic activities and, thus, demonstrate the value that the term *translingual quoting* could add to theoretical and practical discourse about news-writing. Section 3 presents the review of research that points to translingual quoting without yet coining the term. Based on Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow’s (2012) finding that translation is involved in every aspect of news production, in Section 4, we take an ethnographic look behind the scenes of Swiss television newsrooms.

1. The term was initially coined by Lauri Haapanen in his presentation entitled “‘Translingual quoting’ in written journalism,” given at the 14th International Pragmatics Conference held in Antwerp, Belgium, in July 2015.

This specific setting exemplifies news production in multilingual contexts. By analyzing journalists' mental and material activities, we are able to explain what journalists actually do and why they do it when they engage in translingual quoting. To this aim, we apply extended progression analysis, a multimethod approach that combines ethnography with in-depth analysis of writing processes and workplace conversations (Perrin 2003, 2013). Based on both theoretical and practical insight – i.e. our analyses as well as similar case studies, existing literature, and our own experience as journalists – it becomes apparent that there are two types of translingual quoting. As explained in Section 4.4, they differ depending on the context in which they take place.

In Section 5, we conclude by presenting the added value of such a typology for both theory and practice. By conceptualizing the term *translingual quoting* and shedding light on its realization in newsrooms, we hope to provide starting points for broader investigation and practical improvement in everyday journalistic work.

2. Quoting with a translational aspect

Direct quotation is a common, distinctive, and essential phenomenon in journalism. However, how it materializes varies according to the medium in which it occurs. In television and radio, the statements drawn from interviews are embedded as sound bites into a media item. In print publications, selected quotes-to-be are rendered as quotations. (For an overview of the research on quoting in media, see Haapanen and Perrin [2017].)

Quotes perform important functions in journalistic narration: they enhance the reliability, credibility, and objectivity of an article and characterize the person quoted, to mention but a few. Often these functions rest upon the idea that readers are directly in touch with the quoted person's original discourse. In other words, the use of this marking generates the assumption that the marked section of a text is a fairly exact reproduction of what someone else has said – if not word-for-word, then at least in a “meaning-for-meaning” way (Haapanen and Perrin 2017: Section 4.2).

However, recent research has revealed that the relationship between original and target discourse is much more complex. To summarize the findings, which are quite consistent both in the fields of written and audio-visual media, journalists primarily aim to execute their preliminary idea of what the emerging story should and could look like, and to produce quotes that fulfil their function in the storyline accordingly. Providing faithful reproductions of original utterances and intentions is less important (e.g. Clayman 1995; Haapanen 2017; Nylund 2003, 2006).

In today's convergent and multilingual mediascape, where global news is reported locally and local news is reported globally and where material from one platform is converted for another, the contexts and practices of quoting get even more complicated. This is because the process of quoting often harbours a translational aspect: whenever interviews and published articles involve different languages, the original discourse on which the quote is based is translated during quoting. We have labelled this process *translingual quoting*. This phenomenon has long been approached without being defined or labelled.

3. Existing research pointing to translingual quoting

Academic interest in the phenomenon labelled here as *translingual quoting* has focused mainly on the ideological underpinnings of quoting (e.g. Vuorinen 1999; Sidiropoulou 2004). Chen's (2009) case study investigated how three Taiwanese newspapers with different ideological orientations utilized the same foreign sources by both translating readily published quotes and by pulling quotes from the original foreign body text. She found that the way quotes from English source texts are reproduced as direct or indirect quotes in Taiwanese target texts "can be attributed to the newspapers' intentions to enhance the newsworthiness of their stories and to promote the transmission of their political ideologies to their audience" (Chen 2009: 228). The same applies to the motivation for translating and/or selecting the reporting verbs.

In many studies, quotes are just one object of analysis among many and hence not investigated exhaustively. For example, Hautanen (2008) investigated the work practices of a Finnish correspondent in France and also touched upon quoting. As her data showed, sometimes quotes were verbatim translations, sometimes just approximate translations or even summaries of the content of the original interview discourse. Van Rooyen (2011) analyzed how quotes in written English-language news were converted into indirect speech in one or more of the official languages of South Africa to be broadcast in radio news. Kuo and Nakamura (2005) analyzed the news coverage of Taiwan's First Lady Wu Shu-chen in two ideologically opposed Taiwanese newspapers. The coverage was based on the same English source texts. Findings show that the two newspapers exploited quotes to present Wu Shu-chen in either a favourable or an unfavourable light, depending on their political stances.

Another example of a study in which translated media quotes play a certain role is presented by Hernández Guerrero (2010). She investigated journalistic interview articles that the Spanish *El Mundo* had translated from foreign sources. The findings show how the newspaper systematically replaced original headlines

to follow the applicable Spanish conventions, according to which the headline is a direct quote that communicates the most newsworthy and striking opinions or ideas. In addition, there are also research articles in which source and target texts including quotes are compared without analyzing quoting practices per se, leaving readers to draw their own conclusions from the data presented (e.g. Al Ali 2011; Károly 2013; Kontos and Sidiropoulou 2012).

All these studies have approached translingual quotes and quoting by analyzing the *text products* of journalistic news production, rather than the *production* itself. However, such product-oriented approaches “fall short of explaining newswriting” (Perrin 2013: 56) and are “bound to generate weak hypotheses” (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011: 5–6). For example, Chen has stated that the main reason for presenting the headline of the source news article (a) (below) as a quotation in the headline of the target news article (b) is “to increase the newsworthiness” because these news sources “are regarded as elite groups” (Chen 2009: 217):

- a. in *The Washington Post*: China’s anti-secession law backfiring
- b. in *China Times*: The U.S. media: China’s anti-secession law backfiring

This sounds like a plausible explanation from an external perspective, but the data and the method applied – text-product analysis only – do not provide evidence of the journalist’s intentions and illocutions, as implied in Chen’s analysis.

To mitigate this shortcoming, prominent voices in media linguistics have recently been advocating for the systematic adoption of the process-oriented perspective in investigations of news-writing (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011). In translingual quoting studies, some steps have been taken in this direction.

Davier (2017) investigated, inter alia, quoting between press releases and news articles and between multiple news articles. Besides comparing the source and target languages, she also interviewed journalists about their translation practices. As she found out, the quotes often reproduced almost all of the original discourse’s content, and furthermore, also followed the original wording and sentence structure. However, her findings emphasize the role of selection. To avoid the difficulties of translating complex syntax or ambiguous expressions, journalists in some cases quoted only an eloquent word or two while reformulating the surrounding text more freely.

Haapanen (2010, 2011) has conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with newspaper and magazine journalists. The findings show that there are two types of problems relating to translingual quoting: translating ready-made quotes and conducting interviews in foreign languages.

Firstly, the journalists explained that, when translating ready-made articles, they often modified their quotes into relatively standardized language and a simpler form. In their view, it is especially challenging to handle cultural and regional

aspects (e.g. idioms, proverbs, and exclamations) as well as geographical references when translating quotes. Journalists said that, at best, they can try to replace a problematic word or phrase with a synonymous expression from the target language. However, they considered it inappropriate to add words or explanations to the quote. For example, adding an adverbial such as “on the South-West coast of the United States of America” after “here” in a quote is not appropriate, as a sub-editor of the Finnish version of *Readers’ Digest* explains (Haapanen 2010: 107). It is worth mentioning that Davier (2014: 66) revealed a different approach to the adaptation of ready-made news material in her case study: frequently, rather than translate quotes, journalists opt to replace them with a quote from a source who speaks the target language.

Secondly, the journalists consulted said that if the language of the interview is not the first language of all the interlocutors, nuances may be lost. Quotes translated from such interview material are likely to be vague and, therefore, as the journalists explained, are used less often and with less weighty narrational functions than simple monolingual quotes. The journalists’ solutions to both problems – if a ready-made quote or a selected-to-be-quoted utterance cannot be translated comprehensibly – is to enhance intelligibility with a leading reporting verb, to add explanations to a reporting clause, or to convert a direct quote into an indirect quote or running text. All in all, despite the obvious challenges, all of the journalists interviewed by Haapanen said they had no problems with the idea of using foreign language interview material as a source for direct quotes written in another language.

Matsushita (2016) investigated how President Barack Obama’s victory and inauguration speeches in 2012 were “directly quoted by means of translation” – her term for translingual quoting – in six Japanese newspapers. Firstly, she compared speeches and 45 news articles containing a total of 150 direct quotes from President Obama and found that *omission* was the dominant translation strategy, used more readily than *substitution* and *addition*. In 53% ($N = 80$) of deviations between the source and target texts, something – be it a single word, short phrase or several sentences – was omitted, while substitution and addition took place in 31% ($N = 47$) and 10% ($N = 15$) of deviations respectively.

Secondly, Matsushita applied the concept of risk management to explain these findings, and – because “the findings would remain mere speculation if not corroborated empirically” (Matsushita 2016: 130–131) – she then checked her deductions by interviewing eight journalist-translators. In practice, the interviewees were asked to look at the various samples of the text analysis and to give possible explanations for the deviations between source and target texts. Some were asked about their own translations, while others, who were not part of the team of reporters that covered the 2012 U.S. presidential election, were asked to provide their own opinions regarding the translations.

Matsushita concludes that Japanese journalist-translators clearly understood that misquoting President Obama could have serious consequences (i.e. that it was high-impact in terms of risk). However, they considered the probability, proximity, and immediacy of this “source-oriented risk” (Matsushita 2016: 56) to be relatively low given the fact that President Obama or his representatives would be unlikely to meticulously check for any mistranslation by the Japanese media. Somewhat on the contrary, journalist-translators felt more concerned that Japanese readers might complain or even cancel their subscription if the words they used in quotes were too difficult, the phrasing too complicated, or the context too foreign. In order to manage this “target-oriented risk” (Matsushita 2016: 56), journalist-translators seemed to have opted not only for omission, but also for other translation strategies requiring greater effort, such as addition and substitution.

In sum, Matsushita’s findings show that translating direct quotes is a balancing act between target-oriented and source-oriented risks. Furthermore, the motive for retaining quotation marks even after significant manipulations of the texts could also be explained by the relationship of reward and risk-taking (Matsushita 2016: 182–3): in newspaper writing, using direct quotes can bring value such as authenticity and liveliness (see also Haapanen and Perrin 2017: section 26.4.2), and because of these rewards, journalist-translators tend to keep quotation marks even in cases where the words of the original speaker have been noticeably changed.

The research frameworks presented above mainly grant access to what journalists *say* they do.² Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow (2012) have strived for an answer to what journalists actually *do* when translating the news. Their research into television news production is characterized by the use of innovative and non-invasive methods to reveal and explain journalists’ writing strategies, conscious writing practices, and their language awareness. By illustrating their findings through the process of quoting, Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow (2012: 359–67) suggested that the process of translation happens at collaborative workplaces, in processes of:

- goal-setting (e.g. whether sources from other linguistic communities are given a voice or not);
- planning (e.g. decisions about voice-over translation or subtitling audio);
- formulating (e.g. focusing on the gist in translation);
- revising (e.g. having questionable translations re-translated).

2. There is also some methodologically ambitious research on press releases that has revealed the abundant and diverse manipulation that (pseudo-)quotes are subjected to when they are transferred from one language version to another (e.g. Tesseur 2014). This is worth mentioning because the *raison d’être* of the press release is to be picked up and reproduced as such by newspapers.

In other words, what they found in their research is that “rather than being a separate process, translation is ubiquitous and interacts with newswriting at all levels and stages” (Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow 2012: 367; similarly, see Bielsa 2007; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009). Furthermore, these translation strategies and practices were shown to be based on:

- the availability of external linguistic resources (e.g. machine translation, an interpreter, a colleague with language skills);
- the journalists’ linguistic awareness (e.g. whether they could activate appropriate registers and/or dialects in their translations);
- experienced journalists’ elaborated tacit knowledge (e.g. how to involve friends who happen to be speakers of the source language as translators in the text production process).

All in all, studies so far have shown that, in journalism, there must be something such as a dense interplay of translation and quoting practices. The more international newsflows and newsroom workflows get, the more relevant this interplay is – from both the theoretical and the practical perspective. This is why the concept of *translingual quoting* promises to be so relevant in future media-linguistic (not to mention translational) analyses. In the next section, we explain this relevance and key aspects of the new concept.

4. The study: Translingual quoting in Swiss television newsrooms

In this section, we analyze translingual quoting as a situated activity in Swiss television newsrooms. In other words, we aim to explain what journalists do and why they do it when they engage in translingual quoting.

The study is a continuation of a series of transdisciplinary research projects which the second author of this chapter, Daniel Perrin, has worked on for more than two decades (Perrin 2013: D). It is based on the finding that “translation is involved in every aspect of news production, including how journalists handle their source materials, their target texts, and their social environment” (Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow 2012: 352). Therefore, to achieve this kind of multidimensional approach in one distinctive area of news translation, i.e. translingual quoting, we make use of a vast Swiss corpus of news-writing production processes and extended progression analysis as our methodology (Perrin 2003, 2013).

The data (the *Idée Suisse* corpus) were collected in Switzerland between 2006 and 2007 to investigate the interplay of language policy, organizational norms, and journalistic practices of the Swiss public service broadcasting company. Following principles of grounded theory and theoretical sampling (Perrin 2013: 181–8), 15

journalists working in three newsrooms and based in two linguistic regions of Switzerland were selected to be tracked during one week each. Tracking included video and keystroke recordings of their writing behaviour as well as video recordings of their collaboration with their social environment such as sources, camera operators, anchors, peers, and superiors. This observational data is complemented by ethnographic observation and interviews. The data corpus contains 3 editorial policy documents; 20 interviews with media managers and 15 professional biography interviews with journalists; recordings of 103 editorial conferences and 28 workplace discussions; ethnographic observation in newsrooms; and 15 cue-based retrospective verbal protocols. It is worth mentioning, however, that the most recent innovations in translingual quoting, brought about by the convergent media turn, were not yet fully in use then and, therefore, are not all-inclusively present in our corpus (for further discussion, see Section 5).

In 2017, we re-analyzed this data, together with recent data, by focusing specifically on translingual quoting processes in newsrooms. As research on quoting has shown (Haapanen forthcoming), the process of quoting and the processes that lead to it affect, and are affected by, the entire production of a news item. Therefore, our analytical focus is not only on inscription and on editing but also encompasses various practices preceding them, such as searching for background information, negotiating between colleagues as well as planning and performing interviews.

We have used a combination of methods, e.g. extended progression analysis to triangulate ethnographic observations, interviews, and recordings of workplace conversations; version analysis; computer logging and screenshot recordings; and cue-based retrospective verbalizations (for data and methodology, see Perrin 2003, 2013).

In the following subsections, a selection of cases from our corpus is presented to illustrate how translingually quoted segments have been formulated. At the same time, these case studies introduce the above-mentioned methods and their capability to gather data related to contextual and linguistic levels of news-writing, as well as journalists' linguistic awareness.

4.1 Clarifying and updating quotes (the ELEC case)

The first news item used to explain the process of translingual quoting was broadcast by the German-speaking division of Swiss national television (Schweizer Fernsehen) in their news program *Tagesschau*. The item is about the election of a non-permanent member to the United Nations Security Council (hereafter referred to as the ELEC case).

By focusing on the changes of speakers (Haapanen and Perrin 2017: 430–1), the macro-structure of the ELEC news item can be considered relatively simple: five structural elements can be distinguished in the 99-second long item (see Table 1).

Table 1. Macro structure of the ELEC item

	Anchor's introduction (30 seconds)
Block A:	Journalist voice-over (29s)
Block B:	Translingual quote from the US ambassador for the UN (16s)
Block C:	Journalist's voice-over (9s)
Block D:	Translingual quote from President of Venezuela Hugo Chavez (15s)

The item itself is preceded by the anchor's introduction, in which the anchor presents the basic information about the deadlock: neither of the candidates to the UN Security Council, Guatemala and Venezuela, has been able to achieve the necessary two-third majority in the ballots. After this introduction, in the first block of the item, the journalist's voice-over, elaborates on the election events (Block A). This block is followed by a quote from the U.S. ambassador to the UN. In his quote in English, which can be heard in the background and is translated in a German voice-over, the ambassador states that normally in such situations, the weaker country withdraws (Block B). As we learn from a cue-based retrospective verbal protocol (this method will be introduced later in this section), the manuscript for the voice-over was translated by the journalist himself from the audio track.

Finally, after a short transition (Block C), the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, is quoted as saying that Venezuela will not withdraw its candidacy (Block D). This statement is positioned in the news item as an answer to the ambassador, as the journalist told researchers in a cue-based retrospective verbal protocol. Thus, the journalist performed and renewed a common practice of de- and re-contextualizing quotes from their original discursive context (e.g. as answers to the journalists' questions) and positioning them in a way that best serves the storyline of the emerging media item (e.g. Ekström 2001). This quote from Mr. Chávez was, in turn, translated by the journalist's colleague, because the journalist himself does not speak Spanish.

Despite this seemingly clear structure, the writing process of the ELEC item and its quotes was far from straightforward. Using a keylogging program that runs in the background of the journalist's text editor, we were able to document the writing process and then visualize it in several ways, for example as a progression graph (see Figure 1).

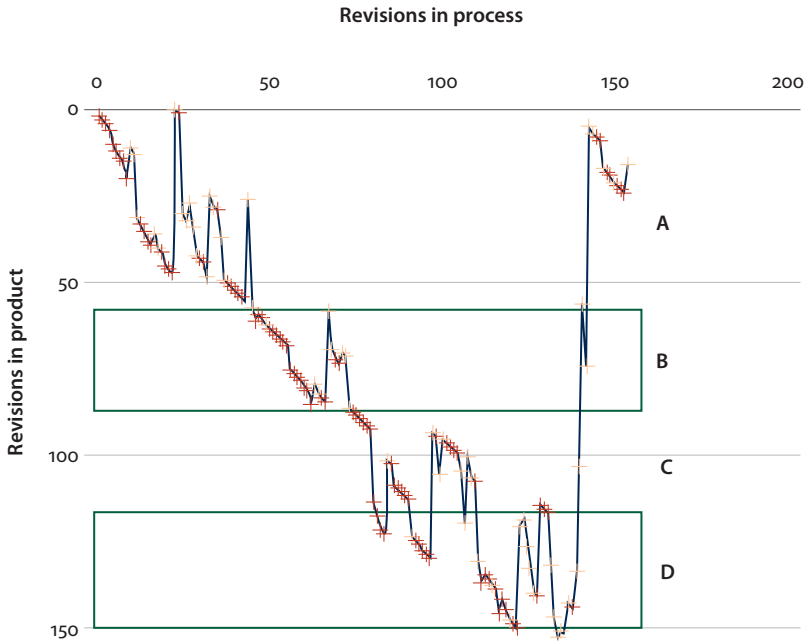


Figure 1. Progression graph from the ELEC case (excluding the part of the anchor)

Progression graphs indicate how writers revise their emerging texts. The temporal sequence of revisions (i.e. insertions and deletions) in the writing process is represented on the ordinal scale of the horizontal axis, and the spatial sequence of revisions in the text product is shown on the vertical axis, also ordinal. So, if a writer creates his or her text linearly in one single writing phase from the beginning to the end with only casual corrections of typographical errors, the line would intersect the graph diagonally from the upper left to the lower right (about writing phases, see FÜRER 2019). However, that was not the case with the writing process of the item in question.

The progression graph of the ELEC case (see Figure 1) shows the four blocks of the news item. Block B is the quote of the ambassador; first, the journalist wrote the beginning of the quote block linearly. Then, he jumped down to write the end of the quote and – after a big leap in the beginning of the quote – he finished the mid-section. Later, during the last revisions, he again returned to work on this first quote. The second quote was produced in an even more fragmentary process, as shown in Block D: it contains a great deal of jumping back and forth within the emerging quote text.

In terms of writing phase typology (FÜRER 2019), the writing process of the ELEC case can be described as *dancing*; the writer proceeds mainly from top to bottom, but often jumps back to revise parts of the newly written text. When focusing

especially on translingual quoting (Blocks B and D), the progression graph shows clearly that these processes are much more complex than simply converting one language into the other (the ambassador's quote) or asking a colleague to translate the quote and copy-pasting the translated text into the item (the Chávez quote).

To learn more about the translingual quoting process, we visualized the same keylogging data again, this time by the means of S-notation, a method of representing a writing process that indicates the successive text editing actions (Severinson-Eklundh and Kollberg 1996). Example 1 is an excerpt from the S-notation of the ELEC writing session.

Example 1. Excerpt from the S-notation of the ELEC case

80{0.128{55}128|₁₂₉ Quote Chavez}80|₈₁ 129{0.57}129|₁₃₀
 130{81{123[Ich sage }106{es }106|₁₀₇ 122[das]122|₁₂₃der ganzen 82[w]82|₈₃ 83{91[E]91|₉₂}83
 |₈₄ 92{W}92|₉₃elt:|₈₂}123|₁₂₄}81,93{124[]124|₁₂₅Venezuela wi94[ll |₉₄}94rd diesen Kampf
 w95{ie}95|₉₆ 96{ei}96|₉₇ter führen.|₉₅}93|₁₃₀ 110{131[125{Ich sage es der ganzen Welt:
 }125|₁₂₆ 1131 138{(")138|₁₃₉Venezue112[al]112|₁₁₃ 113{[a]113|₁₁₁ bl111[eibt |₁₁₁}111eibt|₁₁₂ Kandidat.
 sie sollen uns besiegen, aber im Kampf114[. |₁₁₄}114,115|₁₁₅,126[.]126|₁₂₇ 127{b}127|₁₂₈ 117{wir
 werden nicht verhandeln.136[]136|₁₃₇}117|₁₁₈ 137{(")137|₁₃₈ 118[es gibt keine Verh116[qand|₁₁₆}111
 andlungen.|₁₁₇}118|₁₁₉}110

Whenever a journalist interrupts the flow of text production to delete something in the text (e.g. with a backspace delete, or cut command) or to insert something somewhere else, S-notation indicates this with a numbered break symbol in the text. Deleted text is indicated in [square brackets], and insertions in {curly braces}. The order of any interruption is provided by a subscript to the right of the break symbol |_n and by matching superscript on either side of the brackets ⁿ[]ⁿ or braces ⁿ{ }ⁿ. The underlining indicates the text that appears in the final version.

The S-notation presented in Example 1 shows that the journalist made several considerable changes during the writing process.

- The clause *Venezuela wird diesen Kampf weiter führen* [‘Venezuela will continue this struggle’], which is a very literal translation of the original Spanish utterance, is replaced with the more approximate clause *Venezuela bleibt Kandidat, sie sollen uns besiegen, aber im Kampf* [‘Venezuela remains a candidate, they might defeat us, but in fight’].
- Similarly, *es gibt keine Verhandlungen* [‘there are no negotiations’] is replaced with *wir werden nicht verhandeln* [‘We will not negotiate’].
- The clause *Ich sage es der ganzen Welt* [‘I tell this to the whole world’] is deleted in revision number 131.

While the progression graph shows that translingual quoting is not a simple and linear process, but complex and often fragmented, the S-notation describes in more

detail the stages the quotes go through to reach their final formulation. However, these two methods do not manage to explain the modifications presented above. What are the translingual quoting strategies the journalist used and what was his awareness of them?

In order to “open a window into the mind of the writer” (Perrin 2003: 915), we then used a method called cue-based retrospective verbal protocol (RVP). In this method, the screenshot recording of the writing process is shown to the journalists right after the writing is completed and they are asked to continuously comment on what their intentions and strategies were while writing.

The RVP of the ELEC case offered insights into the writing process of the Chávez quote (Block D in Figure 1; Example 1). The journalist told the researcher that changes (a) and (b) stemmed from the fact that he felt suspicious about the correctness and clarity of his colleague’s translation. Therefore, he first tried to understand the meaning of the quote and then re-formulate the quoted text so that it became more intelligible – not only for himself, but also for the audience. In other words, he decided not to stick to the verbatim translation, but tried to convey the gist and alter the translingual quotes respectively. At the same time, the translation needed to be formulated in a way that it could be easily spoken aloud – this is something he also experimented with while writing – and that it was short enough for the original voice to remain audible before and after the voice-over. The change (c) was, in turn, performed due to the time restrictions of the news item: in order to meet the timeframe allocated to this item, he had to cut off what was least necessary to convey the core message. In addition to language skills and linguistic awareness, the process of translingual quoting in such audio-visual settings also requires visual and technical expertise in video editing. For example, in the quote at hand, a pause within Chávez’s utterance was cut out to make both his delivery and the news item as a whole more fluent.

As regards the other translingual quote in this news item (the U.S. ambassador for the UN), the journalist acknowledged that it was not a verbatim translation either. First of all, the ambassador spoke so fast that the translation had to be shortened. The journalist also simplified the syntax to improve its comprehensibility. Furthermore, he adjusted the quote to update it: the ambassador said in her statement that there will be “six more votes,” but at the time when the news item was published, these votes had already been cast and the journalist translated the quote as *Sechs Abstimmungen, Sechs Niederlagen für Venezuela* [‘six votes, six defeats for Venezuela’]. However, the journalist said in the RVP that such a procedure is uncommon and also problematic, especially because the audience can hear the original voice in the background of the voice-over. According to him, this is particularly problematic when the translingual quoting is based on a language widely known among the audience. As an example, the journalist mentioned English – in

contrast to Russian – in the case of a Swiss audience (cf. the LEBA case analyzed in the next subsection, in which an Arabic original is [mis]translated into French).

4.2 Misinterpreting a metaphoric expression in a quote (the LEBA case)

The second news item we will use to explain the process of translingual quoting was broadcast by Télévision Suisse Romande in their news program *Téléjournal*. The 80-second item is about demonstrations in Beirut, the capital of Lebanon (the LEBA case). The news item consists of two quotes, and the quote we are focusing on in this section is by a female demonstrator. The segment quoted was originally delivered in Arabic, as can be heard in the item, but in the *Téléjournal* news item, it was translated and presented as a French voice-over.

In the 9:30AM conference, journalist R.G. was chosen as the writer for the LEBA item because he was familiar with the political situation in Lebanon. He received a fair amount of video material with crowds of people holding placards, and, in addition, video recordings of two interviews with demonstrators: one of the Arabic-speaking female demonstrator, and one of an English-speaking male demonstrator. The video material was shot by Lebanese television and made available by an international news service which also sent a ready-made English translation/transcripts of both interviews. R.G. started working immediately, considering a tight deadline – there were only two hours left until the noon edition.

After selecting the most interesting segments from both interviews, R.G. translated them into French himself, based on the English transcripts, as he told the researcher (RES) in the RVP (Example 2: lines 0246–7). Although he considered his translation strategy more or less consistent (0248–9), he acknowledged that translations are “certainly already adaptations” (0251). Moreover, because he does not speak or understand Arabic, he was “obliged to rely on” (0256) the ready-made English transcripts, leading to an inevitably “more approximate” result (0257) compared to the segment with the male demonstrator interviewed in English.

Example 2. Excerpt from the LEBA case verbal protocol

- 0246 RES: *là tu traduis en fait*
‘there you actually translate’
- 0247 R.G.: *oui je traduis*
‘yes, I translate’
- 0248 *je traduis avec le même esprit en étant-*
‘I translate in the same vein by being-’
- 0249 *bon là ça correspond-*
‘okay there it matches-’

- 0250 *il arrive parfois que les traductions*
‘it sometimes happens that translations’
- 0251 *qui sont déjà certainement des adaptations-*
‘which are certainly already adaptations-’
- 0252 *lui il est en anglais, eh, l’original l’interviewé*
‘with him, it is in English, er, the original interview’
- 0253 *mais elle est en arabe*
‘but with her [it] is in Arabic’
- 0254 *et moi je ne peux pas contrôler donc*
‘and so I cannot control [it]’
- 0255 RES: *d’accord*
‘alright’
- 0256 R.G.: *je suis obligé à me fier à ce qui m’est donné*
‘I was obliged to rely on what I was given’
- 0257 *et pour elle c’est un peu plus approximatif que pour lui*
‘and with her it [= the translation] is a little more approximate than with him’

The fact that the journalist has no control over the relationship between the original utterance and its English and French translations did not preclude him from using it as a quote. He also did not deem it necessary to ask someone else to translate it – a procedure there would hardly have been any time for, given the short time frame. It is also noteworthy that it was his own assessment, which was not based on any explicit institutional policy, that he was capable of making the translation of the English quote himself. This was revealed by the analysis of editorial policy documents, professional biography interviews, editorial conferences, and workplace discussions.

In practice, the journalist first copied and pasted the English translations into his manuscript sheet and started the writing process by formulating the translation below the English text version. However, after writing the first two paragraphs and translating the two selected quotes, the computer crashed. The translations were not saved and so he had to type them up again under increasing time pressure.

To examine how these text versions transformed into something else during the process of translingual quoting, we applied version analysis. It is a method of collecting and analyzing data in order to reconstruct the changes linguistic features undergo from version to version (e.g. Perrin 2013: 62–3).

A version analysis of the quote from the LEBA item (see Table 2) showcases some essential characteristics of the translingual quoting process. To begin with, the phrase “for sure” as well as some *and*-conjunctives were not reproduced in the French versions. In addition, the last French version is slightly more succinct than the first one due to the aggregation of the last two sentences (Text version 2:

Table 2. Version analysis from the LEBA case

Description	Text version
Text version 1: English translation This translation was made available by an international news agency. The identity of the Arabic-English translator is left unknown.	We want culture and education not arms and streets and tyres , for sure. We want to learn and reach our goals and lead a normal life like everyone else.
Text version 2: French translation, before computer crash The first version, which was lost in the computer crash.	Nous voulons la culture, l'éducation, les moyens de transport et ne pas les armes. Nous voulons apprendre, progresser. Nous voulons mener une vie normale comme tout le monde.
Text version 3: French translation, final The version as it was written after the computer crash. This version was subsequently recorded as a voice-over.	Nous voulons la culture, l'éducation, les moyens de transport . Pas les armes. Nous désirons apprendre, progresser et mener une vie normale comme tout le monde. 'We want culture, education, public transport. Not arms. We wish to learn, make progress, and live a normal life like everyone else.'

Nous voulons apprendre, progresser. Nous voulons mener une vie[...] → Text version 3: *Nous désirons apprendre, progresser et mener une vie[...]*. Furthermore, the second occurrence of the verb *want* (Text version 1) and *voulons* 'want' (Text version 2), is replaced by *désirons* 'wish' in text version 3.

The most striking textual modification between Text versions 1 and 2/3 is in relation to the confusing phrase "streets and tyres." Most likely these words – which were a literal translation of the original Arabic³ – refer to the habit of burning tyres in the streets during riots so as to produce dense smoke. This interpretation is, in our opinion, supported by the fact that the phrase is presented in an unfavourable light ([...] *not arms and streets and tyres*[...]). However, the journalist interpreted this linguistic cue as though it referred to public transportation and formulated his translanguaging quote accordingly, as *les moyens de transport*. He stuck to this translation when re-typing the quote in a hurry after the computer crash (Text version 3). There was nobody in the production process to proofread the manuscript – or to notice this mistake – and so this probable misinterpretation of a metaphoric expression ended up in the final, broadcast version of the item. (Somewhat similarly, Davier [2014: 62] found in her study in another Swiss newsroom that, in contrast to what journalists told her in semi-structured interviews, in ethnographic observation she never saw any of them undertake a revision which included comparing the original text and target text.)

3. We asked a native Lebanese Arabic-speaker to transcribe the original Arabic audio track (in so far as it was audible behind the voice-over) and gloss it into English.

4.3 Amending translation to make a quote smoother (the YOGA case)

In this section, we look at the coverage of an aircraft accident in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, also published by *Téléjournal* (The YOGA case). The news item was written by journalist C.A. in close collaboration with a video editor. In this case study, we especially analyzed video recordings of workplace sessions (Example 3) and retrospective verbal protocols (RVP, Example 4), thereby learning how a particular quote was found and polished into its final shape and how the journalist handled the social environment of the translingual quoting process.

Shortly before the noon deadline, while C.A. and the video editor were about to finish the news item, a colleague (abbreviated as “COL” in Example 3) who was going to record a voice-over for one of the translingual quotes in the item entered the cutting room (lines 1623–5). The colleague told C.A. that Radio Svizzera Italiana had broadcast an eyewitness interview with one of their correspondents who happened to be on board and who had survived the accident (1626–40). Journalist C.A. hesitated slightly, because only a voice recording of the eyewitness account was available and no video material at all (1641–3), but the colleague persuaded him that “it’s worth inserting a little sound clip, you know” (1645–7):

Example 3. Excerpt from the workplace session of the YOGA case

- 1623 COL: *Claude*
 ‘Claude’
- 1624 *tu m’entends là*
 ‘[can] you hear me there’
- 1625 C.A.: *oui*
 ‘yes’
- 1626 COL: *heu t’as vu*
 ‘did you see’
- 1627 *qu’y avait un journaliste de la radio suisse-italienne*
 ‘that there was a journalist of the Swiss-Italian radio’
- 1628 *dans l’avion*
 ‘on the airplane’
- 1629 C.A.: *non*
 ‘no’
- 1630 COL: *oui*
 ‘yes’
- 1631 C.A.: *ah ouais*
 ‘ahaa’
- 1632 COL: *ouais heu*
 ‘yeah, um’

- 1633 *j'me suis renseigné*
'I heard it'
- 1634 *il a appelé la radio cette nuit*
'he called the radio that night'
- 1635 *ils ont enregistré un sonore*
'they recorded some sound'
- 1636 *et il explique que- c'est sur le site de tsr point ch [tsr.ch]*
'and he explains that- it's on the site of tsr.ch'
- 1637 *il explique que*
'he explains that'
- 1638 *l'avion heu arrivait beaucoup trop vite sur la piste*
'the plane, um, arrived too fast on the runway'
- 1639 C.A.: *oui*
'yes'
- 1640 COL: *ça l'a énormément frappé*
'it struck it [= plane] enormously'
- 1641 C.A.: *oui ça j'l'ai dit oui*
'okay, I said yes'
- 1642 *mais c'est l'sonore*
'but it's the sound'
- 1643 *y a pas de- ah ouais*
'there's no- um'
- 1644 COL: *non mais bon*
'no but'
- 1645 *j'te dis ça pour ce soir hein*
'I'm telling you that for tonight, right'
- 1646 C.A.: *ah d'accord ok*
'alright, okay'
- 1647 COL: *ça vaudra la peine de de mettre un bout d'sonore tu vois*
'it's worth inserting a little sound clip, you know'
- 1648 C.A.: *ouais ouais*
'okay okay'

The information about this eyewitness account came in too late for the noon edition. However, C.A. decided to add a quote from it for the evening edition, and eventually, after negotiating extra time for this coverage, the eyewitness account was transformed into a separate 97-second item that followed the news item in the program's evening edition.

Journalist C.A. obtained the audio material and started listening to it. He felt competent to understand the Italian eyewitness report, but not proficient enough to translate it himself for a voice-over translation. Therefore, since the six-minute

report was too long to be broadcast in its entirety, he selected the “most interesting” parts from the report – some two minutes in total – and had it translated by an Italian-speaking colleague.

Later, C.A. discovered that Radio Suisse Romande, which belongs to the same media company as Télévision Suisse Romande, had already broadcast a French translation of the correspondent’s eyewitness report. For a moment, C.A. considered using this ready-made recording in his item too. However, he decided not to do so because he was unsure whether the sound quality was satisfactory and whether he had permission to use this audio.

C.A. also found the transcript of the French translation on the website of Radio Suisse Romande and contemplated whether he should bother his colleague and tell him that (Example 4: lines 0115–16). However, since this colleague was already translating the text (0117–19) and since C.A. knew him to be a quick worker (0120), C.A. told the researcher, laughing, that he “do[es] not want to annoy him” (0121).

Example 4. Excerpt from the RVP of the YOGA case

- 0115 C.A.: *alors je n’me pose pas la question*
 ‘so I’m not asking myself the question’
- 0116 *est-ce que je vais lui dire*
 ‘am I going to tell him’
- 0117 *non il est déjà en train de-*
 ‘no, he is already doing [the translation]-
- 0118 *voilà ((rires))*
 ‘there you go ((laughs))’
- 0119 *il est déjà en train de faire son boulot*
 ‘he’s already doing his job’
- 0120 *il travaille très vite*
 ‘he works very fast’
- 0121 *je veux pas l’indisposer ((rires)) voilà*
 ‘I do not want to annoy him ((laughs)) that’s it’

When C.A. received the finished translation from his colleague, he started to “revise it slightly for stylistic refinement,” as he said in the RVP session. For example, he improved the lexical variety by replacing two out of three occurrences of the word *avion* ‘plane’ with *Boeing* and *appareil* ‘aircraft.’ Moreover, he corrected the erroneous quote and, at the same time, tried to keep the terminology consistent with the news item by replacing *terrain herborisé* ‘overgrown area’ with *rizière* ‘rice field,’ because “he [the eyewitness] did not know where he actually landed.”

Even in the final voice-over recording phase, C.A. changed a couple of words to facilitate pronunciation: for example, *tout le Boeing* ‘the whole Boeing’ was

replaced with *tout l'appareil* 'the whole aircraft.' In addition, the colleague who read the voice-over of the eyewitness report also made some amendments to make it more natural for him to utter – “to put the text into his [= the colleague's] mouth,” as C.A. described this activity in the RVP. The colleague for example replaced *moi j'ai eu l'impression* 'I got the impression' with *on a très vite cru* 'it was very soon believed' – an amendment C.A. thought “he was absolutely right” to make.

As mentioned, only a voice recording of the eyewitness account was available. However, selecting the accident scene footage to illustrate the news item was anything but a trivial process to C.A.; quite the contrary, he regarded the video editing with the same precision and conscientiousness as his writing. Furthermore, C.A. told the researcher that he likes to work in close collaboration with his colleagues because “I like the feedback. You know, it's an exchange which is creative and profitable.” The analysis of the video recording of the workplace discussion between C.A. and the video editor confirmed this stance. In the beginning, C.A. and the video editor had a differing view on the source pictures. On an auditory level, the video editor's frequent and enthusiastic paraverbal comments, such as “krrrrrrrrrr [...] wow [...] tshhhiuuuu wwow,” contrasted with the journalist's concerns, for example, “I still have to say that there are many wounded.” On a visual level, the video editor seemed excited about the “magnificent scenes,” whereas the journalist looked consternated and tried to find explanations he considered appropriate to explain the violence of the accident. Finally, through extensive and argumentative negotiations, they found a way to combine spectacular video clips with quality journalism ethics and aesthetics to both show and explain the dreadful event.

4.4 General findings: Two types of translingual quoting

Similar to the analyses above, a detailed analysis of the FAMI case, dealing with Iraqi refugees in Switzerland, showed that working with an interpreter is time-consuming and requires more preparation from the journalist. The course of the interview must be clear, and well-formulated questions enhance the interplay with the interpreter. The GAST case, dealing with a potential smoking ban in Swiss restaurants, stretched, in a way, beyond the kind of translingual quoting we have presented so far. In this case, due to the collaboration between newsrooms, a German-speaking journalist interviewed a German-speaking expert for both the German- and the French-speaking news programs (cf. Davier [2014: 59]: “[s]ources may become irritated if reporters from the same media call them for quotes in different languages”). As a result, the expert's quote sounded unnatural in French, which was then criticized by the French-speaking journalist. In a sense, the translation process had already taken place before the journalist received the statement, and so our speculation is reminiscent of the discussion

about the ambiguity of “self-translation” highlighted by Conway (2010b: 988) in the context of multilingual Canadian newsrooms: “when were speakers actively translating their thoughts as they spoke, and when were they merely talking in a second language?”

Based on our analysis of all cases in the *Idée Suisse* corpus and in four other similar research projects (see Perrin 2013: D) as well as both theoretical and practical insight from existing literature and our own experience as journalists, we were able to distinguish two types of translingual quoting. As we will explain in the next subsection, the criteria for the division are clearly based on whether or not the original interview (i.e. the source of the translingual quoted segment) was conducted by the same journalist who then wrote the media item. Naturally, these two scenarios can also occur within a single media item.⁴ They each entail specific problems of language use, some of which could be observed in the cases presented in this chapter.

4.4.1 *Translingual quoting 1, TQ1: Translating ready-made quotes*

Ready-made articles and programs, including the quotes they contain, can be translated into another language as a whole. In the field of audio-visibility, this is achieved with voice-over or subtitles. This type of translingual quoting occurs, for instance, when multinational media publishers circulate their material in different language editions, or when one media agent exploits foreign newspapers or magazines by citing their content in another language (Perrin 2013: 28).

Besides such clear-cut exploitation of a ready-made text or video material in a “wholesale translation” manner (Conway 2010a: 187), it is more typical that multinational news agencies and similar companies produce interview material in certain languages, after which the raw material is distributed to national broadcasting companies. These companies adapt this international material in another language and often combine it with other raw material from their own information gathering, such as interviews (e.g. Orengo 2005). Often this process, which combines translation and text modification and thus is also referred to as *transediting* (for an exhaustive discussion and critical evaluation of the term, see Schäffner 2012), is conducted by journalists themselves, although they do

4. Kawahara (2010) identified three types of news translation practices, namely (1) direct translation, (2) complex process, and (3) direct coverage. In comparison to our typology, Kawahara’s types 1 and 2, where journalists translate news items already published by foreign media (this type is exercised the least in Kawahara’s data), or combine translations of foreign news with their original reporting, fall into our first category (see 4.4.1, TQ1). Kawahara’s type 3 (exercised the most in his data) refers to a practice where journalists conduct the interviews themselves and write their news items directly in the target language. This type fits into our second category (4.4.2, TQ2).

not have the professional skills to do so (e.g. van Doorslaer 2009: 8; Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow 2012: 352).

4.4.2 *Translingual quoting 2, TQ2: Translating interview utterances*

Both the interview for and the writing of a media item might be conducted by a single journalist. However, the interview might be conducted in a language different from the one in which the media item is subsequently delivered. This can occur not only in the case of foreign reporters working in (linguistically) remote areas, but also locally. For example, when a journalist interviews an immigrant, one or both of them might not be speaking their native language. This asymmetry of language skills is likely to have an influence on the process of translingual quoting, for example by eroding nuances in language use (Haapanen 2011: 82). The involvement of an interpreter might complicate the process in other ways, as, among others, the FAMI case shows (Perrin 2013:D 2.0).

What is more, “immersive translinguality” is a permanent feature of minority language newsrooms. For example, in Finland there are two official languages: Finnish and Swedish. Despite the fact that only some 5% of Finns speak Swedish as their mother tongue, there is varied publishing activity in both of them. Journalists in Swedish-language newsrooms generally make an effort to find interview subjects in Swedish, but of course interviews are regularly conducted in Finnish and then translated into Swedish. Another option is to interview people with poor Swedish skills, whose quotes need to be cleaned up, although poor command of the language is accepted to a certain extent (e.g. Stenberg-Sirén forthcoming).

4.4.3 *Potential challenges*

Re-analyzing the *Idée suisse* data allowed us to identify several potential problems in the current handling of translingual quoting. As shown earlier, journalists mostly translate quotes or to-be-quoted utterances by themselves, and their decision to do so is often solely based on their personal assessment of their own proficiency. Further aggravated by the fact that decisions relating to translingual quoting are often made on an ad hoc basis, the current practice is vulnerable to mistakes. In the case of TQ1, this could mean that a journalist’s language deficiencies lead to misinterpretation of the source text (see 4.2). In the case of TQ2, this could mean that the output is influenced by a newspaper journalist translating the foreign language interview directly on-site by taking notes in the target language or at a later stage of the news-writing process. Furthermore, in standard editorial practice, there is rarely anybody to check the validity of translations or notice such mistakes.

In addition, when fixers and interpreters are involved, the process becomes even more complicated due to linguistic and (work-)cultural-related boundaries,

and therefore requires a good ability to handle the social environment of journalistic writing (e.g. Plaut and Klein 2017). Additionally, the space/time restrictions of print/television items, for example, guide the translingual quoting process (e.g. Zhang 2014).

Finally, intensifying media convergence, especially the fact that journalists must produce various products for several platforms, demands multitasking in terms of, for example, how to conduct an interview in a way that the source material is utilizable both in written and broadcast form. In the written context, it is relatively easy to translate and amend interviewees' statements to better fit the storyline of the article in the making. In this context, the interview situation can be quite unstructured and thus fruitful for vibrant, quotable utterances. In the audio-visual context, however, the interview must be relatively well planned and the quotes and their translations have to stick more vigilantly to the original utterances, because the audience can hear the interviewee's voice in the background of the voice-over or subtitles.

Apart from their immediate impact, all of the above-mentioned challenges and problems can also influence the overall workflow in that they add to its complexity – which can be mirrored in the writing movement as a shift from *dancing* to *chaotic jumping* (Fürer 2019). These challenges can prevent journalists from meeting both deadlines and the level of quality required and they can also reduce their well-being at work. Regardless of the fact that experienced journalists are able to draw from their tacit knowledge and therefore generally manage to successfully tackle the risks of translingual quoting, this cannot be considered a sustainable situation on an organizational level.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has addressed a particular aspect of multilingualism and translation in newsrooms by analyzing *translingual quoting*, i.e. the process of news-writing in which the original discourse is translated during the text production activity of quoting.

Our process-oriented approach to the phenomenon under consideration has confirmed the former findings that “translation is ubiquitous and interacts with news-writing at all levels and stages” (Perrin and Ehrensberger-Dow 2012: 367). This research has also revealed the delicate nature of the processes of translingual quoting and the diversity of aspects that must be taken into account to fully understand the phenomenon.

Considering the significance of translingual quoting in journalists' everyday work, it is surprising how little this issue – or even the issue of news translation – is

dealt with in journalism curricula. This holds true, for example, in Swedish-language journalism education in Finland, and respectively in Switzerland, which is a highly multilingual country with publishing activities in German, French, Italian, and Romansh.⁵ In addition, it is astonishing that news translation in general, let alone the process of translanguaging in particular, is barely discussed in journalistic textbooks or guidebooks (Haapanen 2011: 82) or in media companies' newsroom policies.

With the emergence of the internet and social media in particular, the process of translanguaging has further evolved, and its two types, i.e. TQ1 and TQ2, have partly merged. When monitoring social media for topical issues and participating in discussions, journalists can identify prospective interviewees and collect utilizable material – be it written, audio- or video-recorded. This material might need to be translated before it can be further processed (TQ1). Journalists can also get involved in, and provoke, conversations without the restrictions of location or language – and social media has even incorporated solutions to facilitate such interlingual interaction (e.g. machine translation). To further upgrade such source material, interlingual, and sometimes even intralingual (e.g. adapting dialect or register) translational operations must be performed (TQ2). Recent research suggests that social media plays an increasingly decisive role in today's news-writing (Chadha and Wells 2016; Juntunen 2017; Revers 2014). Since quoting has proven to be an essential element in news-writing overall (Haapanen and Perrin 2017), the multilingual aspect fed in by social media only serves to highlight the importance of the concept of translanguaging.

The other fundamental change that has broken through since the collection of the data analyzed in this chapter relates to the fact that in today's newsrooms, media products are processed and reshaped to be delivered across multiple devices. This ongoing turn of media convergence also affects the processes of translanguaging, for example, when a quoted segment from a journalistic interview is not only converted into traditional written media, but also into Facebook posts and Twitter tweets or even into extremely concise mobile device push notifications. In addition, the interview material can be exploited using a voice-over for television and laptop use, as well as subtitles for small screen devices. Such subtitles help addressees view videos in places such as public transport, where it might be inconvenient to have the sound on. Furthermore, language alternatives may be available for subtitles. All in all, the impact that the growing interaction between

5. This perception stems from the discussions that the first author of this chapter has had with several journalism teachers and students at the Swedish School of Social Science, which is the leading Swedish-language journalism school in Finland. Regarding Switzerland, the second author knows the current state of affairs well.

old and new forms of media has on the processes of translingual quoting calls for both further research and practical implementation: for example, the recent trend of embedding social media posts into online news items can be considered a type of quoting (Johansson 2018), related to practices that are still emerging and have hardly been investigated, let alone systematically reflected upon in professional education.

To sum up, further developing the typology of translingual quoting on the one hand, and identifying the enabling factors and constraints of the contexts in which these types of TQs take place on the other helps academics better understand this phenomenon of multilingual professional practice – and practitioners develop good practices and deal with critical issues. The powerful gatekeeping function that journalists perform in modern societies (although traditional top-down gatekeeping is under upheaval due to the emergence of social media, e.g. Shoemaker and Vos [2009]), combined with the fact that readers are more likely to trust in and realign their own views with directly quoted ideas than with paraphrased ones (Gibson and Zillmann 1998), extends the scope of influence of the translingual quoting phenomenon far beyond the walls of the newsroom.

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Transediting Trump

The inaugural speech reported in Italy

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This chapter analyzes material collected online during Donald Trump's inaugural speech together with material from Italian media outlets, comparing the translations published on news websites in real time and those published in printed newspapers the next day. The collection of real time texts provides insights into the translation process, testifying to the ongoing blurring of the lines separating translation and interpreting where news media are concerned. The analysis of the Italian translations enriches the critical analysis of the source texts themselves, while the possibility of observing the various stages of translation in real time on online media provides information on the influence that the media technological convergence is having on translation strategies and techniques.

Keywords: live translation, POTUS inaugural, online news, Italian news outlets, translators' visibility

In recent years, the distribution and reception of news have been transformed by the effects of technological convergence. News stories travel faster and spread across different platforms, blurring the boundaries separating mainstream, independent, and grassroots sources, with the consequent growth of the fake news phenomenon (Baym 2005). All this also affects the ways in which the translation of news stories is performed, adding complexity to a realm that is still developing from the point of view of research. The subject of news translation (Conway and Bassnett 2006) or journalistic translation (Valdeón 2015) is relatively recent within the discipline of Translation Studies (TS) (van Doorslaer 2010). The complexity that characterizes news translation poses challenges for TS scholars that were not present in the observation of other more traditional translation fields. Discussing research in the field of news translation, Bielsa and Bassnett state:

translation is one element in a complex set of processes whereby information is transposed from one language into another and then edited, rewritten, shaped and repackaged in a new context, to such a degree that any clear distinction between source and target ceases to be meaningful. (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 11)

Consequently, according to Bielsa (2016: 117), “news translation is a largely invisible, understudied process.” The lack of a clearly recognizable source text (ST) and target text (TT) only represents the tip of the iceberg of the various layers a TS scholar has to take into account when dealing with news translation.

Conway (2015) provides an overview of the three main approaches that have characterized the study of news translation, drawn respectively from political economy, linguistics, and sociology and cultural studies. He points out that some of the key concepts employed, and notably the notion of culture, need to be defined more clearly in order to open new avenues of investigation (Conway 2015: 532). The challenges that news translation poses for TS scholars, apart from the mentioned lack of clear ST-TT matching, are due to the presence of ideological implications and the ways in which audiences respond to news texts (Munday 2016: 214–5). Nevertheless, it is important for the TS scholar approaching the analysis of news translation to remember that – contrary to the expectations of most critical discourse analysts and TS theorists – manipulation in politically sensitive texts may not occur in the ways we would expect it or it may not occur at all (Munday 2007: 200).

Many scholars have discussed whether it is still appropriate to identify the process as “translation” and some have proposed alternative terminology such as “transediting” or “rewriting” (see Valdeón 2015: 640–3), while others have argued that it is important to underline the continuum that links a more straightforward translation process where it is easy to identify a source text and a target text to the more complex process which includes rewriting, adding, and omitting (Schäffner 2012).

In addition to these layers that require further investigation, we are witnessing a growing complexity characterizing media communication as a consequence of the ongoing technological convergence and the blurring of lines between formerly distinct media. This impacts the evolution of news distribution and, as a consequence, the evolution of translation strategies and techniques. Still, as shown by Davier (2014), the process of translation remains invisible most of the time, as its integration into the work of the journalist effaces it from the perception of readers, listeners, and viewers (van Doorslaer 2012: 1049).

Scammell (2018: 8) describes how most news stories are provided by the “Big Three” press agencies – Reuters, Agence France-Presse, and Associated Press – as a consequence of the fact that national news organizations cannot afford to have

journalists based in every corner of the globe. The three agencies play the role of “news wholesalers” (Boyd-Barrett 1997). Scammell adds that the developments in online news, together with the demise of foreign correspondents, have contributed to the increasing dominance of the global news agencies (2018: 9).

The case study analyzed in this paper describes a different situation than that of news stories circulating daily from news agencies to online and printed media, on which Scammell’s work is focused. It focuses on the inaugural speech by Donald Trump during his swearing-in to become President of the United States (POTUS). This speech is a ritual performed every four years and reported across the world. As the event is programmed and generally considered newsworthy beforehand, news outlets send their correspondents to Washington. It is thus possible to observe a juxtaposition of the old foreign correspondent practice and the new online provision of real-time information, mixing news from the Big Three, other news outlets (e.g. CNN), and social media, especially Twitter.

Alongside the comments and analyses, news outlets often provide a translation of the speech itself. While this translation belongs to the kind that is the closest to “translation proper” when focusing on news items, the level of editing and rewriting remains high and the juxtaposition of different sources together with the hectic rhythm with which the first translations are provided all call for investigation, as they represent a novelty within an object of academic enquiry – news translation – which is itself relatively new.

1. Theoretical background

The POTUS inaugural ceremony is one of the few occasions in which different translated versions will be provided, allowing a comparative analysis of the translation process (see also Munday 2012: 44) as a ST and a TT can be recognized. Still, as is often the case when news items are translated, most of the TTs collected are heavily modified, and this study will provide an overview of the different approaches that can be observed, focusing in particular on the “live” translations provided on news websites, which start to be published online while the speech is still being delivered, thus bringing the process of translating closer to that of interpreting.

The analysis of the translations of the POTUS’s speech needs to be addressed both from the point of view of Political Discourse and that of News Discourse, as has always been the case (Romagnuolo 2009: 3). But in recent years a new layer of analysis has been added, namely the medium employed. Speeches in the past would be found only in printed newspapers and, in most cases, they were abridged to fit the limited amount of space available. Now, new technologies have

introduced live broadcasts on television and, more recently, online real-time reporting, including video streaming and live interpreting, which allow including much more information. Online reporting has also generated a hybrid genre which consists of text versions that are created and updated while the speech is being delivered, a written translation which is characterized by the constraints of interpreting (see also Tsai 2005).

In his inaugural speech, Trump employed discursive strategies that broke with some traditional characteristics of inaugural speeches. As the analysis will show, the use of pronouns and possessives is particularly relevant. Chilton's (2004) work on the creation of two separate "us" and "them" groups through the use of specific discourse strategies and the choice of pronouns is employed to investigate Trump's speech. This approach is blended with Munday's (2012) work, which focuses specifically on the translations of Obama's first inaugural, a blend that was required by the fact that Trump's text is divisive and is better analyzed if assimilated to POTUS's speeches of a different nature. In Chilton's specific case, his analysis of Bush's address to justify the military intervention after 9/11 proved a useful reference, a fact which is in itself telling of the nature of Trump's inaugural. Apart from the analysis of the political and ideological content of the speech and the ways in which these were rendered in translation, the main aim of this chapter is to report on the observation of online information provided and translated in real time, a task which can be carried out on a very limited number of events. For our scope, the POTUS inaugural – at least as far as the English-Italian combination is concerned – is probably the most significant news translation event to observe as it is politically loaded, it allows the compared observation of a ST against multiple TTs, and it is planned ahead, meaning media organizations are likely to blend the traditional strategies of sending correspondents with the contemporary trends due to technological convergence. The fact that the event is planned in advance also allows researchers to be ready to observe the translation as it goes "live."

Given the experimental nature of this observation, this chapter provides a vast array of examples, offering the reader the possibility to compare the TTs themselves. The first section describes the corpus, how it was collected and the format of its various components – which testify to the effects of technological convergence. The next section investigates the speech itself, observing the discourse strategies employed and how these emerge in translation in the rendering of a significant passage in the various TTs. Section 4 ("Transediting goes live") focuses on the hectic rhythm observed as the first translations were published while Trump himself was still delivering his speech and the effects of favouring speed over quality. Some aspects of the TTs are observed and analyzed in the following section, observing in particular where and when the texts were amended in the various versions published and how this may have affected the recipients both in terms of receiving

the information and of making them more aware of the translation process. All this is then contrasted with the headlines and the translation strategies employed in the printed press on the following day.

2. The translation corpus

The news items analyzed in this paper were collected online in real time on 20 January 2017 during Donald Trump's inaugural speech. They include the Italian webpages of *La Repubblica*, *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Stampa*, and *Il Sole 24 Ore*. These are observed against what was published the next day, Saturday, 21 January, in eight nationally distributed newspapers: *La Repubblica*, *Il Corriere della Sera*, *La Stampa*, *Il Sole 24 Ore*, *Il Giornale*, *Liberò*, *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, and *Il Manifesto*.

In the Italian printed newspapers, the information concerning Trump's inauguration was overshadowed to various degrees by news concerning the rescue of survivors who had spent forty-eight hours trapped in a hotel that had been destroyed by a major snowslide on the Gran Sasso mountain. Munday (2012: 42) states that the relative weighting of the story compared to other news stories is an indication of the perceived importance of the inaugural speech. Of course, the peculiarity of online information made this contrast much less evident, as an online reader searching for Trump's inaugural would hardly be presented with news about the snowslide and vice versa.

As for the news provided live on 20 January, my observation focused on the websites that provided real-time information, i.e. the three main Italian news dailies together with *Il Sole 24 Ore*, a national daily with a focus on the economy. Anglicisms were employed by all these news outlets to announce the coverage of the inauguration: "liveblog," "live tv" and "live" (see also Pinnavaia [2005] and Furiassi et al. [2012] for the role of anglicisms in the press). The four news outlets had different ways of providing live information: *La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere* both live-streamed information in video format, while *La Stampa* published pictures and comments in real time as the ceremony took place, and *Il Sole 24 Ore* simply provided a translation a short time after the delivery of the speech.

The videos live-streamed by *La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere* showed footage of the ceremony and provided audio commentary in Italian. The relevant difference between the two was that *La Repubblica* interspersed the images from the White House with interviews with experts in their newsroom, and the footage was marked "*Repubblica TV*." In fact, between 2006 and 2013, *La Repubblica* had a satellite television channel, which was later replaced by *LaEffe*. Of course this is particularly significant from the point of view of technological convergence. The *La Repubblica* daily newspaper was founded in 1976, its website was launched in 1996, and since

then the history of the GEDI industrial group, to which *La Repubblica* belongs, has been characterized by acquisitions and the creation of radio stations, internet service providers, and TV channels (Gedispa 2017). Even if in 2017 they did not own a proper TV channel, their videos showed that same format.

The website of *La Repubblica* live-streamed Trump's inaugural speech with a voice-over – i.e. what usually happens during Italian newscasts (see also Katan and Straniero-Sergio 2014) – but the videos that were uploaded later, and remained in the online archive, are in English with Italian subtitles (*Repubblica* 2017a, *Repubblica* 2017b), apart from the one of the oath, which was left with the voice-overs (*Repubblica* 2017c).

The videos streamed by *Il Corriere* only showed footage from the USA with comments with a voice-over in Italian. *La Stampa* published short posts with the latest published on top of the previous ones, specifying the number of minutes since the publication of each. Many posts included pictures, but the main form of communication was written text.

Il Sole 24 Ore limited itself to the publication of an online article about two hours after the inaugural, with quotes from the speech interspersed with comments. The article was written by Angela Manganaro, who works as a columnist for the newspaper. Its choice, then, is similar to that of any other news outlet and it is in contrast with the strategy it had employed in 2009. Back then, it was the first news outlet to publish a full translation of Obama's first inaugural speech, written by Fabio Galimberti. He is a professional translator and he had been booked beforehand: he drafted a first translation while watching the speech on television and then finished it in about one hour working on a transcript (see Caimotto 2010: 61).

3. Translating the core message

In order to investigate in detail how the various Italian news outlets rendered the speech, I first introduce the characteristics of the text itself. Trump's inaugural differed from those of his predecessors, as the themes and the style were rather those of a campaign speech. Trump used forty-four words that had never been heard during an inaugural speech before (Bump 2017), and many of these evoked a bleak and dark vision of the United States: *sprawl, ignored, tombstones, rusted-out, trapped, carnage, unrealized, robbed, stolen, hardships, disagreements, disrepair, stealing, ravages, bleed*. The speech broke with the tradition of using the inaugural to reunite the citizens that had been divided by the campaign: Trump only thanked his predecessors for the smooth transition but he did not spend a word on appreciating Obama's work or thanking his party.

His speech was in fact an attack on “the Establishment,” stating that his inauguration would be remembered as the day when power was given back to “the people” (quoting the opening of the U.S. Constitution). In the context of the discursive strategies employed in the speech, this appears as the most evident aspect, as it is hard to conceive Trump as someone powerless who is fighting against the Establishment. In the ST he used discourse strategies to convey this core message, which, as we shall see in detail, were rendered in different ways in live translations published online and the print versions published the next day.

The pivotal word introducing this idea is “however” in the sentence “Today’s ceremony, however, has very special meaning,” which comes after the first 121 words where Trump formally thanked the Chief Justice and the present former presidents. In those first words and up to the 551st (“I”) Trump uses only “we” and “they” (that is about one third of the 1433-word-long speech). Observing the use of “we” and “they,” it is possible to identify the divisive attitude that characterized Trump’s speech, which according to Chilton is usual for discourse aiming to justify a war (2004: 159), but is unusual for an inaugural speech. As Munday (2012: 71) explains in his analysis of the translation of Obama’s first inaugural, the way in which the pronoun “we” is employed can generate “invoked inclusiveness” and “implied exclusiveness,” the former referring to the “government and/with the people” and the latter referring to a smaller group “acting distinctly for the people but for their good.” But Trump’s speech deliberately broke this expectation and referred to the government as something separate from him. The first “they” refers to Barack and Michelle Obama, the following ones correspond to “the Establishment.”

Throughout the speech Trump employs pronouns and possessives as a discursive strategy to communicate that he belongs to the people and fights – with the people – against the Establishment, as problems, he states, were created by “a small group in our Nation’s Capital.” If we observe the pronouns and possessives in bold (emphasis added), we see how Trump conveys the feeling that he belongs to the people as he mixes “your” and “our” in order to imply that he was not part of “their” Establishment.

The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of **our** country. **Their** victories have not been **your** victories; **their** triumphs have not been **your** triumphs; and while **they** celebrated in **our** Nation’s Capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across **our** land. (Trump 2017)

This represents an interesting translation issue when translating into Italian, as the number of pronouns and possessives should normally be reduced to obtain an idiomatic TT. In this case the translator can choose between an idiomatic TT that weakens the ST discourse strategy or a more literal translation, which in spite of

being closer to the ST has the downside of being less effective as it is less idiomatic. In both cases it is possible to redress the balance by compensating the loss of meaning. Of course, especially when the translations are embedded within wider analyses, the weakening of the discourse strategy can be the consequence of the journalist's choice – with varying degrees of awareness on his/her behalf. Table 1 shows how each news outlet in the corpus rendered the sentence.

Table 1. Translation of pronouns and possessives

News outlet	Target text	Back translation
<i>La Stampa</i> (printed)	<i>L'establishment ha protetto se stesso, ma non i cittadini del nostro Paese.</i>	'The Establishment has protected itself, but not the citizens of our Country.'
<i>La Stampa</i> (online)	« <i>L'establishment finora ha protetto solo se stesso, non i cittadini di questo Paese. Le vittorie di Washington non sono state le vostre, le loro celebrazioni poco avevano a che fare con le famiglie che faticavano ad andare avanti</i> », dice Trump.	“‘The Establishment up to now has protected only itself, not the citizens of this Country. Washington’s victories were not yours, their celebrations had little to do with the families who were making efforts to keep going,” Trump says.’
<i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> (printed)	Sentence missing	
<i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> (online, 6:15 – first version published)	<i>l'establishment ha protetto se stesso, le loro vittorie non sono state le vostre vittorie. C'era poco da celebrare per le famiglie che stavano lottando nel Paese.</i>	'the Establishment has protected itself, their victories have not been your victories. There was little to celebrate for the families who were struggling in the Country.'
<i>Il Sole 24 Ore</i> (printed)	Sentence missing	
<i>Il Sole 24 Ore</i> (online)	« <i>L'establishment protegge se stesso</i> » dice, ma lui starà attento ai cittadini.	“‘The Establishment protects itself,’ he says, but he will pay attention to citizens.’
<i>La Repubblica</i> (printed)	<i>L'establishment ha protetto se stesso, non i cittadini.</i>	'The Establishment has protected itself, not the citizens.'
<i>La Repubblica</i> (online, 6:15 – first version published)	<i>L'establishment ha protetto se stesso, non la le imprese. Non sono stati i trionfi della gente, c'era poco da celebrare per le famiglie che lottavano in tutti gli Usa.</i>	'The Establishment has protected itself, not the [single form] the [plural form] companies. It was not the triumphs of the people, there was little to celebrate for the families who were fighting everywhere in the USA.'

Table 1. (continued)

News outlet	Target text	Back translation
<i>Il Manifesto</i> (printed)	Sentence missing	
<i>Il Fatto Quotidiano</i> (printed)	<i>L'establishment s'è protetto ma non vi ha protetto[...]</i>	'The Establishment protected itself but it did not protect you[...]
<i>Libero</i> (printed)	<i>L'establishment ha protetto se stesso, ma non i cittadini del nostro Paese. Le loro vittorie non sono state le vostre vittorie. I loro trionfi non sono stati i vostri trionfi. E mentre hanno celebrato nella capitale della nostra nazione, c'era poco da festeggiare per le famiglie che sono in difficoltà in tutto il nostro paese.</i>	'The Establishment has protected itself, but not the citizens of our Country. Their victories have not been your victories. Their triumphs have not been your triumphs. And while they celebrated in our nation's Capital, there was little to celebrate for families experiencing difficulties all across our country.'
<i>Il Giornale</i> (printed)	<i>Il sistema proteggeva se stesso, non i cittadini del nostro Paese. Le loro vittorie non sono state le vostre vittorie. I loro trionfi non sono stati i vostri trionfi. E mentre quella gente festeggiava nella capitale del nostro Paese, c'era poco da festeggiare per le famiglie in difficoltà nell'intera nazione.</i>	'The system protected itself, but not the citizens of our country. Their victories have not been your victories. Their triumphs have not been your triumphs. And while those people celebrated in our country's Capital, there was little to celebrate for families with difficulties across the entire nation.'

When we observe Table 1, we notice that – apart from the cases of *Libero* and *Il Giornale*, which provided a full translation of the ST – all the other media outlets dedicated to this ST passage less space in the printed TT version than in the online TT version. This is one of the features of the online “live” versions that can be considered indicative of the high level of influence the ST communicative intention can have on its recipients, journalists, and translators in this case, and how this is likely to emerge in the TT, especially when the time constraints are particularly tight.

4. Transediting goes live

In her description of a translator's day in a newsroom, Tsai (2005: 146) underlines the high levels of adrenaline and the pressure involved in the “hectic and frantic multitask” required by the job. It is easy to imagine that the person – whether a journalist or a translator – performing the translation process under very tight

deadlines will be influenced by the discursive strategies laid out in the ST more easily than someone who is allowed time to step back and think about the TT.

In fact, Tsai's work highlights one of the challenges that news translation poses for TS scholars: a scholar will rarely be allowed to experience or at least observe the job of someone translating news. (Tsai was able to provide her insight because she worked as "Writer in the International News Centre" [2005: 148] before moving to her academic career.) Otherwise, in most cases it is not even possible to interview the person who performed the work of translation, as their names are not quoted. Observing the flow of versions of the speech while the POTUS inaugural takes place offers a partial insight into a process that in most cases remains invisible from the outside.

In 2009, the translation strategies of Obama's first inaugural speech were observed (Caimotto 2010) and *Il Corriere* was the first one to publish an Italian version shortly after the end of the speech, and then two more versions, each of which added a new translated part and revisions to what had already been published. Comparing that reporting to the one provided in 2017, the latter is characterized by a much higher level of hastiness. *Il Corriere* and *La Repubblica* appeared to be engaged in a competition and both started publishing an Italian version of the speech before the closing of the speech itself.

The very first versions published included a high number of mistakes, testifying to the choice of sacrificing accuracy in the name of speed. *Il Corriere* published its first translation at 6:15 in the evening (Italian time), and then new revisions at 6:16, 6:17, 6:20 (the latest revision time was specified at the bottom of the page). That is a total of four versions in a time span of five minutes. The frequency of the changes and the comparison of the various versions show that the translation was being revised, extended, and updated in real time. *La Repubblica* also published its first translation at 6:15 and the second revision at 6:20, the moment that also corresponds to the end of Trump's speech. This means that the journalists/translators working for both newspapers were translating in real time during the inaugural and uploaded what they had ready when the speech was coming to a close.

At 6:40 and 6:41 respectively, *Il Corriere* and *La Repubblica* published new versions of their articles, with a higher number of changes compared to the articles revised within the very first minutes. The level of accuracy of the very first versions is quite low and the number of mistakes high. For example, the second sentence in *Il Corriere* has "Donald Tramp" (a spelling that corresponds to the most common way of pronouncing his name with an Italian accent). This mistake was present throughout the six versions published at 6:15, 6:16, 6:17, 6:20, 6:40, 7:08, and only the version revised at 7:41 corrected the mistake, suggesting that by then the levels of adrenaline and stress were loosening.

Il Corriere provided an ongoing translation interspersed with comments that started from 409 words for the very first version and was extended to a definitive version of 761 words embedding five videos and two slideshows (Sala 2017). One of the videos shows the whole speech, three are excerpts showing specific passages, and one shows Trump's entrance. The only two videos carrying subtitles are the whole speech and the excerpt focusing on the idea that power would be given back to the people; the others are left in English. The text of the subtitles is different from the sentences translated in the article. Most likely, the two translations were carried out by two, or more, different persons: the translator(s) of the subtitles remain(s) invisible, while we may assume that the quotes in the text were translated by the author of article, the journalist Alessandro Sala. The presence within the same online article of two different versions of the speech – text and subtitles – may be considered an element that makes the translation process more visible for the final recipients, but at the same time it might prove confusing.

La Repubblica included a translation of the first part of the speech followed by a narration of the day that, most likely, had been prepared earlier in order to provide a full article right at the end of the speech. *La Repubblica's* misprints included *Pase* instead of *Paese*, *moviumento* instead of *movimento*, *srvire* instead of *servire* to name a few. If misprints probably testify to the time pressure exercised on the journalists/translators who wrote the online articles, translation choices on the lexical and the semantic level can foreground meanings that were backgrounded in the ST and/or reveal the opinion of the journalists.

5. Target texts

If we observe the first version provided by *La Repubblica*, pronouns and possessives appear clearly as a problematic point. The oath of office in Italian is rendered as *Con le mie migliori capacità difenderò la loro costituzione*, that is 'their constitution,' the possessive referring back to the United States in the previous sentence, instead of repeating – as in the ST – "the Constitution of the United States." The way it is rendered in Italian appears to imply that Trump does not belong to the United States, and hence the effect is awkward.

The part of the speech translated in this first version is 210 words long (the ST being 1433 words). Just after the introduction, announcing that Trump has taken the oath, the passage in inverted commas starts with

Source: Every four years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First

Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent. Thank you.

Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning. Because today we are not merely transferring power from one Administration to another, or from one party to another – but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the People.

Translation: *Gli Obama sono stati magnifici, grazie a voi. Questa cerimonia ha un significato molto importante. Non è solo un trasferimento di amministrazione. Stiamo ridonando il potere al popolo.*

'The Obamas have been magnificent, thanks to you [plural form]. This ceremony has a very important meaning. It is not only a transfer of administration. We are re-donating the power to the people.'

The presence of the plural *voi* in Italian does not indicate whom Trump would be thanking. He appears to be addressing the audience, but in that specific context it would not make sense, as he was in fact thanking the Obamas and the video shows the former president nodding in response. If we go back to the ST, we see that the "magnificence" of the Obamas simply refers to the way in which they contributed to the peaceful transfer of power, not to the previous president's mandates, as an Italian reader would infer upon reading *La Repubblica*. Moreover, in the Italian text this sentence appears to be the opening of his speech, which of course was not the case.

Even more significant is the omission of the adverb "however," which is there to signify that even if the ceremony takes place every four years, and even if the Obamas were magnificent, this ceremony was different from any previous one, as those had merely transferred power from administrations and parties to other administration and parties, excluding the people. Finally, it is also worth noting how this translation simplifies the ST, rendering the basic messages but removing all rhetoric. A similar approach was already recognizable in the voice-over translation of the oath itself, which rendered only the third verb of the original formula "preserve, protect and defend."

While *La Repubblica*'s 210 words render only the first third of the speech, leaving the other two thirds for the following update, published about twenty minutes later, *Il Corriere della Sera* summed up the speech in 409 words and introduced titles explicating the themes of the inaugural, which were (BT): "National pride," "Americans should hire Americans," "War on terrorism," and "Call on patriotism." From the close observation of the *Il Corriere* translation it is possible to recognize some translation choices that do not convey the meaning of the ST. These tend to be found in news items published under tight deadlines, and in fact none of those

is present in the version printed by the same newspaper the following day, as we shall discuss later.

Source: there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land.

Translation: *C'era poco da celebrare per le famiglie che stavano lottando nel Paese.*

Three aspects deserve attention here: the verb *lottare* to translate “struggling” rather highlights the fighting meaning of the English verb. An Italian reader is induced to think of some kind of fight against someone, if not in terms of civil war at least something related to unions and strikes. But the meaning of the English verb focuses instead on making efforts in the face of difficulties; otherwise the ST would have specified “families struggling against ***” rather than “struggling families.” Munday (2018: 185), who analyzed how the speech was rendered by interpreters into Spanish, found similar issues concerning the rendering of “struggling.” *Celebrare* translates “celebrate” but in the sense of formal, ritual celebration, a more idiomatic choice here would have been *festeggiare*. Lastly, the Italian translation removes “our” as *nel Paese* means “in the country”: this choice, together with others across the TT, conveys the feeling that Trump is above and detached from the Establishment and the country, while, on the contrary, the number of times he uses “our” to refer to the USA is significant and, as already discussed above, most likely part of a discourse strategy to underline that Trump is one of the citizens he is fighting for.

If we compare the above passage to what is found in the final online version, dated 21 January, 4:02 PM, and still available online at the time of writing, we can see the TT for that sentence was modified: “*In questi anni c'è stato poco da celebrare per le famiglie che nel Paese hanno lottato per tirare avanti.*” The tense is different and more idiomatic, and the debatable choice of *lottare* to translate ‘struggling’ is mitigated by the addition of *per tirare avanti*, which can be rendered in back translation as ‘in order to scrape by.’ As mentioned above, the final version embeds subtitled videos of the ceremony and here the translation of that sentence is: “*c'era poco da festeggiare per le famiglie sofferenti in tutta la nostra terra.*” In this case we have *festeggiare* for ‘celebrate’ which, as mentioned above, appears more idiomatic, but then we have *sofferenti* which corresponds instead to ‘suffering’ and *in tutta la nostra terra* which is likely to induce Italian recipients to think of ‘our whole Earth’ as the word *terra* translates ‘earth, soil.’ TT recipients might find this confusing, as they may miss the fact Trump was focusing on a national – and not a global – level.

Other questionable choices are found in the first version of the *Corriere* TT: *trilioni* to translate ‘trillions,’ where the word exists but is much more technical than in American English and would not normally be used in this context. The fact that “I will never, ever let you down” was rendered as ‘I will never leave you behind’

is likely due to the influence of Trump's previous sentence "American workers that were left behind," which in the abridged target text is right above. Munday argues that this form of standardization seems to be a feature of interpreting, as "the published written translations [...] manage to avoid repetition and generalization" (2012: 51); this confirms that online news translations, even if written, share the characteristics of oral communication.

It is also worth mentioning the clause *Gli americani assumeranno americani* 'Americans are going to hire Americans' or *assumano* 'should hire' in the inserted title. The ST has "Buy American and Hire American," phrases that are to be understood as imperatives. Trump presents the idea as "two simple rules" but the whole speech can be interpreted as the announcement of future protectionist regulations.

The other two websites that provided online articles reporting the inaugural, namely *La Stampa* and *Il Sole 24 Ore*, did not publish an article straightaway after the speech but waited about two hours and provided abridged translations interspersed with comments and summaries of the missing parts of the speech. The allowance of more time, compared to *La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere*, improved the accuracy of the translations: mistakes are not present and, for example, "hire American" is rendered as an imperative. Nevertheless both articles quote Trump thanking the Obamas and avoid explaining that he was only grateful for their handling of the transfer of power. It is also worth mentioning the presence in both articles of anglicisms: "America first, establishment, leadership carnage, Commander-in-chief."

Comparing these four online outlets with the corresponding printed editions, we notice that the authors changed in all cases and the online texts, whether translations or comments, were not used for the printed version, even in the cases of *La Stampa* and *Il Sole 24 Ore*, which had provided a more accurate translation online. In fact, each of the four news outlets provided two separate editions of the article translating and analyzing the speech, *La Repubblica* and *Il Corriere* providing an online version closer to real time communication, while the *La Stampa* and *Il Sole 24 Ore* online articles were closer to the style of a printed version. In the case of *La Stampa*, Francesco Semprini, who is based in New York and is a regular correspondent, authored the online version of the speech and then authored a secondary article about Melania and Ivanka Trump for the printed version.

Table 2 shows the news items published in printed newspapers the following day in which some form of translation of the speech was included. "Translated speech interspersed with comments" indicates that most of the text consisted in translated text and some comments were added, while "analysis interspersed with parts of the speech" describes texts where quotes represented a minor part of the article.

Table 2. The printed press on January 21, 2017

Printed press on Saturday January 21, 2017

<i>La Stampa</i> [national daily]	<i>Trump: Da oggi il potere torna agli americani</i> ‘Trump: “As of today the power goes back to Americans”’	Translated speech within inverted commas interspersed with comments.
<i>Il Corriere della Sera</i> [national daily]	<i>Trump ha giurato: “Ora il potere ritornerà al popolo”</i> ‘Trump has sworn: “Now the power will return to the people”’	Translated speech within inverted commas interspersed with comments. Word cloud in English.
<i>Il Sole 24 Ore</i> [economy focused]	<i>Trump: prima l’America, potere ai cittadini</i> ‘Trump: America first, power to the citizens’	Analysis interspersed with parts of the speech translated and within inverted commas
<i>La Repubblica</i> [national daily]	<i>Il manifesto populista</i> ‘The populist manifesto’	Analysis interspersed with parts of the speech translated and within inverted commas
<i>Il Manifesto</i> [communist daily]	<i>LA CASA SBIANCA</i> <i>Trump è presidente:</i> « <i>Assumete americani, comprate Americano</i> » ‘THE WHITENING HOUSE Trump is president: “Hire American, buy American”’	Analysis interspersed with parts of the speech translated and within inverted commas
<i>Il Fatto Quotidiano</i> [9-year-old paper, less clearly positioned, close to the new populist political party called the “5-star movement”]	<i>“Ridiamo il potere al popolo”</i> <i>Giuramento anti-Obama & C.</i> “Let’s give power back to the people’ An oath against Obama & Co.’	Analysis interspersed with parts of the speech translated and within inverted commas
<i>Libero</i> [right wing]	<i>Il discorso di Donald</i> <i>“Potere al popolo, vi libero dai politici”</i> ‘Donald’s speech “Power to the people, I’ll free you from politicians”’	Translated speech without comments. Cuts signalled with (...) Author Donald Trump
<i>Il Giornale</i> [right wing]	<i>Ecco Re Trump: « L’America prima di tutto Con me il popolo ritorna al potere »</i> ‘Here is King Trump: “America first With me the people are back in power’	Translated speech without comments. Only one sentence missing (not signalled). Author Donald J. Trump The name of the translator, Seba Pezzani, is specified at the end of the text.

The headlines for the various articles about the speech all foreground the anti-Establishment approach and the message about the power being given back to the people. Hence if we compare Table 1 and Table 2 we notice that the smaller space printed versions dedicated to the passage against “the Establishment” was redressed by the choice of conveying that core message through the headline itself.

Il Giornale and *Libero* published full translations, *La Stampa* and *Il Corriere* published abridged translations with comments and the remaining four newspapers published analyses interspersed with translated quotes. A general observation that can be made is that the goal of the six articles about the speech, excluding the ones without comments in *Libero* and *Il Giornale*, was mainly to comment and judge the inaugural speech, rather than simply reporting what Trump had said. Thus translation, within those six analyses, becomes a tool to report selected – and often edited – quotes that support the various points made by the journalist.

6. Concluding remarks

As usual, the reporting in other countries – Italy in our case – of the inaugural speech offered an array of translation strategies ranging from the almost literal rendering of *Libero* to the accurate translation of a professional – *Il Giornale* – and various other levels of accuracy and variations through permutations, omissions, and additions (Valdeón 2008). The observation of these TTs appears to confirm some general aspects, which have often been discussed by translation scholars working on news translation. The observation of news items published by online news websites confirms a trend attributable to technological convergence: written texts published in real time resemble – and are as volatile as – oral communication. Researchers can only observe them if monitoring news outlets as events unfold.

While news translation is still perceived as a relatively new research field within the discipline of Translation Studies, observing the online translations of Trump’s inaugural speech and comparing them to those observed in 2009 shows that the technological convergence is already challenging the discipline and its scholars in ways that did not exist fifteen years ago. We are witnessing a multiplication and a fragmentation that raise interesting but difficult questions concerning what should actually be analyzed: if Bielsa and Bassnett in 2009 highlighted the general issue of a lack of ST and TT, what we witness in the case analyzed here is the presence of a series of TTs.

These TTs are volatile like speech, in this sense translation and interpreting share some features, but they can also be downloaded in real time and they are actually written. The comparative analysis of these various versions offers insight into the process of translation, editing, and writing that in most other cases

remains invisible. Moreover, some divergent TTs can coexist at the same time, as in *Il Corriere*, where the video subtitles are presented within an article where the same speech passages are translated differently.

Technological convergence appears to offer new possibilities to news translation scholars: thanks to the virtually endless availability of space, news outlets publish much more material than they used to when the technologies available were much more limited. This offers a different insight, which allows any translation scholar with an internet connection to observe – at least partially – those translation processes that would otherwise remain exclusive for scholars with access to the translation room, such as Tsai (2005) or Davier (2014). Hence there are new possibilities for the analysis of the translation of inaugural speeches compared to what was possible throughout history (see Romagnuolo 2010).

At the same time, new questions are raised. What is the effect on the final recipients? Would ordinary readers notice the differences within the various versions, and would that make them more aware of the translation process? The same questions can be asked concerning the presence on the same page of a written translation embedded within the article, a different translation in the subtitles, and the source text in the oral form of the video soundtrack. Is this likely to heighten their awareness or will it simply create more confusion?

This chapter has focused mainly on the online versions, but a full, overarching analysis of the inaugural translation process would require an interdisciplinary approach, taking into account the political nature of the text as well as the implications and effects of the different genres into which the ST is fragmented: oral, written, subtitles, voice-over, short live posts, tweets, etc. Up to now, most studies focusing on communication-related issues concerning politics and media have neglected the importance of translation (see also van Doorslaer 2012). An overarching approach would need to investigate also the reception of different translations, an aspect that has not yet received much attention (see also Conway 2015: 532). Programmed international events with important political implications, like the POTUS's oath of office, prove to be an effective subject to investigate translation strategies and effects by comparing different TTs while also fine-tuning the boundaries of the discipline.

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News translation on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's English and French websites

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This chapter examines the techniques journalists use to incorporate translated speech into news stories published on the websites of the French and English networks of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. It examines four sets of stories: national political news in French (76 stories) and in English (63 stories) and local news from Canada's capital region in French (85 stories) and in English (98 stories). It combines content analysis, textual analysis, and ethnography to provide an update of past research about the Corporation's television news programs in the early 1990s. It reveals that the asymmetries that have long shaped the Corporation's French- and English-language news continue to operate, although in different form, and they continue to influence the ways journalists incorporate translated speech into their stories.

Keywords: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, form and content, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, Gatineau, Quebec, Canada

1. Introduction: News translation and the question of form

News translation emerged as an object of serious study in the mid-2000s, when it gained prominence through a series of conferences hosted by the University of Warwick Centre for Translation and Comparative Cultural Studies (Conway and Bassnett 2006; Bielsa and Bassnett 2009).¹ Since then, the literature has quickly grown.

1. It had been the subject of one-off articles before then (e.g., Lee-Reoma 1978), but it was only with the Warwick conferences that a scholarly dialogue about news translation began. See Valdeón (2015).

We might organize this literature in a number of ways. If we look at early studies, we see they break down by subject matter: some compare original stories and their translations (categories that take on new meaning in news translation), some examine editors' roles as gatekeepers, and some examine journalists' institutional roles within their organizations (Conway 2011: 33–4). If we consider the approaches authors take, some draw from political economy, some from linguistics, and some from sociology and cultural studies (Conway 2015). If we look at the conceptual overlap between translation studies and communication studies, we find product-based and process-based research that draws on cultural studies, reception studies, and medium-based studies (Valdeón 2015). Where convergent media are concerned, a somewhat more specific theme emerges: from the earliest articles (Salzberg 2008) to the most recent (Hernández Guerrero 2017; Matsushita, present volume), scholars investigate the promise of convergent media to encourage viewer or reader participation and break down intercultural barriers.

One question drawing many of these threads together is how journalists, responding to a variety of institutional and cultural influences, construct stories. Researchers have identified many of the logics that govern how they combine different elements to convey information, comparing rhetorical structure, story organization, and strategies for linking ideas and for expressing cause-and-effect relationships. They have also compared norms related to how much and what types of information headlines include (Sidiropoulou 1995a, 1995b; Károly 2012, 2013, 2014; Lee 2006; Nord 1995). In short, they have examined the influence of form on content, focussing largely on corpora of source and target texts in print or hypertext formats, although they have neglected ethnographic methods looking at journalists in their work environment.

This chapter expands on past work by examining news translation in a convergent, multilingual environment, where the question of form is further complicated by two factors. First, journalists frequently combine sound, image, and written text in ways not accounted for in past studies. They have many options when incorporating translated speech: they can silently translate it in a written text, but they can also, for instance, include a video link so audiences can see the speaker deliver the original, untranslated speech. Second (and consequently), they rarely translate complete stories. Instead, they use bits and pieces of translated speech (from vox pop interviews, press conferences, press releases, official documents, and so on) as raw material, meaning that source and target texts, such as those making up the corpora analyzed in past studies, are rare (see Orenge 2005).

To examine journalists' practices in a convergent environment, we analyze four sets of stories published on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's French and English websites (ici.radio-canada.ca and www.cbc.ca): political news in French (76 stories) and in English (63 stories) and local news from Canada's

capital region in French (85 stories) and in English (98 stories). We address questions of form (by which we mean the combination of image, sound, and written text, and the resulting ways they interact with each other) by combining content analysis (cataloguing types of translation and the frequency of their use), textual analysis (examining exemplary stories for the ways they incorporate translated speech), and ethnography (drawing on interviews with journalists working for the Corporation in Ottawa, Ontario).² In this way, we provide an update of past research that took a similar approach to the Corporation's television news stories in the early 1990s (Conway 2011). Our analysis reveals that the asymmetries that have long shaped the Corporation's French- and English-language news continue to operate, although in different form, and they continue to influence the ways journalists incorporate translated speech into their stories.

2. Visibility and invisibility in translation

One recurrent theme in translation studies related to form is that of visibility and invisibility. Venuti (1995) proposed the metaphor of invisibility as a way to understand the position of translators in the U.S. (or anglophone) literary world. He argued, for instance, that at an institutional level, translators were "invisible" because the work they did, as far as author's rights were concerned, was treated as derivative, not original. Their status was secondary to that of the author of the original. Similarly, at a textual level, their work was "invisible" because it effaced its own status as a translation. Critics and readers tended to prize fluency, and even those who could not read an original felt authorized to comment on the quality of its translation by describing how readable they found it.

Scholars of news translation have observed similar patterns as they have adapted Venuti's metaphor to a different mode of translation (Davier 2014). At an institutional level, journalists and news organizations tend to see translation as a derivative act (Bassnett 2005). During one of the first Warwick conferences on news translation, "there was some debate about whether those people engaged in interlingual news writing wanted to call themselves translators at all" (Bassnett 2006: 5). At a textual level, as noted above, journalists rarely rewrite full articles in a new language (although such wholesale translation is not unheard of [Gutiérrez 2006]): linguistic re-expression is just another tool in their toolbox, one that allows

2. One of the authors (Lucile Davier) conducted interviews with eleven regional reporters from Radio-Canada and three from CBC during the first half of 2017. The interviews took place in person and lasted an average of an hour. Afterward, they were transcribed, the transcriptions serving as the basis for analysis.

them to disassemble and reassemble sources as necessary. Therefore, the role of translation has become invisible in news production because it has been “successfully integrated within journalism” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009: 72–3). The invisibility of translation as an activity is mirrored by its invisibility in the products, where translation is rarely mentioned as such (Hernández Guerrero 2017).

Of course, “rarely” does not mean “never.” Exceptions arise in situations where there are large prestige differentials between languages, such as between English and African languages in South Africa. There, as Gottlieb (2010) shows, African languages are often translated into English, but rarely vice versa. They also arise when a speaker’s choice of language is newsworthy, such as in Canada, where the choice can be political (by expressing symbolic support for a linguistic community) and where politicians are known to deliver different messages in English and French. For these reasons, according to Gagnon (2012), journalists reporting on federal politics often identify the original language in instances where it is relevant to their story. In print, for instance, they offer explanations such as:

- “The Prime Minister’s 20 minute broadcast was pre-recorded in both English and French[...].”
- “Au début du message qu’il a lu fidèlement, en français d’abord, puis en anglais ensuite[...].” [‘At the beginning of the message, which he read faithfully, first in French, then in English[...].’]
- “Switching to English, [Quebec Premier] Bourassa had a special message for critics of [Canadian] Prime Minister Brian Mulroney[...].”

(Gagnon 2012: 948–53)

Thus the question of form relates to the ways journalists craft their stories to balance readability with the need to share important contextual details. How do they use the tools specific to each medium to communicate translated speech? Print, for instance, offers only text, while television offers sound and image. Using subtitles and original sound, journalists can be clear that translation is taking place and give bilingual viewers access to both versions of a speaker’s statement, as in the example below, drawn from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s French-language coverage of the 1992 Charlottetown constitutional accord:

Reporter (voice-over): “Un changement de cap aujourd’hui: le Premier Ministre dit que si le [camp du] Non devait gagner, les politiciens devront accepter le verdict populaire avec dignité.” [‘A change in direction today: the Prime Minister said that if the No side were to win, politicians will have to accept the popular verdict with dignity.’]

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (on screen): “Whatever the people decide is the verdict that politicians and leaders must graciously and sincerely accept.”

Subtitles: “Quel que soit le verdict de la population, les politiciens devront l'accepter avec dignité et sincérité.” [‘Whatever the verdict of the people, politicians must accept it with dignity and sincerity.’] (adapted from Conway 2011: 78)

In this example, another factor influenced the way the journalist, Daniel L'Heureux, worked to highlight the fact he was re-expressing a statement made in another language. The prime minister was contradicting statements he had made before, and L'Heureux wanted to be clear in attributing the words to Mulroney. In cases where speakers said something controversial, L'Heureux explains, he preferred to play the entire statement, especially when it was no longer than six or seven seconds:

each word matters, [so] it's important to cite the speaker in the program itself. Because there are viewers who could say, “Well no, that's impossible, he certainly didn't say that. They must have made it up or interpreted his statement[...].” In that case, I would ask our production services to put a written translation at the bottom of the screen and I would provide the spoken statement in its entirety. (quoted in Conway 2011: 72)

L'Heureux's caution, and as a result his approach to image and sound, reflected the institutional habitus of a news organization, that of the Corporation's French-language television network, that in its early days often faced accusations of bias.³ As Quebec's separatist movement took shape in the 1970s, certain prominent federal politicians, most notably Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, accused francophone journalists of sympathising with the separatists they interviewed. To protect themselves, journalists developed strategies like the one described by L'Heureux to be clear about who was responsible for the ideas being expressed. This concern was coupled with a longstanding focus on language dating back to the beginning of French-language programming on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, which grew out of a desire to use broadcasting to promote and preserve French in Canada (Gagnon 1981; Vipond 2008).

In contrast, the news department of the English-language network developed an institutional habitus shaped by a different set of concerns. In its early days, it took many of its cues from the United States, whose news organizations it saw as rivals. One influential executive, Reuven Frank, even worked (at different times) at the CBC and the U.S. network NBC. Anglophone journalists did not face the same suspicion as their francophone counterparts, nor did they feel the same need to be as deliberate in attributing speech. They did not combine sound and image the same way: when they needed to re-express words in a different language, they did not take advantage of TV's full range of textual possibilities. Instead, they relied

3. The following paragraphs derive from an argument developed in more depth in Conway (2011: 60–81).

more heavily on sound alone: where francophone journalists used subtitles, they used voice-overs. They were – and still are – pursuing a specific type of fluency. As a CBC training guide from 2003 explains: “Since TV is an emotional, intimate medium – a relatively small box sitting there in people’s living rooms and bedrooms – it follows that it is most effective when used in an emotional and intimate way” (*The Television Storyteller: A Guide for TV Journalists*, quoted in Conway 2011: 67). In other words, anglophone journalists at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation tended to draw attention away from the fact they were translating: they used voice-over translations to make translation less visible than their francophone counterparts, who were more likely to use subtitles.

The question of form is even more complicated with convergent media, where journalists have still more tools at their disposal, including video produced for television (and for the internet), sound produced for radio (and, again, the internet), text, images, and hyperlinks. Although a direct comparison between the 1990s and now is impossible, in light of the range of modes of production, it is worth asking whether journalists have maintained the same historically shaped habitus. In other words, how do they use their tools to strike a balance between readability and provision of important contextual details, and what do their choices reveal about the pressures to which they are still subject?

3. Translation in national political stories: Overview

To answer these questions, we built four corpora, one each from the website of Radio-Canada (the French-language network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, ici.radio-canada.ca) and the CBC (its English-language counterpart, www.cbc.ca), at both the national and the regional levels, treating stories as pages linked to by a single link from the those sites.⁴ For national news, we restricted our search to political news by using the “site:” delimiter in Google (i.e., we limited our search to the websites’ political rubrics by entering “site:ici.radio-canada.ca/politique” and “site:www.cbc.ca/news/politics” in the search bar).⁵ We then refined our search by using Google’s tools to limit the dates to 15–21 January 2017.

4. In this respect, we faced a challenge related to convergence. In the era before convergence, it was easy to identify stories as discrete units. Print stories had a headline and a clear beginning and end. Television stories were introduced by an anchor and concerned a discrete topic. In contrast, the distinction between one web-based story and another is far less clear, especially when video and sound (which also frequently stand alone) are integrated into a written text.

5. Note that Radio-Canada has changed its URL structure since we built this corpus. In particular, it has changed the URLs in its various rubrics.

This process yielded 76 stories (or unique links) in French and 63 in English. (The method for building the corpora of regional stories is described below.) In their content, stories ranged from a brief sentence or paragraph (of 50 or 100 words) summarizing an audio clip or linking to a story on a different page⁶ to longer written texts (of 700 or 1000 words) with embedded video.

We examined this week in particular because of the large number of events that took place involving translation, such as the French-language debate among contenders for the leadership of the federal Conservative Party, during which some participants spoke French so poorly that journalists wrote about their malapropisms and mangled syntax (Zimonjic 2017). For that reason, and because of our small sample size, the value of our observations is not predictive but heuristic, in that they bring differences between the French and English services into sharper relief.

In the national corpora, roughly a quarter of Radio-Canada's stories (20 of 76) included some form of translation, in contrast to roughly a tenth of the CBC's stories (6 of 63). In some cases, journalists clearly indicated they were translating (for instance, by naming the language in which words were originally spoken). In others, it was context that suggested translation had taken place (for instance, when speech paraphrased in one [minority] language was uttered in a context where the other [majority] language was likely spoken). See Table 1.

Table 1. National political stories with translation on Radio-Canada and CBC websites, 15–21 January 2017

	Radio-Canada (N = 76)		CBC (N = 63)	
	N	%	N	%
Stories with translation	20	26	6	10
<i>Translation is signalled as such</i>	8	11	3	5
<i>Context suggests translation took place, but it is not signalled as such</i>	12	16	3	5

In the first case (8 of 20 of the translated stories, or just less than half), journalists signalled translation by indicating the language in which statements were originally made. For instance, at an event in Sherbrooke, a town in francophone Quebec, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau responded in French to questions posed in English,

6. In cases where the link we discovered through our initial search contained a link to yet another page, we clicked through to that page and included its characteristics in our tally, treating everything linked to from the initial page as one story. In most cases, the page to which the initial link led included only a sentence or two summarizing the story to which the second link led.

a choice that offended many anglophone Quebecers. The CBC's report of the event included a written text and a video. In the written text, the journalist emphasized the languages of the exchange because they were what made it newsworthy:

A woman asked in English what would be done to help Anglo-Quebecers seeking mental health services when those services are only available in French.

"Thank you for your use of both official languages," Trudeau replied in French.
(Enos 2017)

Not all translations took the form of translated direct quotations, however. Journalists also paraphrased speakers. The same story also described an exchange where, again, the choice of language made it newsworthy:

Later, a woman wearing a hijab read from notes, in broken English, asking on behalf of all Canadian Muslims if Trudeau would consider giving them a public holiday for Eid al-Fitr, the holiday marking the end of the Islamic holy month of fasting, Ramadan.

He answered in French that Canadians' differences are their strength and that embracing those differences enriches our country – whether they be historic differences between the French and English, or more recently with refugees being welcomed into Canada.
(Enos 2017)

Such paraphrases were relatively rare, however, as Table 2 shows.

Table 2. Directness of quotation in national political stories where translation was signalled as such on Radio-Canada and CBC websites, 15–21 January 2017

	Radio-Canada (N = 76)		CBC (N = 63)	
	N	%	N	%
Direct quotation	5	7	2	3
Paraphrase	3	4	1	2

In other cases (12 of 20, or just over half), it was context that suggested that journalists had performed acts of translation, such as when they described events in places where most people spoke a different language than their readers or viewers. Here, too, they sometimes paraphrased speakers without quoting them directly. They also sometimes quoted speakers directly but did not indicate the language they spoke, such as when Pirot (2017) wrote about the suspension of a volunteer working to elect Jason Kenney as leader of the Progressive Conservative party in the anglophone province of Alberta:

"En fait, nous pourrions voir des gens des autres équipes nous reprocher d'avoir été trop conciliants envers la campagne de Jason Kenney", a estimé Kim Krushell, la membre du conseil d'administration du parti qui avait proposé la suspension de

M. Hallman. Le parti a aussi publié un communiqué assurant qu'il n'avait "jamais envisagé" d'exclure Jason Kenney.

["In fact, we could see people from the other teams criticize us for being to conciliatory toward Jason Kenney's campaign," said Kim Krushell, the member of the party's administrative council who recommended suspending Mr. Hallman. The party also issued a press release claiming it had "never considered" excluding Jason Kenney.]

These examples suggest that factors identified in past research were operative here, too. Journalists signalled translation as such when language choice was newsworthy. In other cases, where the choice of language was not pertinent, it seems likely that translation took place, but it remains a matter of speculation, as the stories themselves do not provide enough information to know definitively. Translation in that respect remains textually and institutionally invisible.

However, there is another factor to consider, namely the availability of different modes of presenting a story in a convergent context (see Haapanen and Perrin, present volume). All of the examples above came from written text rather than video or audio. In a convergent context, journalists can (and do) present different parts of a story through different media, in some cases making translation more visible.

4. Translation in national political stories: Convergent techniques

In the corpora of national news, we identified three dominant modes of presenting translation in ways that made it visible: voice-over in embedded video (where a speaker's voice was audible before the journalist presented a spoken translation at a louder volume than the speaker), translation of video or sound in the accompanying written text, and subtitles in embedded video.⁷ Their frequency is described in Table 3:

7. This classification obscures a more complex set of transformations, especially between written and spoken texts, but the examples of each were too few to break down into smaller categories.

Table 3. Modes of incorporating translated speech into national political news stories with translation signalled as such on Radio-Canada and CBC websites, 15–21 January 2017

	Radio-Canada (N = 76)		CBC (N = 63)	
	N	%	N	%
Voice-over in embedded video	6	8	1	2
Translation of video/sound in accompanying text	3	4	3	5
Subtitles in embedded video	1	1	1	2

These modes drew attention to the incorporation of translated speech in different ways and to different degrees. One Radio-Canada story, “La commissaire à l’éthique se penchera sur le voyage en hélicoptère de Trudeau” (Presse Canadienne 2017), provided readers with only limited access to speech in the original language. It described the decision by Canada’s ethics commissioner to investigate a trip made by Prime Minister Trudeau on the private helicopter of the Aga Khan, who does business with the Canadian government. It contains written text and an embedded video, but the quotations in the written text give no indication of the language in which they were spoken. However, the video (in French) provides two hints that translation took place. First, it shows images of documents in English issued by the ethics commissioner, while the journalist describes their content in French. Second, it includes extracts in English intercut with segments where the journalist paraphrases statements in French. The extracts are very short, containing a static image of Trudeau with audio from a call-in show in English from Halifax. They do not give enough information, for instance, to check the quality of the translation.

A second story, “Transferts en santé: la Saskatchewan et Ottawa s’entendent” (which was unsigned), described a deal to transfer federal healthcare funds to Saskatchewan. It too included text and video, in this case a story produced for *Le Téléjournal*, Radio-Canada’s flagship 6 o’clock news program. The written text included translation that went unsignalled, such as when the journalist wrote of the provincial health minister Jim Reiter,

M. Reiter a cependant précisé que la province est un peu déçue par cet accord qui ne répond pas à toutes ses attentes. La Saskatchewan réclamait en effet une hausse annuelle de 5,2% des transferts en santé du fédéral.

Le ministre a fait savoir qu’il était toutefois temps pour sa province de recevoir des fonds pour les soins à domicile et en santé mentale. Selon lui, la province dépense environ 5 milliards de dollars par an dans les soins de santé.

(“Transferts en santé” 2017)

[‘But Minister Reiter clarified that the province was somewhat disappointed by the agreement that does not meet all its needs. In fact, Saskatchewan was asking for an annual increase of 5.2% in its healthcare funds from the federal government. ‘The minister also said it was time for his province to receive funds for home care and mental health. He said the province spends about 5 billion dollars each year in health care.’]

But it also included video where Raluca Tomulescu, a reporter for *Le Téléjournal*, introduced a relatively long shot of Reiter speaking in English by providing a paraphrase of his statement:

Reporter: “Il affirme que la Saskatchewan avait besoin des transferts d’Ottawa rapidement pour financer son système de santé.” [‘He said Saskatchewan needs the transfers from Ottawa soon to finance its healthcare system.’]

Jim Reiter (Saskatchewan minister of health): “We absolutely need more money for mental health. We need more money for home care, so in this instance, we think it fits the demographics of what we do need in the province.”

(“Transferts en santé” 2017)⁸

The preference for voice-over over subtitles can be influenced by institutional unwritten guidelines. In interviews, reporters working for the regional newsroom of Radio-Canada and CBC in Ottawa explained that they generally left subtitles for situations where the tone of the voice conveyed strong emotions or when the choice of words was particularly important. They said that their preference was either journalistic (their perception of a good story) or institutional (they had been told to favour voice-over). In the case of Radio-Canada, the institutional argument is backed up by a decision by the ombud of Radio-Canada in February 2017: the ombud argued that subtitles should be avoided in news broadcast at dinner time, out of respect for people who “listen” to TV rather than watch it and for viewers who are visually impaired or illiterate (Gendron 2017).

Thus the question of visibility is complicated by the range of tools available to journalists, in ways that differ from the past when the lines between technologies were clearer. It is also complicated, as the next section shows, by the range of access that journalists have to different tools.

8. In this case, we can imagine that, if the situation were reversed and the minister had spoken French in a province with a very small French minority, the choice would have warranted mention by the reporter.

5. Translation in regional stories

In addition to our national corpora, we built two regional corpora, one in English and one in French, from Canada's bilingual capital region, Ottawa-Gatineau, which straddles the Ontario-Quebec border. For the English corpus, we performed the same type of search, using the "site:" delimiter to find all the stories in the www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa subdomain. For the French corpus, we adopted a different approach. Although Radio-Canada's website had a regional rubric, the URLs of the sites it linked to were not organized in the same subdomain, making the "site:" delimiter useless. Instead, we visited the site ici.radio-canada.ca/ottawa-gatineau daily to collect the links manually. In both cases, we chose the week of 17–23 July 2017.⁹ There were 98 stories in the English corpus and 85 in French.

The results of the regional analysis were dramatically different from those of the national analysis. There were more stories with translation in both languages, although the French stories (62% of which contained translation) far outnumbered the English stories (16%). But in both cases, in comparison with the national stories, translation was less frequently signalled as such, as Table 4 shows.

Table 4. Regional stories with translation on Radio-Canada and CBC websites, 17–23 July 2017

	Radio-Canada (N = 85)		CBC (N = 98)	
	N	%	N	%
Stories with translation	47	62	10	16
<i>Translation signalled as such</i>	2	3	2	3
<i>Context suggests translation took place, but it is not signalled as such</i>	45	59	8	13

What accounts for these differences? There was more translation in general because of the bilingual nature of the Ottawa-Gatineau region. Ottawa, the majority-anglophone city on the Ontario side of the border, is the bigger of the two, although Gatineau, the majority-francophone city on the Quebec side, accounts for about a quarter of the region's 1.3 million inhabitants. Decisions made by Ottawa officials have a large impact on Gatineau residents who work in the city, making the

⁹ In contrast to our national sample, where we chose dates to include a large number of stories whose circumstances increased the likelihood of translation, in our regional sample, we could not choose dates with the same goal in mind because the collection in French had to take place in real time.

Ottawa city government an important source of news. (Ottawa also has a large francophone minority, concentrated on the east side of the city.)¹⁰

The variation in approaches to signalling translation appears to relate first of all to the types of technologies to which national and regional reporters had access. The use of video in national political stories suggests that national reporters had access to a wider range of technologies than their regional counterparts. Regional stories simply had less video, meaning regional reporters had fewer ways to signal translations they performed. National journalists could embed video that showed someone speaking the words being quoted, for instance, where regional journalists could (and did) not.

The variation between national and regional stories also relates to reporters' notions of their responsibilities to their audiences on the one hand, and their audiences' expectations of them on the other. Francophone journalists, for instance, explained in interviews that they kept in mind Radio-Canada's mandate to serve the region's linguistic minorities. (Note that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has the official mandate to "[reflect] the different needs and circumstances of each official language community, including the particular needs and circumstances of English and French linguistic minorities" [Broadcasting Act, 1991, section 3.1.m.iv]). They went out of their way to demonstrate the presence of francophones in the region's institutions, as the head of French services at Radio-Canada explained:

Euh, on a un peu, on a comme mandat de refléter la communauté aussi, hein, puis notre, c'est la communauté francophone qu'on reflète. Donc euh, il, c'est un peu notre devoir de montrer que, bien dans nos institutions, il y a des gens qui parlent français [...] et on met beaucoup de pression sur les institutions pour qu'ils nous offrent ces services-là, donc on en profite, on les utilise, ces services-là.

[We have the mandate to reflect the community too, and our – it's the francophone community we're reflecting. So, it, it's sorta our duty to show that, well, in our institutions there are folks who speak French and we put a lot of pressure on those institutions so they offer those services, so we take advantage, we use those services.]

Regional CBC reporters, on the other hand, took advantage of the fact that in almost any situation, there would be someone who spoke English, since it is the majority language in the region. (Although Ottawa is located in what Richard Joy calls Canada's "bilingual belt" [quoted in Lepage and Corbeil 2013: 3], rates of bilingualism are higher among francophones than anglophones [Laucius 2017].)

10. About 16% of Ottawa residents are francophone, while about 17% of Gatineau residents are anglophone (Statistics Canada 2011a, 2011b).

Thus, as one reporter explained, “there’s very little happening translation-wise [...], very often because so many people speak [...] English.”

At the same time, regional anglophone journalists acted on the belief that their audiences perceived francophones as culturally distant. As one CBC reporter explained,

I don’t think we neglect Gatineau, but I think there’s a little less awareness or it’s less in people’s backyards psychologically than say Westboro [an Ottawa neighbourhood] or Barrhaven or Navan or Orleans [Ottawa suburbs], places just as far away [...] geographically from where our offices are, but we look at Gatineau as a place less our news responsibility.

They also acted on the belief that their audiences did not want to hear French. As one reporter explained, “Honestly, I think some people become resentful if you try to put French clips on English radio. I think some people in the audience say, well, why are you playing French radio, French clips on CBC? Play that on Radio-Canada.” Such a sentiment was well established and went back as far as radio’s first days in Canada, when anglophone listeners objected to the idea of a bilingual network, a fact that prompted the creation of the French-language network when Parliament mandated the creation of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1936 (Vipond 2008).

Of course, this impression of cultural distance went both ways. A Radio-Canada reporter explained that francophone audiences were less interested in majority-anglophone parts of Ottawa because events that took place there did not necessarily affect their lives:

[S]i par exemple on consacre trop d’énergie au développement d’un projet dans l’ouest de la ville, où il y a essentiellement que des anglophones, bien c’est [...] au détriment d’autres sujets qui touchent davantage la communauté francophone, qui est davantage concentrée dans l’est de la ville. Alors, c’est pas qu’on [...] couvre seulement l’est parce que, il y a quand même, ils sont dispersés, les francophones même s’ils sont plus présents dans certains endroits, ils sont quand même un peu partout, mais ça [...] veut dire que la sensibilité est quand même plus grande, à l’égard de ce qui se passe là où il y a une majorité de francophones. Par exemple, on fera pas, euh, bien, nous, on va pas, on fait pas beaucoup de reportages sur, par exemple, un enjeu qui toucherait le conseil scolaire anglophone d’Ottawa-Carleton parce que [...] on présume que notre public va à l’école en français donc s’intéresse à ce qui se passe dans les écoles [francophones].

[‘If for example we spend too much energy on the development of a project on the west side of town, where there are essentially just anglophones, well that’s at the expense of other topics that affect the francophone community on the east side of town more. So it’s not that we just cover the east side because there are always francophones spread across the city, even if they’re more present in some places,

they're still everywhere, but what that means is that there's greater sensitivity to what's happening where there's a francophone majority. For instance, we don't do a lot of stories about a topic that affects the English Ottawa-Carleton school district because we assume that our public goes to school in French and is interested in what's happening in the French-language schools.']

What these interviews reveal, in tandem with the content analysis, is that for regional journalists, certain factors that worked together, in the case of anglophone journalists, or in tension with each other, in the case of francophones. For anglophone journalists, most events took place in English, English-speakers were usually present, and audiences were resistant to hearing French, all factors that limited their need or desire to translate.

For francophone journalists, the fact that many events took place in English increased their need to translate, but the desire to find francophones to interview decreased it. Nevertheless, given that they work in an environment where their mother tongue is a minority language, their relationship with the second language is more nuanced than that of their anglophone counterparts. Several journalists distinguished between situations where they produced written texts (for web-based stories) and instances where they produced texts that would be spoken (for audiovisual stories):

Euh, des fois, il y a des sujets qui [...] ne seront pas couverts par la télé ou la radio, euh, ou très peu couverts [...], parce qu'il y avait aucun intervenant qui parlait français. [...] Mais la force du web, si on a le temps, c'est qu'on peut reprendre le reportage [de CBC] en anglais, l'adapter en français en traduisant les citations et [...] communiquer cette histoire-là qui est très intéressante. On n'a pas à redéployer des effectifs pour une journée au complet.

['Uh, sometimes, topics won't be [...] covered by TV or radio, uh, or very little [...], because there was no one to interview in French. [...] But the strength of web-based news, if we have time, is that we can take the [CBC] story in English, adapt it in French while translating its quotes and [...] tell this very interesting story. We don't have to deploy staff for a whole day.']

For francophone reporters, the tension between the fundamental need to translate and the desire (or requirement) not to translate is great. Digital journalists, however, could solve this dilemma by integrating information and quotes in English into a French story where translation would go unnoticed.¹¹

11. Davier (present volume) observes a similar attitude in the context of a daily newspaper serving the Ottawa-Gatineau region.

6. Conclusion: Asymmetries in approaches to translation in the era of convergence

Although this study is a relatively small, we can draw a few initial conclusions about the ways journalists incorporated translated speech into their stories on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's French- and English-language websites. That is to say, we can begin to answer the question of form we posed at the beginning of the chapter.

In the small corpus under scrutiny here, national and regional reporters seem to have a different relationship to the visibility of translation. There are more stories with translation on the Ottawa regional websites of Radio-Canada and CBC, but a higher percentage of national stories signal translation as such. This difference may be explained by the fact that translation is considered more newsworthy in the context of federal politics, where language choice is always politically loaded (Gagnon 2012).

At least three factors influenced journalists' approaches, and at the regional level, they reflected the asymmetrical relationships between anglophones and francophones in Ottawa-Gatineau. First, circumstances influenced the type of information journalists had to convey. In the simplest terms, Radio-Canada journalists had to translate more because more of what they were reporting happened in English. For the same reason, CBC journalists had to translate less. Second, by journalists' account, they were thinking of their audiences' needs. Radio-Canada journalists thought their audiences were affected by events in Ottawa, and they reported events there accordingly. Likewise, CBC journalists thought their audiences were not necessarily affected by events in Gatineau, and they limited their reporting accordingly. Finally, journalists were also conscious of their audiences' tolerance for hearing languages they did not speak. CBC journalists felt that their audiences would object to hearing French, and they avoided audio in French as a result. Radio-Canada journalists were also concerned to limit the number of soundbites in English, all the more after a complaint was sent to the ombud of Radio-Canada. As members of a minority language community, they felt that their audiences wanted to hear French when possible because it signified the francophone presence in Ottawa-Gatineau.

These observations allow us to draw broader conclusions about the evolution of news translation at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Where the question of form is concerned, comparisons between 1990s-era TV news and contemporary internet-based news are difficult because journalists now have more tools at their disposal (all of those available to TV journalists, but also text, hypertext, and stand-alone audio). But there is a certain continuity in the concerns that influence journalists' choices. In particular, there is a paradox in the relationship between

the English- and French-language services. The distaste anglophone listeners had for French in broadcasting's early days was one factor that led to the creation of the French-language network. That is to say, Radio-Canada exists – and its journalists can work to support *le fait français* ('the French presence') in Canada – in part because of anglophones' historical recalcitrance. At the same time, francophone journalists have had to fight to protect Canada's French-language institutions, including Radio-Canada, so as not to have their cultural specificity erased. They did so in the 1990s, and they do so now, and in both cases, their approaches have affected the way they incorporate translated speech into their stories. They recognize that the existence of a separate network can be a valuable cultural tool, but also that it represents the risk of marginalization, were it not for the work that they and others put into supporting French.

In future work, it will be useful to ask how these asymmetries relate to each other. Certainly, it seems that anglophone audiences can avoid translated speech more easily than francophone audiences because of the focus on events in English-speaking places, which arises because of the different ways residents of Ottawa and Gatineau are affected by what takes place in their respective cities. It is worth asking how journalists' choices influence these relationships. The choice by CBC journalists, for instance, to avoid translated speech means that they can leave their audiences undisturbed by contact with linguistic others. In other words, these questions of form raise questions of content, and analysis of content and form together will shed light on the broader power relations between anglophones and francophones in Canada and its capital region.

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PART II

Event

News through a social media filter

Different perspectives on immigration in news on website and social media formats

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Social media have become important news sources, prompting news organizations to create social media accounts to publish news. This requires a medium-based translation, in which social media editors must remediate news – selecting and possibly re-interpreting content – to accommodate a different audience and format. In this study we investigate this remediation for the issue of immigration, comparing the news coverage of immigration on the website and Facebook page of various newspapers using a novel method, which combines qualitative interpretation with computational text analysis. As a result, we can study the news coverage of immigration of five newspapers over two years, and substantiate our observations with quantitative, empirical results. Our findings show that while the overall portrayal of immigration is largely similar, there are some differences that could prove to be important and require further elaboration.

Keywords: journalism, social media, remediation, translation, media logic, gatekeeping, content analysis, computational text analysis

1. Introduction

Social network sites have become important sources of news for many people (Gottfried and Shearer 2016; Newman, Fletcher, Levy, and Nielsen 2016). To reach out to these people, most major news outlets publish a selection of their news items on social network sites, often in the form of links to their own websites with short additional messages. In this study we address how the new media logic of social network sites affects this selection, and we investigate whether this selection can cause important societal issues to be portrayed differently. Specifically, we investigate whether the remediation of online news to the Facebook platform affects the news coverage of immigrants in national online newspapers in the Netherlands.

As communication scientists, we have had numerous discussions (and sometimes even arguments) with our fellow translation scholars about the similarities and differences between both of our disciplines in terms of research into journalism. Some of these were also referenced in Vald eon’s review article of 2015. In it, he describes the key trends, concepts, and studies in the field of Journalistic Translation Research (JTR), the research into the function and role of translation in news production. At the same time, he also examines the fascinating but complex relationship between journalism, translation studies, and communication science. One of the basic insights that came to the fore in this review is that translation in a news context is quite complex, with for example intralingual and intersemiotic translation (Jakobson 1959), concepts that focus on the transfer of language elements from one semiotic system into another (intersemiotic) or on the rewriting activities without changing the language (intralingual), what Conway (2012: 262) qualifies as “translation as rewriting.” News translation is much more than the literal translation of a source text into a target text. The review article for example also refers to van Doorslaer who states that “translation forms an integral part of journalistic work: a complex, integrated combination of information gathering, translating, selecting, reinterpreting, contextualising and editing” (2010a: 181).

So it is not entirely illogical to assume that the field of journalistic translation studies is linked to communication science, if you start from this definition. The aspect of gatekeeping – a concept that is primarily and frequently studied in communication science and journalism studies (see Welbers et al. 2016a) – also garners a lot of interest in translation studies (see e.g. Vuorinen 1997), based on the notion that the translator is also in part responsible for selecting the content. The idea that translations must also take into account the journalistic style and the target culture in the broadest sense of the word (see Bassnett 2005) is also very similar to what communication scientists study under the umbrella of media logic. And the communication scientific concept of framing (e.g. Van Gorp 2007) is increasingly studied from a translation studies perspective, examining the role of ideology in translation for example (van Doorslaer 2010b) or the use of (para) linguistic elements to promote certain ideas in news texts (Valde on 2014).

However, this does not mean that a consensus exists between translation scholars and journalistic/communication scholars, or that translation is considered as a journalistic activity. Davier’s ethnographic study (2014) showed that the journalists of a multilingual editorial team explicitly wish to distance themselves from the term *translation*, preferring instead to use the term *editing*, to indicate that their job involves much more than just translation. This demonstrates that translation is all too often considered as a literal, interlingual translation. According to Valde on (2018), communication scholars also think of translation as a literal word-for-word translation, whilst at the same time seeing it as having a much broader scope. As a

result, it becomes too general to carve out a niche for itself within communication-scientific research. He states that “the main problem in the interface between translation and communication studies is the fact that communication scholars do not view translation as the linguistic and cultural transformations necessary to adapt a text or texts to the conventions of the target audience and news medium, and continue to use the term ‘translation’ with a wide range of meanings” (Valdeón 2015: 644), a fact that can result in no specific meaning being attributed to the concept of “translation.” On the other hand, the multitude of different concepts within the field of Journalistic Translation Research (JTR), such as adaptation, localization, transcreation, rewriting, reformulating, and transediting (see Gambier 2016; Valdeón 2015; van Doorslaer 2012) does not facilitate things when it comes to clearly defining the concept of news translation.

This study does not offer a solution to this quandary. It should be clear however that both disciplines pay much attention to the selection and formatting of news, in spite of their differences. We want to offer insights into how news is transferred from one platform to another and whether this influences the way in which a specific news topic is covered. This ties in with Valdeón’s (2015) observation that the number of studies into so-called medium-based translation, comparing how news is distributed through two or more media and comparing these media with each other, is insufficient. This aspect also merits to be studied in further detail within communication science, especially in the context of newer platforms such as social media. More specifically, we will focus on how news articles on refugees that are published on a news organization’s online news site are also posted to the Facebook page of that same media organization and what it means for the coverage of this specific news topic. By doing so we respond to Demont-Henrich’s (2011: 402) call to elaborate on “the crucial intersection between media, globalization, language and translation” in the sense that this study focuses on media (use of different news and publication platforms), globalization (immigration as a global news topic), language (the words used to cover news about immigration) and cultural translation (the rewriting of news about the other – migrants – from the news site to the Facebook page). We propose a computational method approach to study this type of research topic in translation studies and communication science in the future.

2. Literature

Digital developments and convergence (or the interaction of media, modalities, and processes) have combined to create a changing news landscape, e.g. in terms of how news organizations work internally (Usher 2014), creating new opportunities

for the distribution of news (Armstrong and Gao 2010) and giving rise to the development of a news audience that actively shares, likes, and recommends news (Hermida et al. 2012). In this study, we will mainly discuss how Facebook is used as a platform to disseminate news by news organizations, and how and whether the news on this platform is different from the news on the more traditional news website. In the past, a lot of attention was paid to the relationship between print and online news, often focusing on the so-called intermedia agenda setting – i.e. the way in which news on one platform influences the other – which in many cases gives rise to content homogeneity in both print and online news (e.g. Boczkowski and de Santos 2007; Welbers 2016). On a formal level, online articles are often shorter and more anonymous (i.e. the author's byline is not added) compared with articles in the print paper (e.g. Van der Wurff et al. 2008). In addition to this, we need better insights into the similarities and differences between the news on the news site and Facebook account of that same news organization. Below we will discuss two important (communication scientific) concepts that can give us an insight into how the news of the online platform is “translated” to the Facebook page, i.e. remediation and the social media logic of virality.

Building further on the notion of McLuhan (1964) that the content of any medium is always another medium, Bolter and Grusin (1999) introduced the concept of remediation to understand the content and form of new media. Remediation refers to the incorporation or representation of one medium in another medium, with which they indicate that new media often copy the content and form of older media forms (in whole or in part). The online environment for example can be considered as a platform on which older media and modalities are combined, often with the same characteristics as in the offline world. A news broadcast via streaming radio is not fundamentally different from the same news broadcast on traditional radio. Likewise, the form and content of online news items is not necessarily any different from that of print papers. There are great similarities in other words. The process of remediation, however, refers to the fact that the new medium tweaks the content of the old medium so it can be used on the new platform, by adapting the form and the content. A news article can be featured on the online news site. Generally speaking the article is similar to the print version, but the online editorial team may make a few changes so the article works better in the new environment. It may be redacted and shortened, an eye-catching title may be added as a header, or a YouTube video may be embedded. Various forms and gradations of remediation exist, ranging from almost identical copying (repurposing or shovelware) to creating content that is exclusively used on the online platform (see e.g. Boczkowski 2004). In his study into the repurposing of multi-platform news production Erdal (2009) refers to the fact that media content travelling across media boundaries requires some form of translation or

adaptation, which can be linked to the notion of intralingual and intersemiotic translation by Jakobson (1959). This brings us to our second concept, media logic.

When media content is transferred from one platform to the other, and is thus translated or adapted to a certain extent, the properties, characteristics, and routines of the various platforms or their media logic must also be taken into account. In other words, editors cannot blindly copy any content in any way. Journalists must factor in a number of aspects that constitute an obstacle for copying or which prompt changes, regardless of their form. Strömbäck defines media logic as “[t]he news values and the storytelling techniques the media make use of to take advantage of their own medium and its format, and to be competitive in the ongoing struggle to capture people’s attention” (2008: 223). This implies that certain news values and storytelling techniques exist that are generally more successful given a particular medium and format. For instance, television news might benefit from more personalized coverage of politics because the format favours talking heads (Takens 2013).

The above also applies to print and online newspapers for example: while both types of media have in common routines and news values, and copy certain things from each other (including articles but also technical insights or strategies), their media logic (Doudaki and Spyridou 2013) is still different, e.g. a different revenue model, other technical options, and a different audience. As a result, certain items are not selected for publication on the other platform while other items which were selected for publication are adapted to a certain extent, with the aim of ensuring that they tie in better with the platform’s media logic. This idea of remediation and media logic is related to the translation studies concept of recontextualization (see e.g. Kang 2007) which points to a reformulation or renegotiation of the source text to be in line with the values of the target context.

In this study we elaborate on the remediation of news stories on refugees from the online news site onto the Facebook page of that same news organization. Therefore it is important to acknowledge that social media have a specific media logic. Van Dijck and Poell (2013) state that a number of technological, economic, and socio-cultural mechanisms exist that make social media into what they are. They delve deeper into characteristics such as programmability, connectivity, popularity, and datafication. These elements can all clearly be linked to Klinger’s (2013: 722) thesis that the logic of social media is “built on the logic of virality.” Whether news spreads fast and far is not only determined by the size of one’s direct audience, but also depends on whether the news is shared by other users. In terms of media logic this means that to take advantage of this format and be competitive, journalists need to take this virality, or “shareworthiness” of news, into account (Trilling, Tolochko, and Burscher 2016). In other words, social media allow us to automatically measure social media users’ behaviour in terms of news engagement

(such as sharing or retweeting the news) and the general popularity thereof, to assess how viral news is and to take this into account when selecting and formatting news. Harcup and O'Neill (2017) suggest that "shareability" is the most important news value on Facebook. This mainly applies to entertaining news, as this type of news has a high feel-good factor for Facebook users. Timeliness as a news value for example had a negative impact on the users' sharing behaviour. This is consistent with other studies that identify factors that can predict the virality of news items, which generally indicate that positive, negative, and emotional items perform better than others (e.g. Berger and Milkman 2009; Hansen et al. 2011; Stieglitz and Dang-Xuan 2013). In other words, items that "move the public" are shared more frequently and receive more comments than neutral items that arouse little to no emotion. And much like it has already been demonstrated that online news sites take into account the number of clicks in their selection of news (e.g. Welbers et al. 2016b) we can assume that this also plays a role in the decision to share a news item on the Facebook page.

In this study we investigate how the remediation of online news to Facebook can cause an important societal issue to be portrayed differently. Specifically, we analyse whether the coverage of immigrants in national newspapers in the Netherlands is different on the newspapers' Facebook pages. Van Gorp (2005) discusses how news coverage about immigration relates to the perception of immigrants within society and broadly distinguishes a victim and intruder frame. The relevance of this distinction has been reinvigorated with the European migrant crisis, which started in 2015 and signifies a rising number of immigrants heading towards Europe. We investigate the coverage of immigrants from 2015 to 2016, during which the media played a key role in shaping public perspective on this crisis, and during which the use of social media by professional news organizations has been on the rise. We pose the following research question: how does the remediation of online news to Facebook affect the news coverage of immigrants?

3. Method

Our analysis revolves around the comparison of the online news articles of newspapers with the sub-selection of news articles published by these newspapers on Facebook. By publications on Facebook, we mean posts by the newspapers on their own Facebook pages, in which they provide a link to the news article on their own website. For Facebook users, this link appears as a post on their Facebook feed, which shows the headline of the news article and a picture. Above the headline and picture editors can also add a social media message. Aside from this message, the content of the website and Facebook publication is identical.

What we are interested in is whether the selection of items posted on Facebook correlates with certain portrayals of immigrants.

We used content analysis to measure whether certain characteristics are more or less likely to occur in news articles that are selected for publication on Facebook. Essentially, this is akin to classic gatekeeping studies in which the output of gatekeepers, such as editors, is compared to their input (e.g. White 1950). One of the challenges of gatekeeping research is that there is no control of this input, unless the gatekeepers are actively monitored. For this case we were able to gauge the input as newspapers generally share their own news articles on their social media pages (as we will also show) to direct the audience to their own websites. This gives us the opportunity to compare the input and output of the social media gatekeepers without their active cooperation.

3.1 Data collection and pre-processing

To investigate the differences in gatekeeping choices made for online and Facebook news publications, we analysed five Dutch national newspapers, namely *De Volkskrant*, *Algemeen Dagblad*, *Trouw*, *NRC Handelsblad*, and *De Telegraaf*. The newspapers *De Telegraaf* and *Algemeen Dagblad* are generally considered to be “popular” newspapers (i.e. more entertainment-oriented), whereas the others are elite or “quality” newspapers (i.e. more political content; Bakker and Scholten [2011]). The scope of our analysis covers two years, from January 2015 to December 2016.

We used webscraping¹ to gather the online news. To select news items relating to immigration, we deliberately used a broad and inclusive query: `immigr* OR *vluchtel* OR asielzoek* OR statushoud*` – where the asterisk is a wildcard for any number of characters up to the next word boundary. We only included the news articles in which this query was matched in the first five sentences and ignored articles in which immigration was not the main issue.² The total number of news articles that fit this criterion was $n = 19,837$.

The Facebook posts were acquired through the Facebook Graph API, which provides access to all public posts on public pages. From these posts, we selected only those that directly linked to news items on the newspapers’ websites. As expected, the vast majority of Facebook posts by newspapers contain a link to the newspapers’ own websites (94%). We used the URL to match the Facebook

1. Web scrapers are algorithms that systematically crawl through a website to collect information.

2. Due to the inverted pyramid structure of news items, the main issue of a news item is generally mentioned at the top of a news article (Knobloch, Patzig, Mende, and Hastall 2004).

messages with online news items. This required us to normalize the URLs because the URL was sometimes shortened (e.g. using TinyURL), or it contained additional parameters (e.g. for Google Analytics), or the words it used had changed over time (e.g. adjusted headline). To match URLs, we therefore first posted the HTTP requests to obtain the URL they (re)directed to (older URLs directed towards the most recent version). Secondly, three news sites also had unique article IDs that are listed in the URL, so we parsed URLs to extract these IDs. The total number of Facebook posts that linked to a news article about immigration in our data was 1,820 (9.17%).

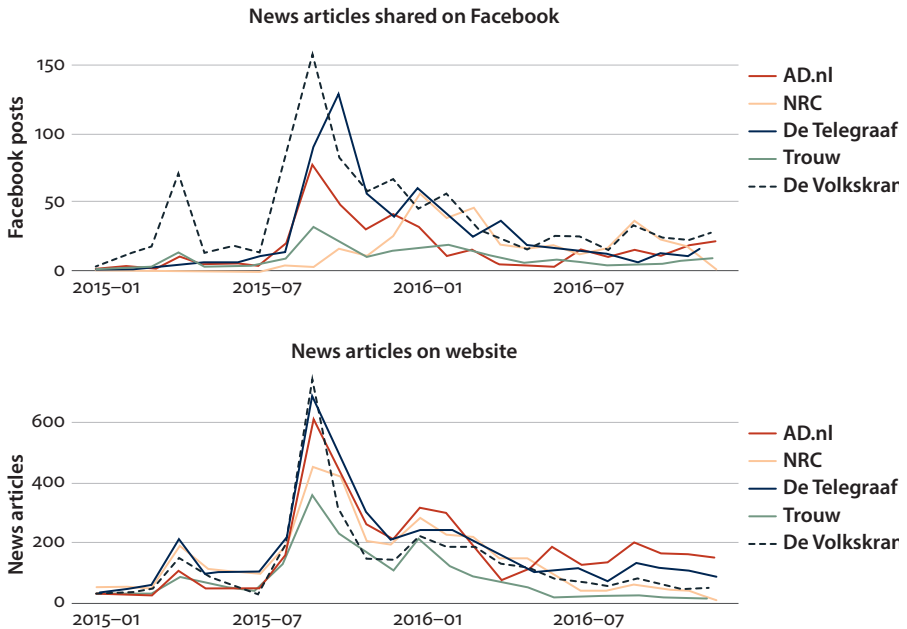


Figure 1. News articles about immigrants over time, for both the website and Facebook posts that link to the website articles

Figure 1 shows the number of online news articles and the matched Facebook posts over time. The amount of news coverage increased towards the second half of 2015, when what is now called the “refugee crisis” became a prominent issue. A search for the keyword “*vluchtelingencrisis*” (‘refugee crisis’ in Dutch) shows that this term first began to be more commonly used in April 2015, and became much more common by the end of August 2015, when attention to this issue peaked. One of the major developments in the Netherlands around that time was the announcement that many new refugee centres would be opened to be able to shelter the new refugees (NOS 2015). In 2016, the media attention was not as extensive as during the second half of 2015. In fact, it was generally lower, but the

average attention was still high compared with the beginning of 2015. As far as the coverage of this issue on Facebook is concerned, there is a strong correlation with the overall media attention on the websites. The relatively low number of Facebook items for the quality newspapers *Trouw* and *NRC Handelsblad* during the main peak in 2015, which in all likelihood is due to the relatively slow uptake of Facebook by these newspapers, is the only exception to this rule.

For the computational text analysis techniques used in this paper, we first pre-processed the texts using Frog, a morphosyntactic parser for Dutch (Van den Bosch, Busser, Daelemans, and Canisius 2007). This software is based on a series of Natural Language Processing (NLP) techniques. For our analysis, this means that texts are tokenized, lemmatized, and given a part-of-speech (POS) tag. Tokenization means that texts are split into words. The technique of lemmatization reduces words to their morphological root, or lemma – e.g. leave, leaving, left all become leave. This is important because it enables the algorithm to realize that these different words all have the same meaning for the most part. Finally, POS tagging tells us the function of a word in a sentence (e.g. noun, verb, proper name).

3.2 Codebook

We conducted a bottom-up analysis to inductively create a codebook of common concepts in immigration coverage and used computational text analysis techniques to detect common words and combinations of words. Specifically, we first trained a fine-grained (100 topics) Latent Dirichlet Allocation topic model (Blei and Jordan 2003) to obtain an indication of frequent word clusters. We manually interpreted common concepts in these topics based on the top ten words per topic, listed these concepts in a codebook, and created queries for each concept using a variation on the lucene query language that enables detailed query operations. For example, the query for the concept of “welfare” consists of several words and word combinations referring to different forms of welfare. To validate and improve the codebook, we used keyword in context (KWIC) listings to see how the retrieved concepts are used in the original texts. To enhance the process of finding new concepts and words for queries, we also produced lists of words that occur significantly more often in the context of these concepts compared to when the concept does not occur. For example, if the concept “Syria” occurs, then within a proximity of fifteen words, we see that “Iraq” is 60 times more likely to occur, and “war zones” is 100 times more likely to occur. We used a self-developed R package for text analysis (Welbers and van Atteveldt 2018) that integrates these different techniques, which allows us to easily move back and forth between our codebook, corpus level statistics, and the original texts. By iterating between producing

output regarding word and concept occurrence and co-occurrence, and manually investigating and validating concepts, we created a codebook containing 68 codes.

4. Results

We compared the news articles that were published on Facebook (called Facebook articles from here onwards) and news articles that were not published on Facebook (called website-only articles below) based on two elements. Firstly, we checked the occurrence frequency of individual concepts to see whether certain concepts are more likely to occur in Facebook articles. Secondly, we compared the relations between concepts by analysing their co-occurrence in articles. This offers a better insight into how these concepts are discussed, with the analysis shifting from salience towards meaning (see Leydesdorff and Welbers 2011; Ruigrok and Van Atteveldt 2007). To focus on news articles in which the concept is prominent, we only considered a concept or concept co-occurrence valid if it occurred within the first five sentences of an article.

The results of the concept frequency comparison are presented in Table 1. The “Facebook” and “website-only” columns show in how many documents each concept occurred, both absolutely and as a percentage. The “difference” column highlights the difference ratio (Facebook % divided by website-only %), and the results of chi-squared tests to indicate for which concepts this difference was statistically significant. Only the concepts for which the difference was significant are shown. For this analysis we grouped hierarchically-related concepts together to focus more broadly on general concepts, and to obtain a more powerful statistical comparison of the frequencies of concepts. For example, political parties are grouped together under the label “political parties,” and Trump and Clinton have been merged under “U.S.”

The results show that, among others, the issues of “sex crime,” “emancipation,” and “women” were relatively more likely to be addressed in the articles that were published on Facebook. A seemingly common denominator here is that news items in which immigration is associated with violations of women’s rights and discrimination against LGBT groups garner more attention. The relation between immigration and sex crimes mainly cropped up in news about incidents in refugee shelters and an event in the city of Cologne where refugees were blamed for mass sexual assaults during the 2015 New Year’s Eve celebrations. The association with emancipation mostly related to news about the mistreatment of gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender refugees – in particular in refugee centres. In terms of news value, it makes sense that these types of events generate much coverage because of the surveillance function of news (Eilders 2006; Shoemaker 1996). Relating this to

Table 1. Comparison of attention for concepts, measured as the number of documents, between news items that are and are not published on Facebook

Concept	Facebook		Website-only		Difference*	
	N	%	N	%	% ratio	chi ²
<i>Overrepresented on Facebook</i>						
sex crime	57	2.2	181	1.0	2.15	26.12***
US	107	4.2	343	2.0	2.13	47.05***
emancipation	40	1.6	145	0.8	1.88	12.81***
women	164	6.5	665	3.8	1.68	34.44***
ISIS	66	2.6	290	1.7	1.55	10.36**
Islam	117	4.6	545	3.2	1.47	13.66***
Dutch political parties	344	13.6	1746	10.1	1.35	22.52***
Netherlands	576	22.7	3045	17.6	1.29	26.14***
men	210	8.3	1117	6.5	1.28	10.26**
family	303	12.0	1789	10.3	1.16	4.91*
<i>Underrepresented on Facebook</i>						
asylum centres	112	4.4	995	5.8	0.77	6.70**
Italy	63	2.5	800	4.6	0.54	22.59***
boat refugees	39	1.5	501	2.9	0.53	14.69***
job market	14	0.6	191	1.1	0.5	6.46*
Hungary	65	2.6	976	5.6	0.45	38.70***
Somalia	7	0.3	124	0.7	0.39	6.47*

* Only concepts for which the difference is significant are displayed

the victim versus intruder frame discussed by Van Gorp (2005), a strong focus on this type of coverage could feed the fear that refugees – regardless of whether they are victims – intrude on cultural values. A similar reasoning might apply to the over-representation of the concept of “Islam,” which is often attacked as a form of cultural intrusion by anti-Islamic political movements. Furthermore, the association of “immigration” with “ISIS” (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), which is also over-represented, does not just relate to ISIS as the cause of these migrant refugees (a victim frame), but also concerns the possibility that terrorists are hiding among the refugees (an intruder frame).

A common denominator is that the coverage of these concepts seems to be strongly skewed towards aspects that are geographically or culturally close to the Netherlands, which could also explain the over-representation of “Dutch political parties” and the explicit mention of “the Netherlands.” A possible explanation

for the over-representation of these concepts on Facebook is that, by hitting close to home when discussing cultural values and safety, an article quickly stirs emotion and triggers people to make a statement. These articles are also likely to generate debate or at least disagreement about what this news implies for how the Netherlands should deal with refugees. While we did not conduct a full-scale investigation of Facebook comments, a face-value exploration of the comments on these types of news items points towards a discursive clash between the victim and intruder frames. As this form of debate rarely transcends very explicit disagreement, it is debatable whether this is a desirable feature of the social media format – at least in its current form.

By contrast, the concepts that are under-represented seem to have in common that the people affected are more distant, especially in the case of the concepts of “Italy,” “boat refugees,” “Hungary” and “Somalia.” While the “job market” concept is a local issue, a closer inspection reveals that most of the immigration news that discusses the job market does not relate to unemployment because of immigrants, but rather focuses on the problems refugees have to find a job (partially because of legal restrictions). Also, the concept often cropped up in relation to the U.S. election, where Trump strongly emphasized the consequences of immigration for the U.S. job market. The under-representation of the concept of “asylum centres,” which is a very local and heavily debated issue, was more surprising.

Two other themes in the over-represented concepts are the “U.S. election” and people (“family,” “men,” “women”). A plausible explanation for the American election coverage is that it was also a good topic for discussion and that it provoked strong emotional responses in many people. This was also often related to local politics and the surge of populism, especially since the Dutch national election followed closely after the American election. The focus on people is possibly related to the emotional effect of personalization, especially when refugee families are concerned.

To get a better perspective of how these concepts are discussed, and how this differs for Facebook and website-only news, we compared the semantic networks of concept co-occurrences for Facebook and website-only news articles. A visual representation of these networks is presented in Figure 2 and 3, for website-only and Facebook news, respectively.

The relations between concepts are measured as their cosine similarity, based on their co-occurrence in word distance windows of twenty words. The size of the nodes represents the frequency with which a concept occurred, and the edge width represents the cosine value. As most concepts occur at least once in combination with many other concepts, less relevant edges had to be deleted to present an interpretable network. We used the disparity filter technique proposed by Serrano, Boguná, and Vespignani (2009) for multi-scale backbone extraction to only retain

“Syria” – together with the concepts of war refugees and war and conflict. Here we also see a relation with the coverage of ISIS, which is divided into the themes of “terrorism” and “Islam” / “religion.” Outside the cluster, “Syria,” which was very prominently featured in the news in 2015 and 2016, often co-occurs with “family” and “children” because of coverage about immigrant families, and with “Turkey” because of the migration routes and refugee camps. These connections also bridge the gap with the two big clusters in the centre: one relating to the refugee crisis from a European and EU perspective (e.g. “Europe” / “EU,” “Greek,” “boat refugees,” “migrant streams”), and the other having a more local, Dutch society perspective (e.g. “Netherlands,” “asylum centres,” “crime,” “welfare,” “safety”). A fourth distinctive cluster is the one on the right with the Dutch political parties (“SP,” “PVV,” “Groenlinks,” “CDA,” “D66,” “PvdA,” and “VVD”). The two very strongly connected parties are the labour party (“PvdA”) and the liberal party (“VVD”), which formed a coalition government during this period. Finally, the topics of the “U.S. election,” with the candidates “Donald Trump” and “Hillary Clinton,” are detached from this and are weakly related to “racism,” “discrimination,” “LGBT,” and “emancipation.”

If we compare this network with the network for Facebook articles (Figure 3), we can see that the main clusters are largely the same (note that the absolute position of nodes is irrelevant). The cluster with refugee countries and the concepts of “war refugees” and “war and conflict” are positioned on the left. The two big clusters in the centre for the European and Dutch society level perspective are still there, and the Dutch society cluster is once again connected with the “war refugees” cluster through concepts relating to refugee demographics, i.e. children, women, and men. In between the bottom and centre, we once again see a cluster of Dutch political parties. Each of the clusters also contains for the most part the same concepts as before.

The differences mainly relate to smaller dyadic relations. On Facebook, the American election is more closely related to “Islam” (for Trump) and the “job market” and “health care” (Clinton). LGBT issues were relatively less often related to “discrimination” and “emancipation,” but more often discussed in relation to moral values, i.e. LGBT rights should be respected, so the general idea remains the same. The more Eastern European countries such as Hungary, Romania, and Poland now form a detached component together with the UK. There are several other similar differences, but these are mostly based on a few articles, and therefore hardly generalizable. Thus, while there are some notable differences at the level of co-occurrences, the main way in which concepts are used (i.e. the larger clusters) is mostly the same.

Finally, to compare the frequency of concepts across newspapers, we used the Wordfish algorithm introduced by Slapin and Proksch (2008). This algorithm

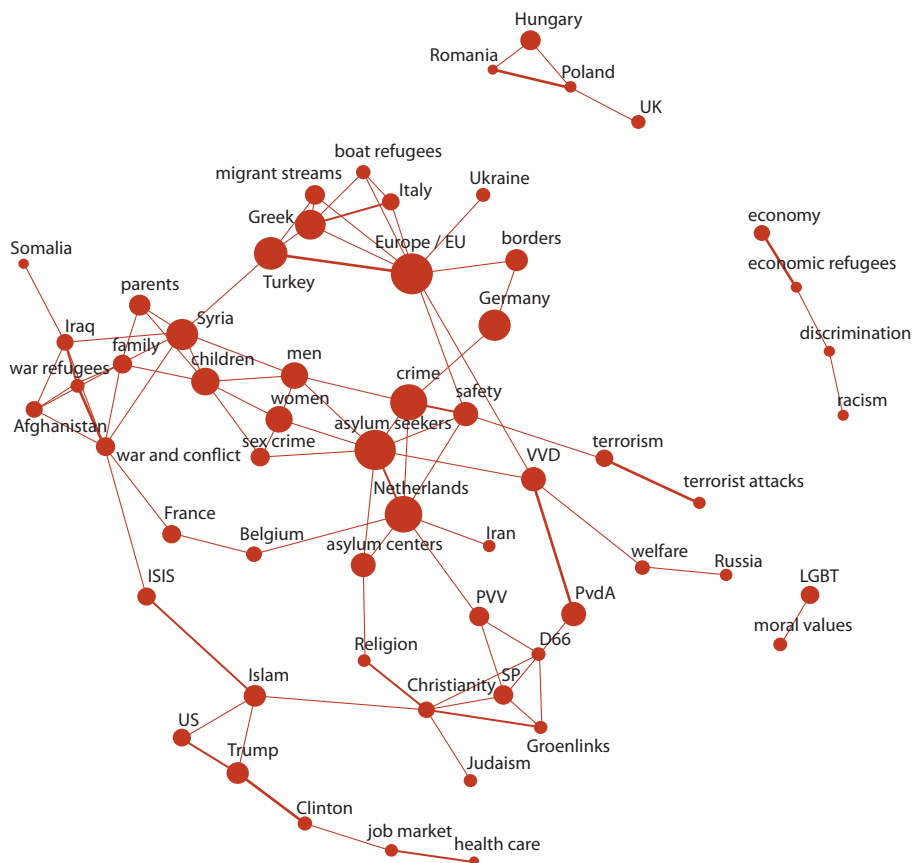


Figure 3. Co-occurrence network of concepts in news about immigrants for Facebook articles

positions documents, or groups of documents, on a one-dimensional scale, and was originally developed to analyse political party positions based on word frequencies in political manifestos. This latent scale is induced from the data, and is supposed to represent the dimension of positions with the strongest presence (e.g. economic left versus right, conservative versus progressive). We use this technique to position the Facebook and website-only articles of the five newspapers based on their concept frequencies, to see whether the Facebook articles are positioned differently. Although the Wordfish algorithm is normally applied to words, it is recommended to think carefully about the selection of informative words (Proksch and Slapin 2009). Our approach of first transforming words into concepts ensures that our vocabulary contains relevant information.

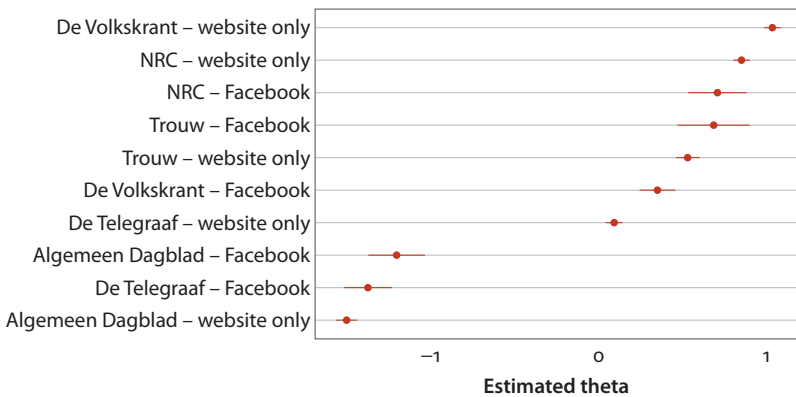


Figure 4. Positioning of documents, aggregated by medium and medium type, based on a Wordfish model

The results are presented in Figure 4, which shows the positions of Facebook and website-only articles for each newspaper on a scale (from left to right), with lines indicating confidence intervals. Clearly, the positioning of the articles does not reflect the difference between Facebook and website-only articles. Instead, we notice a clear difference between the popular newspapers (*De Telegraaf* and *Algemeen Dagblad*), and the quality newspapers (*De Volkskrant*, *NRC*, and *Trouw*). The popular newspapers are much further to the left on the spectrum, with only the website articles of *De Telegraaf* edging closer to the quality newspapers at the right end of the spectrum. If we look at the words that are most predictive for this scale, it is clear that the left side represents a more local, Dutch society perspective, with concepts such as asylum seekers, crime, LGBT, and Dutch political parties – especially PVV, D66, and Groenlinks, parties that are relatively outspoken (with different ideological perspectives) on immigration issues. By contrast, the right side represents a more European and global perspective, and contains almost all foreign countries. If we look up specific words that are more likely to be referenced in *Algemeen Dagblad*, as indicative of the left side of the spectrum, we also see many names of regions, cities, and villages in the Netherlands, a further indication that the scale represents a local, Dutch society perspective (left) versus a more global perspective (right) on immigration.

The positioning of the Facebook and website-only articles was notably different for two newspapers only. One is *De Volkskrant*, for which the website-only articles scored furthest to the right, but the Facebook articles were positioned towards the centre, closer to *De Telegraaf*. The second is *De Telegraaf*, for which we found a big gap, with the Facebook articles positioned much further to the left. This tentatively suggests that the more local, Dutch society perspective is deemed more suitable for the Facebook format. Presumably, as argued before, because this

cultural and geographic proximity could be deemed more likely to trigger emotion and invite discussion. However, given that this was observed for only two out of five newspapers, this preliminary finding would require further study.

5. Conclusion

In this study we investigated whether news content is structurally different for news articles when published on the Facebook pages of newspapers, for which we focused on the coverage of immigration. Specifically, we compared the occurrence and co-occurrence of common concepts in immigration coverage from 2015 to 2016 in five Dutch national newspapers. For this analysis we used – also for the sake of experiment – a novel methodological approach in which we closely interwove qualitative manual content analysis with quantitative, computational text analysis.

The most important finding is that the remediation of news to Facebook, through the filter of social media logic, does not give rise to major distortions in the portrayal of the issue of immigration. Our results show that the news coverage of immigration on Facebook was not strikingly different from the news coverage that was published on the website only. While some concepts were over- and under-represented, the major clusters of concepts and the composition of these clusters were surprisingly similar. Where we did establish a structural skew in the frequency of certain concepts, the common denominator appears to be that Facebook articles were more likely to focus on news that concerns Dutch society directly, as opposed to more global and especially Europe-oriented news. This also emerged as the most prominent dimension from the word scaling analysis, and for two out of five newspapers the position of the Facebook articles was indeed more locally-skewed. Further research into remediation should allow us to explore these more subtle, yet still potentially consequential deviations from news coverage in traditional media.

This study has several limitations. First and foremost, as this is an exploratory analysis, we must be cautious when making causal inferences. Despite the fact that our approach, which incorporates computational text analysis, enables us to make a quantitative comparison of many articles, our analysis was bottom-up and interpretation-driven. Secondly, we did not account for potential alternative explanations, other than content, to explain whether articles are selected to be published on Facebook. For instance, newspapers could prioritize their own scoops, to distinguish themselves from their competitors, meaning that news brought by news agencies would be less likely to be published on Facebook. While this does not necessarily explain structural differences in terms of content, controlling

for such factors would be important when making causal claims. Finally, since news on Facebook consists only of links to website articles, there is little room for remediation other than through the selection of entire articles. However, as social media are becoming more established platforms for news distribution, news organizations and social media services might develop new ways to shape news content to a social media mould. Thus, our theorized effects of remediation on the portrayal of important societal issues might soon need reinvestigation.

The strength of the proposed method is that it offers a way to exploratively compare large corpora, by using techniques for computational text analysis to facilitate a fast and precise lookup and summarization for many texts. This is an important advantage for research into remediation – as a form of intersemiotic and intralingual journalistic translation – in the digital age, where news content is abundant, and where we are often not yet sure what we are looking for. Our preliminary and tentative finding regarding the translation of immigration coverage by social media editors suggests an important avenue for future research. If developments that affect our own society and culture are more likely to be addressed, this could affect our hospitality towards immigrant cultures.

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Framing terrorism in the U.S., French, and Arabic editions of HuffPost

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News about the terrorist attack that shook Istanbul on 1 January 2017 spread like wildfire on old, new, and social media. HuffPost was quick to cover this developing story in all of its eighteen international editions. This chapter explores the professional routines and the journalistic rhetoric of three major editions of HuffPost – U.S., French, and Arabic – to evaluate the similarities and differences in their respective narratives about Islamist terrorism. It relies on semi-directed interviews and comparative content analysis of a trilingual corpus of forty full articles related to the Istanbul attack, to examine synergies and assess how each edition, depending on its social grounding, frames terrorism. Despite their shared brand affiliation, their conceptualization of terrorism is not unified. Not only do their editorial agendas differ, but so do their sources, their work routines, and the precautionary measures they take when disclosing sensitive or unverifiable information.

Keywords: HuffPost, globalization, international news coverage, Istanbul attack, Islamist terrorism, framing mechanisms, comparative analysis

1. Introduction

Splash headlines and oversized top images are what most people associate with HuffPost.¹ They have become its trademark, throughout its 12-year existence, surviving the many structural, managerial, and editorial changes the site has undergone over the years. They represent what remains from the original platform before its unexpected metamorphosis from an underrated blog aggregator back in 2005 to a Pulitzer Prize-winning international platform in 2012. Much more than an anchoring feature, providing an identifiable representation for the brand, they play

1. The Huffington Post changed its name to HuffPost across all 18 global editions in April 2017.

a stabilizing role, bringing a much-needed cohesion to a relatively scattered entity (Noblet and Roumanos 2015). Among other benefits, they tie together all eighteen international editions of the group,² echoing a corporate communication strategy that emphasizes global synergies in the pursuit of a common journalistic goal.

However, beyond this aesthetic choice, what are the technological, financial, and editorial elements that tie regional editions together? Do they constitute an integrated newsroom following a common agenda, or does each pursue its own strategy? To what degree are they mutually dependent, and how do they incorporate the technical and editorial recommendations of the brand into their daily practices?

Our research aims to explore these issues by analyzing how global journalistic guidelines devised by the U.S. edition operate with particular views that unfold in regional newsrooms. We will look at the gap between the institutional discourse that emphasizes synergies between international editions and the reality on the ground. Through the examination of the disparities in reporting on similar stories in three editions of HuffPost – U.S., French, and Arabic – we will explain how each newsroom sets its own editorial agenda and professional routines whilst working under the same umbrella.

To do so, we will focus on one specific story covered by each of these three editions: the terrorist attack that shook Istanbul on New Year's Eve 2016. This decision is not arbitrary. The international and highly visible nature of Islamist terrorism provides a good opportunity to explore relationships between global and local journalistic views not only because terrorism has become a global phenomenon (Lutz and Lutz 2013) but also because it generates both territorial and supraterritorial reactions and interpretations. Indeed, terrorist attacks, especially the ones that occur in Western countries, bring about, through media coverage, a time-space compression that is typical of globalization (Scholte 2008: 1480).

They generate instant and simultaneous responses that unfold in a planetary arena as well as in local spaces (Scholte 2008: 1479). In this way, they require a multi-scale analysis that targets local and global discourses taking place in several editions of the same media brand, like HuffPost, in order to determine, amongst other considerations, whether the rise of transnational news organizations is accompanied by the advent of a global journalism culture (Hanitzsch 2007), on the one hand, and of global news interpretations, on the other. Accordingly, it is valuable exercise to determine whether the U.S. edition occupies a hegemonic position (Appadurai 1996) in the international network it laboriously crafted or whether its influence is undermined by local professional cultures.

2. Arab World, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Germany, Spain, France, Greece, India, Italy, Japan, Korea, Maghreb, Mexico, Quebec, South Africa, United Kingdom, and the United States.

2. Research questions

In order to assess how journalists working on different editions of the same group covered the New Year's Eve attack, we looked at how they collected and structured multi-sourced and multi-layered information about the event, how they contextualized it, and how they ultimately framed this act of terrorism depending on their social grounding (Entman 1991; Neuman, Just, and Crigler 1992; Scheufele 1999; Floreal and Rabatel 2011).

Our research questions focus on the characterization of the attack, the assailant, and the victims in each edition. How did journalists select, contextualize, structure, and emphasize certain aspects of the story to the exclusion of others? What were their sources, and how did they incorporate external input into their storytelling? What priority did they give to multimedia elements in their reporting? What was the central organizing idea that provided meaning to the unfolding events? How did each edition position itself in regards to the terrorist attack along the following binary propositions: far and near, outside and inside, them and us?

To answer these questions about professional praxis and perceptions, we relied on a comparative content analysis of a trilingual corpus of forty full articles related to this story. We also conducted semi-directed interviews with two HuffPost reporters who covered the Istanbul attack: one from the French newsroom and one from the Arabic newsroom. Both interviews were done via telephone following a series of e-mail exchanges.

In this respect, we follow other analyses of stories produced by newsrooms belonging to the same multilingual media organizations (e.g. Conway [2011]; Davier [2017]). We do not analyze much translation in the conventional sense because, contrary to what might be expected (Orengo 2005), it was largely absent. Rather than share and rewrite material, the U.S., French, and Arabic newsrooms operated more or less independently of each other. Consequently, as we write below (at the end of Section 5), each newsroom emphasized different aspects, so that audiences read different accounts of the events. In this way, we see how the question of framing is also a question of representation. Translation makes a surreptitious return, but in a broader sense: the words and images journalists used to describe what happened took on different meanings as they moved from one context to another.

3. Globalizing the narrative

“We see ourselves as a global newsroom. Bringing together our coverage across the world, giving a platform to people across the world to communicate with each other” (MacLeod 2015). For Arianna Huffington, globalization is at the core

of HuffPost's editorial project, one that is meant to shatter tiered hierarchies by covering previously undocumented stories and giving voice to formerly voiceless people throughout the world. However, what does going global really imply?

Looking at this issue from a non-commercial perspective, it is difficult to assess what globalization really means as it bears multiple and sometimes opposing interpretations. In 1996, Anthony Giddens observed that the word "globalization" was poorly conceptualized, leading to ambiguous and often ideologically motivated readings across disciplines. He argued that contrary to the hypothesis of hyper-globalizers and globalization sceptics, who present antagonistic yet similarly short-sighted definitions of globalization, the phenomenon is multi-sourced (not limited to economic indicators), decentred (not merely Western-oriented), and far reaching (impacting individuals beyond institutions):

With instantaneous global communication, the very texture of social life is also altered. When we live in a world where media images are conveyed across the planet, this changes who we are and how we live. For example, we may often be more familiar with the faces of world leaders than we are with the faces of our next-door neighbours. (Giddens 1996)

Following this proposal, Scholte (2005) points out the many analytical dead ends that render the definition of globalization ineffective. He explains that most existing analyses of globalization fall short because they fail to produce new interpretations that are not attainable with other concepts. For Scholte, globalization is not the equivalent of internationalization (growth of transactions and interdependence between countries), liberalization (development of a borderless world economy), universalization (dissemination of objects and experiences across the world), or Westernization (propagation of Western values and social structures across the world). Rather, it involves a significant growth in transplanetary connections and the spread of supraterritoriality (Scholte 2005: 1473–9):

Territorial locations, territorial distances and territorial borders do not define the whole geography of today's transplanetary flows. These global connections often also have qualities of transworld simultaneity (that is, they extend anywhere across the planet at the same time) and transworld instantaneity (that is, they move anywhere on the planet in no time). (Scholte 2008: 1480)

In the past, transnational migrations of humans, objects, and knowledge occurred solely within the control of nation-states, whereas "the newer spread of transworld simultaneity and instantaneity take social relations substantially beyond territorial space" (Scholte 2008: 1481). This realization calls on researchers to re-evaluate their approach by shifting from methodological territorialism, which applies a nation-state framework to every analytical step, to post-territorialism, a

method that questions the importance of state-centric governance without refuting it altogether.

That, of course, doesn't imply that territoriality has become irrelevant: "On the contrary, territorial production, territorial governance mechanisms, territorial ecology and territorial identities remain highly significant at the start of the twenty-first century, even if they do not monopolise the situation as before" (Scholte 2008: 1941).

We can add to this list the enduring nature of local professional ideologies that, when applied to journalism practices, create "mentally stored principles for information processing" (Entman 1991: 7), impacting the way audiences perceive the world they live in. Looking at large-scale comparative analyses of journalism practices across the world (Weaver 1998; Zelizer 2005; Hanitzsch et al. 2011), it becomes clear that despite there being a universal understanding of what journalism is (its function, its missions, its design), specific norms define what is professionally acceptable within national boundaries. According to Hanitzsch: "Certain similarities exist between journalism cultures across the globe, but also that significant differences persist, owing to a variety of political, economic, cultural, technological and historical factors" (2007: 525).

Furthermore, the post-territorial approach recommended by Scholte (2005) does not exclude the existence of tensions between localities. Rather it helps accurately deconstruct these tensions by applying a multi-scale lens that looks at each crisis from both a particularist and globalized point of view. It also helps put into perspective the nature and effect of globalization on local cultures – journalistic cultures as well – and undermines older views regarding global capitalism, imperialism, and cultural homogenization (Harvey 1989; Wallerstein 1991; Fukuyama 1992; Barber 1992; Sklair 2001) while, at the same time, introducing nuances through concepts like glocalization (Robertson 1995) that highlight the processes of negotiation and adaptation of international products and values in particularistic spaces.

Following Robertson's interpretation of the global-local problematic, one that transcends binary oppositions between what is regarded as universal and what is perceived as particular, it can be argued that globalization involves interactions that shape both the local and the global, the national, and the international. However, "this reflexiveness is typically undertaken along relatively standardized global cultural lines" (Robertson 1995: 39) more so when glocalization is used strategically, as is the case with HuffPost, a media company that succeeded in expanding its international reach by adapting its editorial agenda and contents to local audiences. Today, twelve years after its birth, the U.S. edition is the one setting the tone by contributing both ideologically and technically to the very

identity of all foreign editions. But its own identity is also shifting with every new iteration (Noblet and Roumanos 2015).

4. Uniformity *versus* distinction

In 2011, the Huffington Post, owned by AOL America, undertook the considerable challenge of launching foreign editions that shared the same brand identity yet were developed in distinctive markets (both economically and ideologically). Expanding the website's reach and capitalizing on synergies between internationally disseminated newsrooms were two of its main objectives, as Polgreen (2017), the current editor-in-chief, recently observed: "our global editions work together closely to cover the big, sweeping stories of our time: the rise of nationalism, terrorism, and climate change; the challenge of the global migration crisis; the struggle for human rights across the world."

However, such an assertion is yet to be verified, especially since what it implies (joint technical and ideological coverage of these issues) does not constitute the norm in this media. On the contrary, foreign editions, established as joint ventures, are typically autonomous when it comes to gathering, assessing, creating, and presenting news and information.

Beyond this, synergies between newsrooms do not often materialize in this complex network, as shared content is rather exceptional. In fact, publishing common stories or using elements from a specific article (research, quotes, etc.) written in one edition to enhance the coverage of another edition only happens when two key elements come together: virality and originality. According to the HuffPost journalists we interviewed for this study, a piece is disseminated throughout the network only when it has the potential to become viral in the region where it is meant to be republished and when its main contributor provides original material rather than repurposed content. More often than not, these "shareable" stories are blog posts highlighting human-interest contents rather than hard news articles written by staff members.

Synergies are also lacking because of fundamental differences in perception that exist between the multiple editions of HuffPost regarding those very same topics suggested by Polgreen: nationalism, terrorism, climate change, migration, etc. Each link in the expanding chain that is HuffPost evolves in its national or regional market by adopting a localist strategy that resonates with a specific audience.

In the United States, the website experienced a phenomenal growth drawing on three overlapping features: the first, chronologically and by importance, is the conversational model on which it built its foundation (Roumanos and Noblet 2015). In 2005, its co-founders, Arianna Huffington, Kenneth Lerer, and Jonah

Perreti, attempted and succeeded at making the best use of the growing fascination with blogging in the United States. They introduced the very controversial “content-for-exposure-not-cash-model” which, despite being commercially unfair to contributors, turned out to be very popular with readers because it gave the illusion of an open participatory medium that empowers citizens through user-generated contents (Roumanos and Nobet 2016). The website then managed to take advantage of the rise of social media by adopting a very assertive policy towards platforms like Facebook, which became one of its primary partners.

This move helped bolster the HuffPost community and consolidate its second profitable feature: virality. Through the combination of tabloid techniques (shock headlines, celebrity chatter, etc.) and algorithmic procedures aimed at combating randomness by improving the odds of a viral launch, the website achieved its goal of becoming a top player in the United States as early as 2008.

Its third commercially effective component stems from its editorial agenda, one that favours engagement over neutrality. From the very beginning, the website positioned itself as a progressive outlet, catering to a specific audience rather than the masses but at the same time working towards the amplification of the debate in the largest mediascape (Appadurai 1990) possible. By doing so, it fully embraced the shift in values in the U.S. from the 19th and 20th century emphasis on objectivity in journalism (Schudson 1978) to the digital era where, as Grabowicz explains, “the mass-market model of news delivery is being displaced by one that emphasizes diversity and dialogue. Rather than presenting a single, homogenized view, the Web, and the blogosphere in particular, is a wide spectrum of perspectives and opinions” (2003: 75).

To some extent, these features were adopted by all eighteen editions of the group, which, in addition to sharing the same brand name, benefit from the technical and algorithmic tools developed by the parent company. They all have access to a mutual back-office that offers them a view of what other newsrooms are working on and helps them track breaking news and viral stories. In addition, they follow a set of collective guidelines devised by the U.S. edition urging them to favour original reporting over repackaged content, offbeat perspectives over mainstream angles, and unequivocal views over consensual narratives when it comes to covering sensitive matters like racism, misogyny, homophobia, or terrorism.

However, these guidelines are also subject to negotiations within each edition in accordance with professional traditions as well as local economic and political contexts. Stories are systemically framed following pre-existing cultural expectations that originate in organizational constraints, as well as professional judgment and intuitions regarding the audience’s interests and views. The news coverage of the Istanbul attack offers a useful illustration of these negotiations that shape both the image of each local edition as well as the essence of the event it is reporting on.

5. Framing the Istanbul New Year's Eve attack

In order to effectively expose the many elements of this story, we will use the analytical timeline introduced by Daniel Dayan (2006) in his analysis of the 9/11 attack on the New York Twin Towers.

According to Dayan, the coverage of large-scale terrorist attacks unfolds in two stages that each entail a specific media performance: the first one occurs in the immediate aftermath of the attack and compels journalists to present factual information over which they have no or limited control. Improvisation and polyphony are common at this point, as immediacy is expected. The second stage starts hours or days later when journalists recover their mastery of the unfolding events. The story is then reasoned and presented in a more structured and didactic matter. Journalists incorporate audience feedback and institutional narratives into their reports, along with expert opinions that endow the journalistic discourse with an air of truth (Dayan 2006: 9). In so doing, they assign to the event preferred meanings that bear a hegemonic character (Morley 2008: 159). They construct frames that can potentially influence readers “by stressing specific values, facts, and other considerations, endowing them with greater apparent relevance to the issue than they might appear to have under an alternative frame” (Nelson et al. 1997: 569).

This process, as Entman argues, is hard to identify by audiences and researchers alike:

Frames are difficult to detect fully and reliably, because many of the framing devices can appear as “natural,” unremarkable choices of words or images. Comparison reveals that such choices are not inevitable or unproblematic, rather are central to the way the news frame helps establish the literally “common sense” (i.e. widespread) interpretation of events. (Entman 1991: 6)

In this study, we will rely on a comparative content analysis of a trilingual corpus of forty articles in order to detect the framing mechanisms adopted by journalists working for the U.S., French, and Arabic editions of HuffPost.

5.1 Stage 1: Reporting on unpredictable breaking news

The attack in itself constitutes the first breaking news, but it is not the only event that falls under this definition in the month-long news cycle, where forty articles regarding the shooting were published by the three editions.

Three subsequent announcements also qualify as breaking news, as they deliver unexpected information that not only disrupts the news cycle but also compels journalists to react quickly to elements they do not fully control.

Table 1. The distribution of the forty articles published during the news cycle of the attack

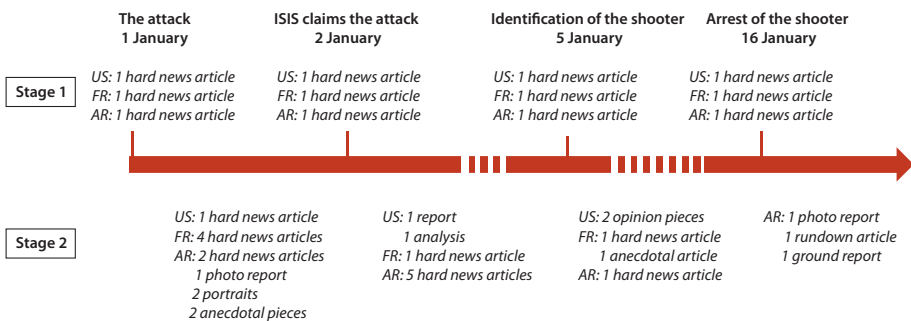
Edition	Number of published articles	News span
U.S.	9	December 31, 2016-January 16, 2017
French	11	January 1, 2017-January 16, 2017
Arabic	20	January 1, 2017-February 4, 2017

Table 2. Breaking news

1.	January 1, 2017	The attack
2.	January 2, 2017	ISIS claims responsibility for the attack
3.	January 5, 2017	Turkish police identify the shooter
4.	January 16, 2017	Turkish police apprehend the shooter

All three editions devoted at least one article to these exceptional revelations, demonstrating an interest in this story that goes beyond the initial attack. They also published several articles that can be described as “reasoned pieces,” following Dayan’s schema (2006), as they not only provide descriptive elements, but also incorporate commentary and analysis of the attack.

Most of them are hard news articles, bearing essentially factual information, but some are also long-form stories, portraits, expert analysis, anecdotal accounts, and opinion pieces. Table 3 presents a chronological break down of all forty articles as a function of type and affiliation to the first or second stage of news coverage.

**Table 3.** Chronological distribution of all articles as a function of their status and their relations to the first or second stage of news coverage

All three editions published factual articles bearing certain similarities (but also important differences) about the attack, which occurred at 1:15 in the morning in the Reina Nightclub, on the European bank of the Bosphorus River, killing thirty-nine and wounding seventy.

To answer the 5Ws (Who? What? When? Where? Why?), the U.S. and French newsrooms relied on agency reports (Reuters and Agence France Presse [AFP]) as well as Turkish media, both sources clearly mentioned in the articles. On the other hand, the Arabic edition published information obtained from unspecified sources as well as social media accounts.

The U.S. and French editions chose a substantially similar structure to their first article, which was periodically re-edited to incorporate incoming information (initial accounts of the shooting, number of casualties, statements from officials in the police and the Turkish government, victim testimonies, etc.). Their first paragraphs are very similar, in that the journalists describe the nature of the attack, its location, and the number of casualties. They also insist on the number of foreigners killed during the assault, but give limited details regarding the gunman.

It should be noted, however, that the U.S. edition adopts a more detached approach than the French one. The American article starts as follows: “A gunman opened fire on New Year revelers at a packed nightclub on the shores of Istanbul’s Bosphorus waterway on Sunday, killing at least 39 people, including many foreigners, then fled the scene” (Reuters 2016). In contrast, the opening paragraph of the French edition strikes a more dramatic note with the use of the word “*endeuillée*” (‘plunged into mourning’): “*L’entrée dans l’année 2017 a été endeuillée d’emblée par un attentat contre une discothèque à Istanbul ayant fait 39 morts, dont au moins 15 étrangers*” (‘2017 began on a tragic note [literally, was plunged into mourning] by an attack on a nightclub in Istanbul that killed 39 people, including at least 15 foreigners’) (AFP 2017).

Both newsrooms later quote the Turkish president who believes that this attack is an attempt “to create chaos, demoralize our people, and destabilize our country” (Reuters 2016), but each edition goes its separate way from that point on. The French one (AFP 2017) offers multi-sourced information regarding the attack, the attacker, the victims, and the location of the massacre, in four distinctive paragraphs that highlight the trajectory of the shooting, then devotes two paragraphs to the international reactions as well as the political context of the attack.

The U.S. edition, on the other hand, starts by exploring the political context of this assault, before briefly detailing its circumstances (Reuters 2016). The reporter covering the event reminds readers of the political instability in Turkey since the failed coup in July 2016. He also enumerates the many terrorist attacks that have shaken the country in the previous months, questioning whether this particular assault is linked to Kurdish or Islamist terrorism. He then recalls the attacks that occurred in European countries recently and insists on the fact the Turkey is a member of NATO as well as the “US-led coalition against Islamic State” (Reuters 2016).

In its first article, the Arabic edition presents far fewer details regarding the attack (HuffPost Arabic 2017b). The journalist covering the event does not mention the political context of the assault, nor does he quote government or police officials. Rather, he puts forth two videos showing raw CCTV footage of the shooting, accompanied by a short text specifying the number of casualties and the location of the attack. He also provides some indications regarding the assailant, one of which, strangely enough, is false. According to the reporter, the shooter was wearing a Santa Claus outfit, “*Bi ḥasab al-fidyō*” (‘as could be seen in the first video’) (HuffPost Arabic 2017b). However, it is impossible to come to this conclusion by watching the film. In fact, the source of this erroneous information is the Prime Minister of Turkey who later corrected his statement, as is mentioned in the French edition of HuffPost. The Arabic newsroom, however, did not issue a disclaimer. Rather, it pursued this angle with three subsequent articles published the same day.

The first one bears this title: “*Baddala malābisihi wa haraba bil zouḥām. Haḍa mā na ‘rifouhou ‘an al-qātil ‘baba nowīl’ al-laḍi iqtaḥama malha layli fi Istanbul’*” (‘He changed his clothes and fled by hiding in the crowd[...] this is what we know so far about the Santa Claus killer who attacked a nightclub in Istanbul’) (HuffPost Arabic 2017a). The second one is titled: “*Mousalsal turki yatanaba’ bi ḥawādet al-qatil. Baba nowīl al-qātil wa nādil yaḡtāl al-safir al-roūsi*” (‘A Turkish soap opera predicted the attacks: a killer Santa Claus and a waiter gunning down a Russian ambassador’) (Al-Jaradat 2017); and the third one says: “*Fi 33 soūra.. šāhed houjoūm ra’s al-sana ‘ala malha layli bi Istanbul.. naffaḍahou baba nowīl’*” (‘In 33 photographs: look at the attack that took place in a nightclub in Istanbul[...]perpetrated by Santa Claus’) (Zakariya 2017).

In all four articles, the spectacular image of Santa Claus is at the centre of the narrative. What these pieces lack in contextual or analytical information, they make up for with a sensationalist account of the event that focuses on trivial details rather than newsworthy information. This type of tabloid coverage can also be detected in four other articles that contain erroneous or unverifiable information: the first claims that Jennifer Lopez and Cecilia Sarkozy could have died in the attack because they once visited the Reina Nightclub (Laïch 2017a); another explains that the elusive Sheikh Youssef could be behind the attack, as reported by a Turkish newspaper (HuffPost Arabic 2017d); a third one says that ISIS activists celebrated the arrival of the assailant in Raqqa, according to a Facebook page (HuffPost Arabic 2017c); and a last one states that a second shooter could be involved in the attack, as announced in a Turkish newspaper (Laïch 2017b).

When asked about erroneous or unverifiable information, the Arabic-speaking journalist we interviewed about his coverage of the Istanbul attack said that when writing original texts, journalists take the necessary precautionary measures every

step of the way, from collecting data to crafting their story. On the other hand, when working on derivative pieces (rewrites of agency reports or stories published by other news outlets), they merely translate the texts in a way that reflects the ideas of their original author who, in this sense, bears the sole responsibility for the content. In the Istanbul attack, all twenty stories published by the Arabic edition were rewrites.

Aside from these initial articles, the subsequent breaking news pieces followed the same logic. The U.S. and French newsrooms adopted a similar approach, focusing on factual information and adding contextual elements that helped put the attack into perspective. The Arabic edition, on the other hand, avoided giving political information that could help establish the causes and meaning of the shooting, focusing solely on circumstantial details.

It should be noted that none of these breaking news articles were bylined, following a shared guideline imposed by the U.S. edition whereby only stories with added value should bear the reporter's or contributor's name. However, when looking closely at the entire corpus, it appears that only the U.S. edition fully applies this recommendation, whereas the French and Arabic ones follow a looser interpretation of this rule. Indeed, of the nine articles published by the U.S. edition, five were bylined because they do incorporate original elements. In the first one, a HuffPost journalist breaks down the CCTV footage of the shooting (Papenfuss 2017); in the second two experts of Islamist extremism examine the causes of terrorism in Turkey (Yayla and Speckhard 2017); in the third a Turkish expatriate working for HuffPost gives an emotional plea for religious and cultural tolerance in her homeland; and in the last one a Turkish novelist writes a poetic piece about a magical morning in Istanbul where snow erased, for a short and redeeming interlude, all traces of violence in the streets (Genc 2017).

In the French edition, only one article out of nine was signed, even though its added value is very limited (Berthelieir 2017). Using data from AFP and *Le Monde*, the reporter presents circumstantial elements regarding the origin of the shooter as well as contextual information that has already been shared in previous articles. The only original item we could detect is an integrated Google map that shows the Chinese province of Xinjiang, the place of birth of the alleged attacker.

The Arabic journalists, on the other hand, signed nine articles out of twenty, all of which lack original materials. They are merely rewrites of local media reports or social media accounts. Asked about this practice, the Arabic-speaking journalist we interviewed explained that the act of signing an article is left to the journalist's discretion. He, for example, often neglects to sign his productions either because they are numerous or because they contain sensitive information ("I sometimes write articles that could generate a scandal so I ask my superior to remain anonymous"). In addition, he believes that signing a repurposed text is justifiable because

rewriting is a complex exercise, which not only requires journalistic skills but also, inevitably, adds value to the original piece (“Some Turkish reports are very weak. I do my best to incorporate structure, balance, and style to my rendition. The end result is hereafter professional and I am happy to sign it”).

Studying these signed articles brings us to the second stage of the news coverage of the Istanbul attack. In it journalists regained control over the story, highlighting some facts at the expense of others, adding context, and weighing in on the causes and consequences of the attack.

5.2 Stage 2: Constructing meanings

Of the three newsrooms, that of the U.S. presented the most diversity in its coverage of the Istanbul attack. Next to the hard news articles, it published one analysis and two opinion pieces by journalists and outside contributors. It is also the one that most emphasized the political and security issues leading up to the New Year’s Eve attack. Its journalists and contributors recounted as many as ten incidents in Turkey and Europe in recent years: seven involved terrorist activity, two concerned the military engagement of Turkey against ISIS, and one recalled the failed coup that resulted in massive arrests and purges (cf. Table 4). One contributor also noted the several problems that needed to be considered regarding this tragedy, explaining in substance that “the police failed to take appropriate preventive security measures and to manage the aftermath of the attack by not intervening in a timely fashion to catch the attacker as he fled” (Yayla and Speckhard 2017).

These critical choices not only give perspective to the developing events, but also provide the analytical grid that circumscribes them.

For their part, the French and Arabic editions relied on their own reporters to follow the news, all of whom are either in-house journalists, as is the case for the Paris newsroom, or freelance journalists, like most of the Istanbul newsroom contributors. For example, the Arabic-speaking journalist we interviewed lives outside of Istanbul, and writes from his home, his school’s library, or a café. Since all of his articles about the events happening in Istanbul are rewrites, his remoteness, in his opinion, does not constitute an obstacle to his daily work.

For their coverage of the aftermath of the shooting, the French journalists adopted a limited yet effective approach. They published a series of hard news pieces that provide a clear overview of the developing events as well as background information that sheds light on the causes and consequences of the attack. Two out of seven pieces deal with the identification of the victims (HuffPost and AFP 2017b, 2017c); three disclose information regarding the police operations aimed at apprehending the killer (HuffPost and AFP 2017d, 2017e, 2017f); one describes the Reina nightclub where the shooting took place (HuffPost and AFP 2017a); and

Table 4. Contextual elements published in the U.S., French, and Arabic editions

	U.S. edition	French edition	Arabic edition
Events that took place in Turkey			
Turkey joins the U.S.-led coalition fighting ISIS (September 2014)	X	X	-
Terrorist (Islamist) attack outside a police station in Istanbul (January 2015)	X	-	-
Turkey launches its first strike against ISIS positions in Syria (January 2015)	X	X	-
Terrorist (Kurdish) attack in Ankara (February 2016)	X	X	-
Terrorist (Islamist) attack on Istanbul Airport (June 2016)	X	X	-
Failed coup (July 2016)	X	X	-
Double terrorist (Kurdish) attack in Istanbul (December 2016)	X	-	-
Assassination of the Russian Ambassador in Ankara (December 2016)	X	-	X
Events that took place in Western countries			
The Bataclan terrorist (Islamist) attack (November 2015)	X	-	X
The Orlando terrorist (Islamist) attack (June 2016)	X	-	X
The Nice terrorist (Islamist) attack (July 2016)	-	-	X
The Berlin terrorist (Islamist) attack (December 2016)	X	-	-

one recounts the outrage of a Lebanese anchorwoman over those who publicly criticized the victims because they frequented a nightclub (HuffPost Tunisia 2017).

This last article is particularly interesting, not only because the anchor's story was not covered by French media, but also because the text goes beyond presenting facts. It highlights the heated ideological debate going on in the Middle East between liberals and conservatives while at the same time taking sides with the former. In doing so, it follows two of the fundamental guidelines of HuffPost group: to favour offbeat perspectives over mainstream angles and to embrace unequivocal liberal views when dealing with religious extremism. We asked a desk editor from the Paris newsroom about this measure; he explains that the French edition is indeed keen to adopt unconventional angles in order to stay true to the HuffPost brand, and to embrace liberal standpoints to cater to its local audiences.

The Arabic edition, on the contrary, tried to avoid the political and ideological debate that inevitably surfaces with each terrorist attack. It replaced it with human-interest stories that highlighted grief, mourning, but also heroism, as in the case of a young man who died trying to protect his fiancée.

In reality, it chose caution over engagement, as do most Arabic newsrooms established in hostile environments where censorship measures include (but are not limited to) financial penalties, imprisonment, and sometimes assassinations (Sakr 2003). As a matter of fact, choosing Istanbul as its headquarters, rather than a major Arab city, came with as many advantages as disadvantages. It certainly helped HuffPost avoid censorship from Arab monarchies and dictatorship which constitute the main focus of this edition, but it also placed the newsroom under the control of the equally repressive Turkish regime (Yesil 2014).

HuffPost Arabic journalists are warned not to be critical of Ankara or laudatory vis-à-vis the opposition. They are also advised to stay away from stories that show the Turkish economy or culture in a negative light. But that is not all. They also have to abide by the political agenda of Wadah Khanfar, owner of this joint venture, a self-declared member of the Muslim Brotherhood who brings to the table his own set of editorial guidelines. It is therefore not surprising that the Istanbul New Year's Eve attack was treated as a sensitive topic by the Arabic newsroom as it brought forth three problematic concerns: insecurity in Turkey, political instability, and Sunni terrorism. Journalists not only refrained from addressing these issues directly but they also tried to deemphasize the political nature of this attack by avoiding, for example, the use of the words "*Irhāb*" ('terrorism') or "*al-islām al-moutatarrif*" ('Islamism').

The first indicator of such a strategy is the choice of word-tags that accompany each article.

Table 5. Word-tags used in the U.S., French, and Arabic editions of HuffPost

U.S. edition	French edition	Arabic edition
Europe. ISIS.	<i>Attentat. Daesh.</i>	<i>Aḥbār. Hoḡōm</i>
Islamic State.	<i>International.</i>	<i>mosalah. I'tidā'.</i>
Istanbul. Middle	<i>Istanbul. Etat</i>	<i>Istanbul. 'ordon.</i>
East. New Year's	<i>islamique. Liban.</i>	<i>Malha Layli. Reina.</i>
Eve. Syria.	<i>Terrorisme.</i>	<i>Souriya. Terkiya.</i>
Terrorism. Turkey.	<i>Turquie.</i>	<i>Siyasa.</i>
Turkey Coup.	'Attack. DAESH.	'News. Armed
Turkey Terror.	International.	attack. Assault.
Turkish Armed	Istanbul. Islamic	Istanbul. Jordan.
Forces. Turkish	State. Lebanon.	Nightclub. Reina.
Army.	Terrorism.	Syria. Turkey.
	Turkey'	Politics'

The way *HuffPost* journalists designated the attacker is also indicative of the framing mechanisms at play.

Table 6. Labels used to designate the attacker in each edition before and after ISIS claimed the attack

	U.S. edition	French edition	Arabic edition
Before ISIS claimed the attack	Attacker. Gunman. Lone Gunman. Shooter	<i>Assaillant. Assaillant armé. Tireur.</i> 'Assailant. Armed assaillant. Shooter'	<i>Qātel. Qātel Majhoul.</i> <i>Mouhajem. Mounafez</i> <i>al-houjoum. Rajol yartadi</i> <i>malabes baba noel. Rajol</i> <i>yatakalam bil-louḡa al-</i> <i>'arabiya. šaḥes mousalah.</i> 'Killer. Unidentified killer. Attacker. Author of the attack. Man wearing a Santa Claus outfit. Arabic speaking man. Armed man.'
After ISIS claimed the attack	Caliphate soldier. Cannibal. Central Asian fighter. Clean shaved man who did not fit the Hollywood image of a terrorist. Dihadist. Gunman well versed in guerrilla warfare. Perpetrator of the attack. Ethnic Uighur terror- ist. Radical Sunni militant. Terrorist.	<i>Assaillant. Auteur de l'attaque.</i> <i>Ressortissant</i> <i>Kirghiz. Suspect</i> <i>Kirghiz. Tireur.</i> <i>Suspect. Terroriste.</i> 'Assailant. Author of the attack. Kirghiz native. Kirghiz suspect. Shooter. Suspect. Terrorist'	<i>Al-Mouštabah al-ra'isi.</i> "irhābi". <i>Qatel. Mounafez</i> <i>al-houjoum.</i> 'Suspect number 1. "Terrorist". Killer. Author of the attack'

The only time the Arabic edition uses the words “*irhābi*” (‘terrorist’) or “*irhāb*” (‘terrorism’) is when quoting officials. These statements are systematically put into quotation marks and attributed to an identified official source. By contrast, the U.S. and French newsrooms did not shy away from these terms. On the contrary, they employed a large array of synonyms as well as other derogatory designations that brought to bear a hyperbolic representation of the attacker. But they also demonstrated restraint by refusing to label the shooting as terrorism before it was officially identified as such.

Restraint can also be detected in the use of multimedia elements that accompany the texts. For example, the U.S. newsroom published 30 photographs, 29 of which are professional images acquired from Reuters and Getty Images. The only one that breaks with this formula is a screenshot from the CCTV footage of the night of the shooting showing the silhouette of the presumed attacker holding a rifle (Papenfuss 2017). Apart from this element, no other image represents physical violence but rather highlights the emotional distress of those who faced this tragedy. One article in particular highlights this editorial preference by publishing a series of portraits of grieving men and women during the funerals and memorial ceremonies following the attack.

No equivalent article can be found in the French edition, where both texts and images are for the most part unobtrusive. Five out of seven photographs are illustrations showing Turkish police on the alert. One article, however, incorporates a poignant photograph of an injured woman on a stretcher surrounded by paramedics. The role of this particular image is to accentuate the intensity of the accompanying text devoted to the French victims of the attack. In it, the journalist also quotes the French president François Hollande who called the attack “*lâche et odieuse*” (‘cowardly and despicable’) and adds a Twitter message from the French Diplomacy official account citing the French prime minister’s firm condemnation of the attack (HuffPost and AFP 2017c).

Out of the three editions, the Arabic one published the most photographs in its articles, inserting, at one point, 37 images in a single publication. In the article titled “In 33 photographs: look at the attack that took place in a nightclub in Istanbul[...]perpetrated by Santa Claus” (Zakariya 2017), we can see images of injured people in ambulances, panicked young people fleeing the scene, women crying, people on the phone, and police with large rifles. The text strikes a dramatic tone with a lead paragraph that reads: “*Intazara ḥata iktamal tadafoq al-moutawafidīn ‘ala al-malha al-layli fi madinat istanbul ihtifalan bi-ra’ es al-sana al-milādiya qabla ‘an younafid hojōmihi al-laḍi awda bi-ḥayāt 39 ṣaḥesan baynahom 16 ajnabiyan, fadlan ‘an isābat al-‘aṣarāt*” (‘He waited until all the New Year’s Eve clients had arrived at this famous Istanbul nightclub before he launched the attack that killed 39 people, including 16 foreigners, and injured dozens of them’).

This sensationalist approach is consistent with the overall coverage of the event. Arabic journalists also put forth portraits of the deceased accompanied by texts narrating their story or that of their bereaved families. We can also find many screenshots of the attacker in the Arabic corpus, especially in the early articles where CCTV videos are also present, followed by the official identification photograph provided by the Turkish authorities on 2 January 2017.

Next to these pictures, the Arabic newsroom published numerous tweets integrated into stories that serve at least four purposes. First, they add fluidity and vigour to the texts on an aesthetic level, breaking with traditional news-writing techniques. Second, they provide a participatory element to the publication while at the same time breaking with the linear depiction of such accounts. Third, from an editorial standpoint, they supply eloquent content entirely free of charge. In most cases, their presence actually compensates for the absence of a reporter on the ground. Fourth, and possibly most significant, they exempt in-house journalists from responsibility with regards to their content because they are exterior to the newsroom.

The use of social media elements is more limited in the U.S. and French editions. The American newsroom only published two tweets in its articles: the first reveals an image of the gunman taken from the CCTV footage that spread on the internet, and the second shows an excerpt from the Turkish Religious Affairs Directorate press release (Yorulmaz 2017). The French edition also incorporated two tweets: one from the Official French Diplomacy account and another from a French journalist retweeting a “video selfie” from the alleged attacker (HuffPost and AFP 2017e). In both cases, journalists walk a fine line between precaution and comprehensiveness, publishing sensitive and unverifiable content that has been widely disseminated on the internet (the CCTV footage and the video selfie) while at the same time flagging it as external.

It should be noted that one important feature in the U.S. and French coverage of the shooting is the eagerness to present this attack as a *global tragedy*, both in its causes and in its repercussions. Contrary to the numerous terrorist operations shaking Middle Eastern countries on a regular basis with limited Western news coverage, this particular event bears *global* features, according to HuffPost journalists, because it hits close to home. Indeed, in their articles, they established a causal connection between the nightclub and the attack, highlighting the fact that ISIS’s real target in Istanbul is the Western way of life. The terrorist organization chose this specific location for what it embodied: celebration and diversity.

The French newsroom observed that “*En dépit de l’islamisation croissante de la société dont se plaignent les détracteurs du président Recep Tayyip Erdogan depuis que son parti est au pouvoir, le club Reina est resté l’un des repaires incontournables de la jet-set turque*” (‘despite the growing Islamization of Turkey, criticized by

the opponents of president Recep Tayyip Erdogan ever since his party came to power, the Reina nightclub remained one of the hotspots of Istanbul, appreciated by wealthy Turks’) (HuffPost and AFP 2017a), while the U.S. edition called the club “Turkey’s Bataclan,” adding that the Islamist group repeatedly threatened Christians in the month leading to the attack (Yorulmaz 2017). One article specifies that this attack was in fact directed at “secular Islam” in a country that values diversity and tolerance (Yorulmaz 2017). Yorulmaz, a HuffPost journalist originally from Turkey, points out that “perhaps for foreigners, the Reina attack hit home more than other attacks in Turkey. It resonated, because not only were victims of so many different nationalities, but it could have happened in any club anywhere in the world, and not just in a Muslim-majority country” (Yorulmaz 2017).

These critical textual choices establish a clear distinction between victims of terrorist attacks and perpetrators of such acts, between virtuous people and savages, between us and them.

Table 7. Labels used to designate the victims in the U.S., French, and Arabic editions of HuffPost

U.S. edition	French edition	Arabic edition
Many foreigners. Many wounded. One American business owner from Delaware. Partygoers. Thirty-nine people. Those killed. Turks and visitors. Twenty bodies. Victims.	<i>Quinze étrangers. Plusieurs blessés. Une française. Une franco-tunisienne. Trente neuf morts. Victimes.</i>	<i>Abdullah Jan Saratš, al-mas’oul ‘an al-mōsiqa. Al-qatla. Fateh Taškmaq, rajol al-amen. ħadija Kotšen, šortiya. Moustafa Sajin Siman. 39 qatil. 60 aġnabiyan. 65 jariħ.</i>
	‘Fifteen foreigners. Many wounded. One French woman. One franco-tunisian woman. Thirty-nine dead persons. Victims.’	‘Abdullah Jan Sarat, DJ at the club. Those killed. Fateh Tashmak, security guard. Khadija Kotchen, policewoman. Moustafa Sajin Simann. Thirty-nine dead persons. Sixteen foreigners. Sixty-five wounded persons.’

Labels used to designate the victims in the Western editions of HuffPost accentuate this separation by adopting a non-denominative posture that is more inclusive than exclusive. People killed or wounded do not bear names: they are partygoers, many of them foreigners, including an American and a French national, who had the misfortune to be present in the Reina Club that tragic night.

By contrast, in the Arabic edition, victims are granted a preferential treatment in accordance with the editorial line we have described earlier, whereby most articles are human-interest stories focusing on spectacular elements rather than analytical ones. Four Turkish victims are singled out because of their exceptional path: a DJ who has witnessed the attack first hand; a bouncer who escaped a

terrorist attack earlier that year only to find death in the New Year's Eve shooting; a policewoman warned by her father not to go to work that night; and a young man who died trying to save his fiancée (Jazem 2017a, 2017b; Tarawa 2017).

However, the Arabic newsroom's editorial choices do not define the terrorist attack as an exclusively Turkish problem. In fact, its journalist went to extreme lengths to establish a connection between the Istanbul shooting and recent Western attacks (cf. Table 4). They recalled the Bataclan and the Nice and Orlando tragedies in order to position the Reina shooting in the realm of Western attacks, giving it the universal value lacking in most Middle Eastern afflictions. Their editorial strategy proves beneficial for at least two reasons: it helps accentuate Ankara's positive role in fighting terrorism alongside a respected international coalition while at the same time elevating the Turkish people to the level of international victims. Those who face ISIS, whether they live in Turkey, France, or the United States of America, are all part of an inclusive "us," the "good guys" acting appropriately to rid the world of evil.

6. Conclusion

In this analysis, we have looked at the organizational constraints, ideological agendas, and political pressures that influence the way journalists working for different editions of the same media frame an event of global proportions. Our aim was to determine to what extent three geographically and culturally distant newsrooms can generate a form of convergence, or a similar "cultural translation" (Conway 2015) of the same event, even if there is little to no cooperation between them. We have found that local ideologies and editorial constraints do not generate radical differences between the various editions. However, a series of subtle disparities laid end to end tell a singular story that caters to a specific audience, as shown in previous research about news translation (e.g. Bielsa and Bassnett 2009).

The Western newsrooms chose to *discuss* the Istanbul New Year's Eve attack, whereas the Middle Eastern one limited itself to *describing* it. The former questioned the causes and repercussions of the shooting by integrating commentary and analysis to their coverage while the latter focused on factual elements and human interest stories to recount a detailed yet disconnected tragedy. The U.S. and French newsrooms directed their attention to the few elements that render this story close to home, while the Arabic edition insisted on establishing connections between this fatal event and the terrorist attacks occurring in the west in order to convey a form of universality to the Istanbul tragedy. These findings echo Hanitzsch's work regarding journalism cultures: according to Hanitzsch (2017), local norms and particularistic views generally overpower global ones. However,

convergence is still in evidence between the many branches of the HuffPost brand. Joint editorial policies and similar technological constraints set the condition for new forms of interconnections between newsrooms.

Reporters from all three newsrooms followed, to some extent, the editorial guidelines recommended by the U.S. edition, although they tended to reinterpret these rules in accordance with their work constraints and social background. They exploited two of the main assets of a digital platform: instant and continuous reporting, on the one hand, and convergence on the other. They also addressed the challenges stemming from this production process (Larrondo et al. 2016), offering mostly similar answers to the increased pace of production in the implementation of multi-source and multi-media information. In addition, all three newsrooms favoured perspectives outside those covered by more mainstream media, although the U.S. and French newsrooms were the only ones to single out Sunni terrorism. (Arabic journalists, for their part, avoided any form of labelling.)

Another contrasting element relates to the participatory nature of each edition. The U.S. newsroom was keen to open its pages to external contributors such as Turkish intellectuals or in international terrorism. The French and Arabic newsrooms, on the other hand, limited their reporting to in-house journalists (*journalistes de desk*), who rely on newswires and social media, rather than reporting from the field. Both integrated tweets into their articles. On the contrary, they reproduced top-down storytelling through conventional source quoting, albeit in a fairly contemporary style.

These conclusions indicate that contrary to its institutional discourse, HuffPost has yet to establish a global newsroom where synergies ultimately create a shared vision of the world. They also suggest that the U.S. newsroom does not occupy a hegemonic position in the network it established (contrary to what is suggested by Orengo's [2005] concept of news translation as localization) but rather acts as a flagship, a model open to negotiation (similarly to Matsushita's findings [this volume] about BuzzFeed).

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PART III

Practice

Globalization of the emerging media newsroom

Implications for translation and international news flow in the case of BuzzFeed Japan

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Recent technological advances have fuelled the emergence of online media sites such as BuzzFeed, which disseminates news content across multiple platforms. Characterized by its global network, BuzzFeed relies on translation to facilitate the constant exchange of content between regions. At BuzzFeed Japan, BuzzFeed's newest international edition at the time of writing, journalists are adapting to meet novel demands for translated multimedia content. Seldom required of conventional media journalists in Japan, news translation in the Japanese context is relatively unexplored but increasingly relevant (Matsushita 2016). Through interviews with key players of the newsroom and a full-staff survey, this chapter investigates BuzzFeed Japan's news translation practices, highlighting journalists' diversifying roles. It also suggests the possibility of media convergence increasing news flow from Japan to the rest of the world.

Keywords: news translation, journalism, Japanese, multiplatform, online media

1. Introduction

The twenty-first century has witnessed significant change in how people interact with the media. Although the media landscape has been evolving since the introduction of the internet, smartphones have even more dramatically redefined media dynamics. According to a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center on global technology trends, the global median of smartphone ownership among adults grew to 59%, with levels in some countries such as South Korea reaching as high as 94% (Pew Research Center 2018). With the number of owners growing rapidly, smartphones have increasingly become the primary tool for accessing

online information, including the news. A separate survey published by the Knight Foundation shows that 89% of the U.S. mobile population (approximately 144 million people) read the news on their mobile device, with the proportion growing yearly (Knight Foundation 2016). News consumers are no longer sitting on couches watching TV or spending hours reading newspapers while sipping coffee at the breakfast table. Moreover, the data show that they are less likely even to be sitting at a computer. Rather, they are checking their smartphones almost without thinking while multitasking and on the go. Not only do handheld devices allow users to view news content by checking news apps and social media, but they also provide news alerts which appear on their screen periodically regardless of what else users may be doing. In other words, news consumption has become fragmented in terms of time spent and concurrent in terms of access.

Some news providers are quickly adjusting to such consumer behaviour by using multiple platforms to disseminate their content. In order to illustrate how this new media environment is affecting journalistic practices, this study investigates the case of BuzzFeed, an American online media giant. BuzzFeed provides news and entertainment content in text, images, and videos via their own website, native mobile apps, and social media. As a result, their editorial staff consists of traditional and non-traditional journalists including video producers and social news editors.¹ The first part of this chapter investigates how such a diverse newsroom staff carries out their added tasks of familiarizing themselves with the various platforms and optimizing their content accordingly.

The chapter then proceeds to focus on another variable in the changing media landscape: globalization. While conventional mass media such as newspapers, magazines, television, and radio have traditionally differentiated domestic news from international news, news providers of the twenty-first century are less concerned with such a divide. Distribution of global news, once the domain of international news agencies such as the Agence France-Presse (AFP), Associated Press (AP), and Reuters (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009), has become an everyday task for online media. Consequently, the role that translation plays in the process of global news production has grown ever larger (Valdeón 2015). News translation has now become part of the daily routine for the majority of the editorial staff who work in emerging media outside the Anglophone world. In order to find out how translation is integrated into their day-to-day workload, interviews and a full-staff survey with members of BuzzFeed Japan – one of BuzzFeed’s ten international

1. In the full-staff survey conducted for this study, only 44.12% of the newsroom staff at Buzzfeed Japan answered that they have a background in journalism. The rest came from marketing, entertainment, public relations, and advertising among others.

branches – were conducted in the spring of 2017, the key findings of which will be presented in the following sections.

The third aspect examined concerns the changes in global news flow caused by the various developments in the media ecosystem described above. For example, in Japan, as in many other non-English speaking countries, news translation has long remained a minor part of journalistic practice by the local media, which tend to focus on domestic issues, sparing only fractions of print space and air time for international news (Oi 2012; Matsushita 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016). In addition, English language media in Japan, the oldest of which emerged before World War I and increased in circulation after World War II, has lost much of its *raison d'être* over the past several decades as news in English has become increasingly accessible for free online. Consequently, journalists in Japan as a whole lack experience in translating news from Japanese to English, and news translation practices from Japanese to English have rarely been a topic of academic inquiry, Fujii (1988) being a notable exception.

However, this situation started to change with the emergence of online media. Led by online U.S. news outlets like HuffPost (formerly known as *Huffington Post*), foreign media companies started to launch services in Japan mostly in the second decade of this century. Not only did international news flow into the Japanese media market, but Japanese news also found its way out. In order to examine the increased backflow of local news towards the global market, this study focuses on several cases in which news from Japan reached global audiences by means of translation. Special attention will be paid to BuzzFeed Japan's coverage of President Obama's historic visit to Hiroshima in May 2016. By analysing these cases, this study aims to provide insight into how emerging media can impact or even rebalance the international flow of news by means of translation.

A common thread connecting all the points outlined so far is technology. In the emerging media newsroom, technology of all sorts is used to facilitate internal communication across borders and around the clock, a key enabler of global news production. Translation is happening simultaneously in different regions and directions, constantly affecting each other's output. Access to multiple output platforms allows members with diverse backgrounds and skill sets to collaborate. Examples of such convergence and its implications are examined in this chapter by combining field observations, in-depth interviews, and a full-staff survey.

2. News translation practices at BuzzFeed Japan

As seen above, technological advances have changed newsroom dynamics in many ways. Such changes include the production and dissemination of a variety of

news material across multiple platforms simultaneously and 24-hour coverage of world events in both local and global languages. To investigate the impact of such environmental shifts on journalistic practices including translation, this study analyses the case of BuzzFeed Japan, the newest addition to the global network of BuzzFeed.²

2.1 BuzzFeed

Founded in 2006 by Jonah Peretti and John S. Johnson III, BuzzFeed started out as an experimental lab, tracking and promoting viral content on the internet. In recent years, however, it has been expanding rapidly into more serious journalism, including investigative reporting and international news. By combining news and entertainment, it has succeeded in attracting non-traditional news consumers of the digital age, and it generated over seven billion monthly content views worldwide as of May 2016 (Baysinger 2016). Two of BuzzFeed's greatest strengths are that it is multiplatform and that it is global. Not only does it have its own website as a vehicle to carry its content, but it also sends out content via mobile apps, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, YouTube, and other social networking services. Its most popular content ranges from a video clip of watermelons being blown up using rubber bands to award-winning news investigations into the lives of immigrant workers, all of which are formatted and published across multiple platforms.

BuzzFeed is global in its outreach. In addition to its headquarters in New York and an entertainment studio based in Los Angeles, it has offices in cities around the world including Berlin, London, Madrid, Mexico City, Mumbai, Paris, São Paulo, Sydney, Tokyo, and Toronto.³ The company has been expanding its global network since 2013 and has so far launched twelve editions.⁴ Naturally, translation has become a key component of BuzzFeed's day-to-day operations. In an interview with *Fortune*, the Director of Global Adaptation at BuzzFeed at the time explained that 30 to 40% of its content consists of translated material (Griffith 2016). In an interview conducted by email for this study in May 2017, she explained that her team of thirteen editors and producers based around the world – four in New York including herself, five in Los Angeles, and one each in Brazil, France, Germany, and Japan – are primarily responsible for translation (which they call “adapta-

2. As of 2017.

3. Same as above.

4. Same as above.

tion” because of the non-textual elements involved and the substantial editing that may be required).

In order to further examine the role of translation at BuzzFeed, this study focuses on their newest branch, BuzzFeed Japan, the only edition of BuzzFeed that produces its content in a non-European language as of 2017. The following subsections will provide a detailed description of BuzzFeed Japan’s history, its staff, and the translation activities they perform as part of their daily routine.

2.2 BuzzFeed Japan

2.2.1 *Company history*

The Japanese edition of BuzzFeed was launched in January 2016 following the establishment of other international editions, namely U.K., Australia, India, Brazil, “*en Español*” for the Spanish-speaking population in the Americas, Germany, France, Mexico, Spain and Canada. The company that runs the Japanese edition, BuzzFeed Japan Corporation, founded in August 2015, is a joint venture between BuzzFeed, Inc. and Yahoo Japan Corporation. BuzzFeed Japan’s Founding Editor is an experienced journalist who previously worked for Japan’s leading newspaper, *The Asahi Shimbun*, for thirteen years and served as a correspondent in Bangkok and as Bureau Chief in Singapore. In an interview conducted for this study on 14 February 2017, he explained that launching a Japanese edition was a natural choice for BuzzFeed because Japan has a sizable internet user base, reaching as many as one hundred million users (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication 2016). However, the language barrier between European languages and Japanese, as well as the difference in the media environment, prevented the launch from taking place sooner. For example, the types of social media and smartphone applications that Japanese consumers prefer are different from those used in other parts of the globe. Given these barriers, BuzzFeed’s entry into Japan did not occur until three years after the start of the company’s global expansion. BuzzFeed Japan was finally launched in early 2016, and it has continued to build up its original content along with translated material from BuzzFeed’s global network. According to the company, it boasts more than sixteen million unique visitors per month (BuzzFeed Japan 2017).

2.2.2 *Newsroom staff*

According to the Founding Editor, BuzzFeed Japan started with thirteen members, among whom were journalists from both traditional media, such as daily newspapers, and emerging media, including several from the Japanese edition of HuffPost. The newsroom expanded to thirty-four members in the next fifteen

months.⁵ The majority of these members work in five teams based on content area: the News Team, the Social News Team, the Buzz Team, the Life Team, and the Social Media Team. While the News Team deals with regular news content similar to conventional news organizations, the Social News Team covers news items drawing attention in social media. The Buzz Team handles soft content such as quizzes, diagnostic content (e.g. psychological tests), and listicles (list-format articles). The Life Team focuses on useful information related to daily life such as tips on buying the best Uniqlo HEATTECH (innerwear) before winter and how to make ready-to-eat desserts sold at convenience stores more delicious. The Social Media Team consists of specialists who design and package BuzzFeed's content to be distributed via Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and other social networking services based on their own strategies for increasing click-through rate (the proportion of page viewers who click on a given link within that page).

Apart from the five content-oriented teams, there is a separate team called the Global Adaptation Team, led by the Global Adaptation Editor, one of the interviewees of this study. The specific role of the Global Adaptation Team at BuzzFeed Japan and its relationship with the teams of other regions will be explained in detail below.

2.2.3 *Translation activities*

BuzzFeed Japan has relied heavily on translation since its founding. The Global Adaptation Editor recalls that she had to prepare at least fifty translated articles on day one since they only had a small pool of staff writers at the time and there was not enough original content to fill their webpage. For the first two months after the launch, approximately 40% of BuzzFeed Japan's content consisted of translated material that the Global Adaptation Editor chose from global content with high page views. Initial articles included a series of photographs indicating how small Earth is when compared with other planets and galaxies in the universe, an investigative report on match-fixing in the professional tennis industry, and a story on an unexpected friendship between a BuzzFeed reporter who lost his smartphone in New York and the Chinese man who became its new owner in Guangdong Province.

The Global Adaptation Editor, whose previous job titles include newspaper reporter, producer of English language broadcasting, and editor of online English media, produced these articles by translating them from English to Japanese single-handedly. Her team has not grown any bigger in the year since its inception. Now the ratio of translated articles has fallen from 40% to 20% due to an increase

5. According to BuzzFeed Japan, the number of newsroom staff has been constantly changing since the full-staff survey was conducted in April 2017.

among editorial staff creating original content in Japanese. Nevertheless, she continues to handle the bulk of the translated work herself with the help of a “Global Adaptation Fellow,” a paid bilingual intern who is an undergraduate student and only comes to the office three times a week for five hours each day. In the spring of 2017, the team was joined by a former newspaper reporter who focuses mostly on translating hard news from English to Japanese and reports directly to the deputy editor-in-chief.

According to the Global Adaptation Editor, who is in charge of selecting, translating, and distributing materials for BuzzFeed Japan, her typical work day begins immediately after waking up when she uses a real-time messaging app called Slack to check the discussions the members of the Global Adaptation Teams around the world were having while she was sleeping. In these discussions, members share information regarding content that is well-received by local audiences, as well as suggestions for possible articles to be translated outside their region. It is important that she participate in such discussions and maintain close relationships with the other members so that she knows what content is trending in the global market and can recommend BuzzFeed Japan’s original content to the other international editions. On her way to work, she keeps checking her device to decide what content to translate for BuzzFeed Japan. In principle, there is no limit to what she can translate apart from scoops that have prescribed publication timelines. Normally, she checks content already released by other editions such as those of the U.S., the U.K., and Australia and decides which ones to translate. She also routinely checks internally available statistics on which articles are trending in the global BuzzFeed network so she can base her judgments on quantitative data.

At the office by 10:00AM, she continues to search the web for possible candidates for translation. After making her selections, she starts translating the content on her computer. BuzzFeed uses a shared content management system (CMS) that allows her to type her translation over an already formatted source article or replace visual content as needed. She either does it herself or assigns the task to the intern. In some cases, for example when translating serious investigative pieces which require background knowledge and time to translate accurately, she asks others, such as the reporters on the News Team, to rewrite the source article in Japanese. She explained that content is rarely translated sentence by sentence; rather, she or other members of the newsroom add or omit certain information to meet the needs and expectations of the Japanese audience or even change the structure of the article because the writing style that attracts their readers is often different from those of other countries. Her explanation aligns with practices that have frequently been observed in international newsrooms (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Schäffner and Bassnett 2010 among others).

For example, the title of an article written by a reporter in Toronto titled, “This Pro-Trump Website Run From Eastern Europe May Be The Worst Thing On The Internet,” was changed in the Japanese version to 「ハックされる人の心。嘘記事と Facebook とネット広告、暗い未来 (‘People’s minds are being hacked. Fake news, Facebook and online ads: A dark future’), avoiding region-specific references and making the message more abstract. Such localization is widely accepted at BuzzFeed globally. At BuzzFeed Japan, such articles are accompanied by a note saying この記事は英語から編集しました (‘This post was edited from English’) along with the link to the original article.⁶

The Global Adaptation Editor is not only responsible for translating at least three textual pieces per day; she also translates visual content, which includes adding explanations in Japanese for content consisting of only GIFs or photos as well as subtitling video clips. Most video content is shared globally and subtitled in French, German, Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish. Before starting the translation, each team can decide whether they want the video or not. If they choose to run the video, they simultaneously provide translations which are compiled in a shared spreadsheet. Once the translations are approved by the local editors, the spreadsheet is sent to a team in Los Angeles which specializes in producing video content and is in charge of adding subtitles. In this way, multiple international editions can release the video at the same time. On average, each local team produces ten subtitled videos every week. After releasing translated content on BuzzFeed Japan’s website for the day, she and her team continue to work on translations for videos to be released later.

The team also outsources translation to vendors such as Gengo and Galileo to save time. Gengo is a Japanese translation company that BuzzFeed uses globally. According to the Global Adaptation Editor, Gengo is useful because their translations are directly uploaded to BuzzFeed’s CMS and they are not as expensive as the other translation services the company uses for Japanese. Galileo is used for longer and more complicated pieces. All the material translated externally is checked by the Global Adaptation Editor to make sure there are no translation errors, typos, or misunderstandings. If she finds a mistake, she can easily fix it in the CMS. When it is ready to go, she can either click a button to release it or save it to be released at a later date.

In addition to the daily translation activities carried out by the Global Adaptation Team, translation takes place in other parts of the newsroom as well.

6. The default message for the translated articles at the time of the interview was “This post was translated from English,” but the newsroom staff working on the translation can change the wording based on their own judgement. The Global Adaptation Editor said she prefers to use “This post was translated and edited from English.”

For example, Tasty Japan, a popular content area featuring fast-forward cooking videos, has a separate team dedicated to translating textual elements of videos into Japanese (such as ingredients and cooking tips). Such short, quick translations take place within every team. It is worth noting, however, that the online survey conducted for this study revealed that none of the thirty-four newsroom staff is trained in translation and twenty-five of them know only what English they learned in school. In addition, BuzzFeed Japan faces a unique challenge in terms of news translation practice because translation from and into Japanese requires the mediation of more significant lexical and cultural differences when compared with translation tasks for BuzzFeed's other international editions. BuzzFeed Japan thus faces numerous difficulties regarding translation, an issue which will be further examined in Section 3.

2.3 Methodology

2.3.1 *Full-staff Survey*

In order to further investigate news translation practices at BuzzFeed Japan, this study combines the results of a full-staff survey with those of in-depth interviews with its key members. As described previously, the number of newsroom staff at BuzzFeed Japan totalled thirty-four when the survey was conducted in April 2017. Each member was asked ten questions in both Japanese and English, ranging in topic from their job description, their foreign language training, and translation in their daily work. The questionnaire was prepared using the free online survey software SurveyMonkey, and the link to the online survey was emailed by the company's spokesperson to the staff. All participants anonymously answered the ten questions in Japanese. The individual answers cited in this chapter have been translated by the author of this study.

The questions were formulated by referencing two prior studies, namely Matsushita (2016) and Davier (2017), both of which conducted interviews and asked questions to journalists regarding their news translation practices. Some adjustments were made so that they reflect the actual operation at BuzzFeed Japan based on observations and interviews conducted before the survey. The main results are listed in Appendix 1, along with the ten questions in English.

2.3.2 *In-depth interview*

As mentioned above, a two-hour, in-person interview was conducted with the Founding Editor and with the Global Adaptation Editor on 14 February 2017, a month and a half prior to administering the online survey. After the two sit-down interviews regarding news translation practices at BuzzFeed Japan, the Global Adaptation Editor gave a tour of the newsroom explaining what staff members

were doing and taking additional questions. She also demonstrated specific ways she and her subordinate carry out translation using customized layout software and outsourced material. The initial interviews were semi-structured with a set of questions prepared beforehand for each interviewee, following Matsushita (2016) which conducted similar interviews with journalists. Based on the findings from this initial interview, follow-up interviews by email were conducted from March to May. The email interviews included follow-up questions for the Founding Editor and the Global Adaptation Editor, as well as new interviews with the Global Adaptation Fellow, a news reporter who writes original articles in both English and Japanese, and the Director of Global Adaptation who is based in New York and oversees BuzzFeed's entire translation operation. In each case, a set of questions was sent to each interviewee via email, and follow-up questions were asked when needed. All the face-to-face interviews and email interviews were conducted in Japanese except for the one with the Director of Global Adaptation which was conducted in English. Their responses in Japanese, whenever cited, have been translated by the author of this study.

3. What is happening in the newsroom?

3.1 Cross-platform translation

One distinctive task of journalists at BuzzFeed is producing news across multiple platforms, which involves translation. According to the Global Adaptation Editor at BuzzFeed Japan, a large portion of their translation work is rendering English text into Japanese, the main workflow of which has already been explained earlier in this chapter. However, there are other cases unique to online media rarely observed in conventional Japanese newsrooms.

For example, the Global Adaptation Editor recalls a case in which not only the texts but also the photographs had to be completely replaced in order to make the article acceptable to their Japanese audience. The article in question revealed that taking one's smartphone into the toilet could be more unsanitary than people might imagine. It was written by a reporter based in New York and initially ran in BuzzFeed's U.S. edition in March 2016. After making the decision to run the article in Japan, the Global Adaptation Editor replaced most of the photographs, which included images of a man sitting on the toilet with his pants down and dirty toilet bowls. She deemed them too disturbing for their target audience. She pointed out that while such acculturation (Bassnett 2005) might seem to fall outside the scope of translation, it is necessary for attracting readers and increasing page views, which is an important part of the Global Adaptation Team's work.

Another key element of the team's work, according to the Global Adaptation Editor, is grasping the message the original reporter is trying to convey through both the visual and textual components of the content. Since most of BuzzFeed Japan's content is published across multiple platforms, their work involves not only text-level translation but also skilfully combining the text with GIF images, photographs, and other visual elements to create an engaging narrative. She feels that since the original reporter deliberately chose those elements, it is the responsibility of those translating to understand the reporter's intentions and reflect them when carrying out their work. Consequently, she and her team have to multitask between text-to-text translation, captioning, visual editing, and translating subtitles for video content, which is a challenge unique to multiplatform news production.

In addition to the demanding tasks for which the Global Adaptation Team is responsible, other members of the newsroom also face a dilemma. A full-staff survey conducted for this study revealed that thirty-three out of the thirty-four members of the newsroom had no background in professional translation before joining BuzzFeed Japan (one respondent answered that he or she used to translate for web media as a side business). However, nineteen of them (55.88%) answered "yes" when asked, "Is translation involved when carrying out your work?" Based on individual answers to this question, their translation tasks include (a) translating texts written by BuzzFeed reporters based in other regions into Japanese, (b) translating foreign language material to be quoted or cited in their original content, (c) translating audio-visual content including quizzes and video clips, and (d) supporting colleagues with their translation. These answers show that even those who are not part of the Global Adaptation Team are translating on a regular basis. The survey also revealed a mismatch between the staff members' roles and their translation skills. This discrepancy became evident when newsroom staff were asked about their foreign language proficiency. Among the thirty-four members, only two are native English speakers and one is a native Korean speaker, the rest being native speakers of Japanese. Although twenty-five of them have no experience studying abroad or attending language schools, all but one member use a foreign language (or several languages) at work, for both internal communication and news-gathering/reporting activities.

Therefore, when asked whether they wished to take part in "translation and/or interpreting training," a total of twenty-three respondents (67.65%), regardless of whether their current work included translation or not, said "yes." Some of the individual comments included "I want to learn the theories of translation," "I wish to take part in a practical translation training," "Because I want to be able to translate in the future." One member from the Global Adaptation Team answered "[I want to participate in a training on] how to translate from and into Japanese, as well as English grammar and subtitling," since the team is in charge of translation

into English when pitching articles to other editions or collaborating with reporters in other regions.

Although there are a lot of challenges that the BuzzFeed Japan staff face, the benefits of technological convergence mitigate the effort required to prepare global content in Japanese for multiple platforms. Many staff members emphasized the value of the immediate and intimate communication between the reporters enabled by technology (e.g. Slack and teleconferencing). Ambiguities in the original content can easily be resolved by contacting its author or editor directly. BuzzFeed's content is all bylined, so it is not difficult to track down the person with the answers to your questions. In other cases, a reporter can pitch an idea via Slack and ask for volunteers to work on a project together. It is not rare for BuzzFeed's news articles to have multiple bylines representing several regions. Such collaboration can happen across teams, regions, and platforms, thanks to the global communication network.

3.2 Global distribution and translation

As seen above, translation has become an indispensable part of BuzzFeed's global operation over the years. Interviews with those in management positions conducted for this study confirmed that foreign language proficiency and translation skills will become even more important in the years ahead in terms of both content distribution and internal communication. The Director of Global Adaptation at BuzzFeed, who took the position in November 2015, explained:

Translation and adaptation is immensely important to BuzzFeed – it enables us to be a truly global, cross-platform network of news and entertainment. Before I started in this role, translation was done on an ad-hoc basis and mostly focused on news. My job was to figure out a way to scale what we were doing by building tools, processes, and hiring a team globally. Now, we have a suite of translation tools and are able to translate and adapt any piece of content into any language. I have no doubt that the current processes will continue to change and evolve as we get better tools, translation technology in general gets better, and of course, as our team and the needs of the company grow.

(E-mail message to the author, May 29, 2017)

The Founding Editor of BuzzFeed Japan agrees:

Being able to read content released in other international editions is essential in our day-to-day operation. Using Slack, our staff can check what famous writers, reporters, and editors are discussing in real time. Just by following such discussion, one can train oneself as an editor or as a writer. Such interaction can also lead to the increase of translated content. Even though the Global Adaptation

Team is in charge of translation, I am encouraging our staff to check the global content and translate whatever material they deem fit for our Japanese audience.
(Interview with the author, February 14, 2017)

According to him, BuzzFeed Japan's handicap is the lexical differences between Japanese and the European languages used by the other international editions. Given the increased accuracy of machine translation (MT), many BuzzFeed editors are using machine-translated headlines of other international editions to decide quickly what content to translate for their own editions. MT is not as accurate when working from Japanese into European languages, so it is difficult to understand what content BuzzFeed Japan is offering based on the MT renditions of its headlines. When BuzzFeed Japan has content worthy of global attention, he or the Global Adaptation Editor has to explain it to the international editors. However, he believes that, thanks to technological advances, quick and reliable translation may become possible between Japanese and other languages by the time Tokyo hosts the Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2020. He hopes that by then BuzzFeed Japan will be in a better position to send out more news from Japan to the rest of the world.

This is something that I had in mind very strongly when I moved to BuzzFeed Japan: to send Japanese news directly to the global audience. When I was working for a Japanese newspaper company, I realized that what we write has almost no chance of reaching the global market. This is because domestic news in Japan rarely gets translated into English. Therefore, people outside of Japan only understand us through the lens of foreign correspondents in Japan. I felt really sad about this imbalance in international news flow and the fact that news about major English-speaking countries gets prioritized. I am encouraged by BuzzFeed currently increasing the amount of news coming out of each region to be translated into English so that news of non-English speaking regions can be picked up by our U.S. edition. I think such movement has the potential to rebalance the direction of news flow and benefit readers on both ends. It is the strength that we have as a truly global network.
(Interview with the author, February 14, 2017)

3.3 Impact on news flow

One of the key aims of this study is to identify whether emerging media such as BuzzFeed have the potential to “rebalance” international news flow as the Founding Editor predicted. A promising example can be found in BuzzFeed Japan's coverage of U.S. President Obama's historic visit to Hiroshima in May 2016. Their piece, entitled “Here's What People in Hiroshima Want to Tell Obama,” features numerous photos of people in Hiroshima holding up handwritten messages to the president that were then translated into English. According to the Founding Editor, this

article was an attempt to use BuzzFeed's global platform to show the rest of the world what ordinary people in Hiroshima wanted to tell the president directly during his visit – a side of the story that was not a focus of the mainstream media. The author of this article is a multilingual reporter capable of writing articles in both English and Japanese, and she wrote this article in two languages as well.

The multilingual reporter was born and raised in Japan but spent eight years of her youth in Taiwan and mainland China, where she attended American international schools and became fluent in English. Although she did not have any journalistic experience prior to working at BuzzFeed Japan other than short-term internships at conventional media organizations, she now plays a unique and important role in BuzzFeed Japan's newsroom as one of only two members who can write news articles in both English and Japanese.

When the news came that Obama intended to become the first sitting U.S. president to visit Hiroshima, she and another reporter from the news team conceived the idea of asking residents what they expected from the visit. Along with the reporter from the News Team, she went to Hiroshima in May 2016 and stood in the rain for four hours asking passers-by what they wanted President Obama to know. She asked the people in Hiroshima to write their messages on a blank page of a sketchbook, a style which BuzzFeed calls "whiteboard post." The messages were translated from Japanese to English by the multilingual reporter and accompanied by additional quotations from the interviewees in the captions. Explanations regarding the background of these messages were added in English when necessary. The article reached many readers in the U.S., sparking a heated debate on the ethics of the use of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima and whether President Obama should apologize to the people of Hiroshima.

Another hit by the multilingual reporter using a similar style appeared in a piece which ran in early 2017, right after the inauguration of U.S. President Donald Trump. This time, people on the street of Tokyo were asked to comment on what they expected of Prime Minister Abe during his first summit meeting with Trump in February 2017. Using whiteboards again, people wrote responses such as "Don't be a 'Yes Man'" and "We're worried that we'll be under America's thumb." The article was picked up by BuzzFeed's U.S. edition.

This article was also unique in the sense that this multilingual reporter and another reporter from BuzzFeed Japan collaborated with a BuzzFeed reporter based in New York. The multilingual reporter says that she receives such requests for collaboration several times a week from reporters around the world using Slack. According to her, she writes articles with joint by-lines on a weekly basis: she either contributes to an article published in other international editions or asks for input from reporters in a different region for the article she is writing.

Another way in which BuzzFeed reporters benefit from technology is the various formats that reporters can use in creating news content. In the case of the “whiteboard post,” BuzzFeed Japan’s coverage consisted mostly of photographs of ordinary citizens, a style which is hard for traditional print media to emulate due to space limitations. In addition, the Hiroshima coverage was adjusted and reformatted to fit smartphone screens, as well as Facebook and Twitter pages, for maximum impact across multiple platforms – another example of technological convergence.

4. Conclusion

This study aimed to illustrate how journalists are coping with changes in the news production environment triggered by technological advances. Interviews and survey results revealed that technology plays an ever more important role in the emerging media newsroom where staff members check real-time messaging apps to share ideas and recruit collaborators. Such collaboration also takes place at the news production stage in which members use shared software and a synchronized database to disseminate news across multiple platforms. Another finding was that such convergence of the global news production process enables news to flow not only from global to local, but also from local to global relatively smoothly and speedily, a phenomenon that has rarely been observed in conventional media operating in non-European languages.

This study also examined news translation practices in the emerging media newsroom. Through observations and follow-up interviews, it became apparent that translation happens not only between articles but also in the form of captions, subtitles, and other audio-visual material, often combined in the same piece. Results from the full-staff survey also made clear that untrained translators who are forced to multitask may experience gaps between what they can do and what they are expected to do.

The examples presented in this study illustrate that translation has become deeply integrated into news production activities, forwarding content from one language to another in numerous directions. The Director of Global Adaptation at BuzzFeed said it best:

[We are] straddling both worlds, in terms of being a part of their local team, as well as being part of this distributed, global team. It means reading and thinking and communicating your ideas in multiple languages with people from many different cultures in different places – not to mention, the many different time zones.

(E-mail message to the author, May 29, 2017)

Although this study was able to answer many questions as outlined above, the author acknowledges its limitations as well. This study used interviews and an online questionnaire to gather data. These methods were chosen to create a snapshot of the inner workings of the newsroom and to explore news translation practices in an emerging media environment. However, the study lacks deep analysis based on theory. News translation scholars have long debated which theoretical framework to use in news translation analysis (including at the European Society for Translation Studies' 8th Congress held in 2016), and the author of this study intends to tackle this topic going forward.

Another limitation was that the case study focused on Japan alone. As the questionnaire was designed to include questions from a similar study conducted at global news agencies in Europe (Davier 2017), the results of the two studies could be compared. Eventually, the author would like to expand the scope of her research to include practices in other parts of the world. In order to carry out such a comparative study, more time would need to be spent observing the translation practices in newsrooms, including those of teams other than the Global Adaptation Team at BuzzFeed Japan, which she plans to pursue.

Despite its shortcomings, this study succeeded in shedding light on unique news translation practices in an emerging media newsroom. It also suggested the possibility that translation can rebalance the international flow of news, a relationship that has not been fully discussed in prior research on journalistic practices in Japan. The author believes that some of the key findings in this study can be applied to other cases dealing with different types of media, language pairs, and countries. It is hoped that this study invites collaborative research within Translation Studies, Communication Studies, and beyond.

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Appendix 1

The main results of the full-staff survey (in percentages only)

1. Please state your title/position at BuzzFeed Japan.

- | | |
|---|--------|
| • I am a full-time staff at BuzzFeed Japan. | 91.18% |
| • I am a staff by contract at BuzzFeed Japan. | 0.00% |
| • I am a part-time staff at BuzzFeed Japan. | 8.82% |
| • Others | 0.00% |

2. What is your occupational background?

- Journalist 44.12%
- Interpreter/Translator 0.00%
- Others 55.88%

3. What is your mother tongue?

- Japanese 97.06%
- English 5.88%
- Others 2.94%

4. Please explain about your experience in foreign/second language learning.

- Only during school education (including at the undergraduate level). 73.53%
- I was enrolled in a specialized program (e.g. foreign language schools, interpreter/ translator training schools, graduate courses specializing in foreign language acquisition). 11.76%
- Participated in foreign language training courses provided by the organization that I work(ed) for. 2.94%
- Others 20.59%

5. What is your frequency of contact with foreign language(s) in your daily work?

- Every day 35.29%
- Several times a week 32.35%
- Several times a month 8.82%
- Only occasionally 20.59%
- None 2.94%

6. In what ways do you have contact with foreign language(s) during work? (multiple answers)

- When searching for information or doing background checks online. 82.35%
- When conducting interviews and other data collection activities. 14.71%
- As means of communication with my colleagues. 61.76%
- Others 11.76%

7. Is translation involved when carrying out your work?

- No 44.12%
- Yes 55.88%

8. Do you think there are differences between translation done by news content providers themselves and those by professional translators?

No 32.35%

Yes 67.65%

9. Are there any study sessions or training you would like to take part in regarding translation and/or interpreting?

No 32.35%

Yes 67.65%

10. Please write anything that you want to say about news translation.

Nothing in particular 78.79%

Yes 21.21%

* The list above does not contain individual answers to each question.

Tracing convergence in the translation of community radio news

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In South Africa, a number of new media role-players have appeared, but radio is still essential for the dissemination of information. This chapter addresses questions related to community radio news translation, namely the forms of new technologies involved. Actor-network theory (ANT) provides a framework to trace the role of the non-human in the form of new media technologies, as well as the interactions and translation processes between human *and* non-human. Data were collected from two community radio stations through observations, field notes, informal discussions with participants, photographs, and audio recordings. The study showed, among other things, that the technologies used in each station differ along the lines of the digital divide specific to South Africa. Although different non-human actants are important mediators, the examples also indicate that the translation of radio news – even in a convergent environment – does not necessarily depend on the latest new media technologies.

Keywords: news translation, convergence, community radio, actor-network theory, South Africa

1. Introduction

In recent years, the South African media landscape has shown drastic changes due to the proliferation of new forms of technologies. Old media, such as newspapers, television, and radio, collide with new forms of media, for example the internet, mobile phones, social media, and other online platforms. This is convergence in its simplest form. Jenkins contends that convergence is the point “where grassroots and corporate media intersect, where the power of the media producer and the power of the media consumer interact in unpredictable ways” (2006: 2). The dimensions of convergence include multimedia journalism, cross-ownership, co-operation, and technological convergence (Wilkinson, Grant, and Fisher 2009: 9).

Technological convergence, specifically, occurs when the consumer can access a variety of services on a single platform (for example accessing audio and video on a mobile phone), or when the consumer is able to access a single service on multiple platforms or devices (for example accessing Facebook on an iPad, PC, or mobile phone) (Dwyer 2010: 4). Media convergence, as indicated by Zotto and Lugmayr (2016: 4), is “rather a process [...] than an outcome.” Jenkins adds that “convergence represents a cultural shift as consumers are encouraged to seek out new information and make connections among dispersed media content” (2006: 3).

This chapter focuses on convergence in the South African community radio industry. Before 1994, the South African mediascape was divided into mostly Afrikaans newspapers, the government-regulated public broadcaster (South African Broadcasting Corporation, or SABC), and, to a lesser extent, alternative media. The post-apartheid era has seen the privatization of newspapers, radio, and television. With regard to radio, the country’s Broadcasting Act, no. 4 (Republic of South Africa 1999) identifies three types of radio, namely public broadcasting (SABC), commercial radio stations, and community radio stations.

2. Community radio in the South African media industry

Community radio provides “a voice to the voiceless – both as individuals and as a community of citizens” (Mudgal 2015: 119). These stations are non-profit entities, broadcasting to a specific community, whether it is a geographically defined community or a community of special interest (AMARC 1998: 13). Community radio is furthermore characterized by “availability, affordability and accessibility” (Chiumbu and Ligaga 2013: 243). Linked to accessibility is another core characteristic of community radio, namely that of participation and involvement by the community in the particular radio station. This includes involvement “in all aspects of running the station” (Chiumbu 2010: 125), e.g. in the governance structures of the radio station on the level of the board of directors, management of the station, volunteering as broadcasters, technical assistants, and producers, music compilers, program coordinators, and newsroom workers. In the newsroom, for example, staff members are responsible for, among other things, compiling and reading news bulletins, gathering information, attending news events, and packaging content for current affairs programs. A news worker is thus required to be multi-skilled, a characteristic emphasized by literature in community radio (Govender 2010: 187), as well as research on newsrooms where media convergence takes place (Erdal 2007: 52; Wilkinson, Grant, and Fisher 2009: 4).

In addition, community radio is resilient to changes in technology and continues to adapt to these circumstances (Gunner, Ligaga, and Moyo 2011: 2). These

technologies could include mobile phones, personal computers (PCs), digital editing, and automatic SMS (Short Message Service) texting (Gilberds and Myers 2012: 78). It is especially mobile phones that play a vital role in the survival of radio culture in South Africa (Mudhai 2011: 253).

Investigating any form of translation in the South African context cannot be separated from the country's distinct multilingual complexities. One of the main aims of community radio is to provide for the specific language and cultural needs of the community in question (Govender 2010: 184).

Before 1994, South Africa's language policy included two official languages – Afrikaans and English. English was the language of commerce, higher education, and industry, while the government, civil service, police, army, and navy made use of Afrikaans. Furthermore, Afrikaans was used to construct a white Afrikaner identity with regard to cultural and political ideologies and practices, which included the funding of various Afrikaans publications, such as newspapers, literature, and radio broadcasting (Barnett 2000: 67). Thus, language became intertwined with culture, tradition, and group identity “with conceptions and definitions of allegiance and ‘belonging’” (Edwards 2013: 19).

In terms of ethnic nationalism, the National Party (NP) government invested an extensive amount of resources to promote multilingualism and “to encourage separate ethnic nationalisms” (Louw 2011: 191). This included funding towards establishing “non-English media systems in Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi, Tswana, etc. [...] geared toward promoting separate ethnic nationalisms” (191). The language rights of speakers of non-official languages (i.e. South African indigenous languages) were not protected in Apartheid South Africa (Currie 2012: 65) and it was only in 1996, with the adoption of the country's new constitution,¹ that there was representation of “cultural diversity in terms of eleven distinct, bounded language groups” (Barnett 2000: 57). The eleven official languages are isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, and English. IsiXhosa, isiZulu, siSwati, and Ndebele form part of the Nguni group, while the Sotho group consists of Sesotho, Sepedi, and Setswana. Tsonga and Venda, the last two, do not fall in one of the two language groups mentioned (Mesthrie 2008: 324).

Turning to the specific focus of this study, the aim is to trace forms of convergence in the translation of community radio news. Here translation is to be understood in terms of Jakobson's (1959: 233) typology that includes interlingual, intralingual, and intersemiotic translation. The research questions guiding this study are:

1. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Republic of South Africa 1996).

- Which forms of new media technologies are used, and in what ways, in the news translation process in community radio?
- How are the same news stories (thus the news events) translated, transformed, or adapted across media platforms?

To address these questions, I present an overview of the convergent newsroom, followed by a discussion of Bruno Latour's actor-network theory (ANT) according to which the data will be discussed and analysed.

3. The convergent newsroom

In particular, various forms of convergence, including technological, media, and organizational convergence, also influence news production (Erdal 2007: 52). In the convergent newsroom, journalists also face a number of challenges with respect to adapting to different platforms and the medium-specific characteristics of each of these media platforms. Furthermore, various technological factors influence the production of news and lead to questions regarding "who gets to tell the story, what kinds of stories are told, how they are told, and to what audience they are addressed" (54).

In this study, convergence relates to the radio newsroom. Radio is identified primarily in terms of sound and is produced for the ear – not for the eye (Hall 1974: 20). However, with the development of technology, access to the internet provides radio newsrooms opportunities to "offer the same services and information as other media company Web sites" (Wilkinson, Grant, and Fisher 2009: 77).

Mobile phones in particular play an important role in community radio (Mudhai 2011: 253). To understand their relevance, I refer to figures on the use of mobile phones, as well as internet accessibility in the country. South Africa has 37.5 million unique mobile subscribers, which calculates to a penetration rate of 68%. These statistics compare favourably to global figures according to which two-thirds (or five billion people) of the world's population are mobile subscribers (GSMA Intelligence 2017: 11). However, internet connectivity is still a challenge in developing countries where there are vast discrepancies between urban and rural areas. Up to 50% of the world's population (i.e. 3.7 billion people) still have *no* internet connection (23). Around a third of this number live in areas that do not have access to a 3G or 4G signal. The other two thirds of the world population without internet often cannot afford access. The content is not necessarily applicable to them, and low literacy levels prevent them from benefiting from any form of connectivity (25).

This links to a discussion on the digital divide as well. Statistics show that sub-Saharan Africa has the second highest figures in terms of the digital divide, second only to India. Around 42% of the world's people without internet connection live in India and sub-Saharan Africa, "with more than 60% of their respective populations not yet on the internet" (GSMA Intelligence 2017: 24). In South Africa itself, although technologically advanced and more equipped in comparison to other countries on the African continent, the old disparities regarding geography and income are still prevalent (Gilberds and Myers 2012: 79).

In urban areas, radio stations embrace new forms of technology, for example the internet, while in the poorer rural areas, there is far less access to these forms of technology. This "reinforces the disparities of access for rural populations and minority language-users" (Gilberds and Myers 2012: 79).

4. Actor-network theory: A brief overview

Actor-network theory (ANT) developed from the need for a social theory that would be able to include science and technology studies. It is here where "non-humans – microbes, scallops, rocks, and ships – presented themselves to social theory in a new way" (Latour 2005: 10). Couldry (2008: 95) explains that ANT, since its inception, has specifically aimed at getting away from traditional forms of sociology, rather seeing the social as the discovery of ideas and not necessarily trapped in social interactions. Thus, the aim was to redefine traditional sociology (or what Latour described as the "sociology of the social"), to include both the human and non-human. In contrast to the "sociology of the social," he refers to "*the tracing of associations*" and therefore the "sociology of associations" (Latour 2005: 5, italics in original).

In translation studies, ANT was introduced as theoretical framework investigating translation "in the making," including an analysis of the way in which human and non-human actors interact with one another (Buzelin 2005, 2007). Other studies followed by among others Bogic (2010), Abdallah (2012), Tyulenev (2014), and more recently Luo and Zheng (2017). One of the greatest values of ANT is that it provides a framework according to which one can trace the role(s) of translators and all other actors involved in the translation process, as well as any form of technology or equipment (Tyulenev 2014: 26). Also in journalism studies, ANT is applied as a "travel guide" (Latour 2005: 16) to explore the role of non-human actors (Turner 2005; Plesner 2009; Archetti 2014). Latour emphasizes that when investigating the social, it is no longer viable to exclude *things*. Through this, he does not imply that *things* are more important than humans, but rather that ANT "does not limit itself to human individual actors but extends the word

actor – or actant – to non-human, non-individual entities” (Latour 1996: 369). The non-human in news production could include personal computers, search engines, or mobile phones (Plesner 2009: 612). However, as these *actants* leave no trace, “they offer no information to the observer and will have no visible effect on other agents” (Latour 2005: 79). Therefore, in the discussion below, only relevant actants that contribute to answering the research questions posed will be taken into account.

Turning to Latour’s use of the term *network*, it is usually easier to understand his concept in terms of what it is *not*. It is not a freeway, a telephone, or the internet that one could visually represent by a shape with interconnected points. The term network is used as a “tool to help describe something, not what is being described” (Latour 2005: 131). The network has to be established through the actors working together, i.e. networking, or as Latour states, it is a “*worknet* or *action net*” (132, italics in original). Thus, “[a] network is [...] the recorded movement of a thing” (Latour 1996: 378). Tracing these *actor-networks* provides ANT-researchers insight into what all the different actants are *doing* (i.e. the actions and processes). These researchers are required “to follow the actors themselves” to learn from them and to “define the new associations that they have been forced to establish” (Latour 2005: 12).

Furthermore, Latour makes a distinction between mediators and intermediaries. An *intermediary* is an entity that “transports meaning [...] without transformation” (Latour 2005: 39), without making a difference. It is the point through which something is transferred without having any effect or causing change. An intermediary is also compared to a *black box*.² It might consist of a number of entities, but it is not necessarily possible to open it up and detect all the aspects involved. *Mediators* are those actants who make a difference and make other mediators “do things” (217). These actants become actors and they are the ones who “transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry” (39). It is the juncture at which mediators interact, where the translation, transformation, change, and also *meaning-making* (Latour 1996: 14) occur and leave “traceable associations” (Latour 2005: 108). This then relates to Latour’s use of the term TRANSLATION,³ which is also the reason why ANT is often referred to as the “sociology of translation.” This is a term that did not hold in soci-

2. “The word **black box** is used by cyberneticians whenever a piece of machinery or a set of commands is too complex” (Latour 1987: 2–3, emphasis in original).

3. I have taken a topographical decision to use TRANSLATION in small caps, even in direct quotes from Latour or others, as indication of where the term is used in Latourian fashion. Also, in the ANT context, the term TRANSLATION does *not* carry the same meaning as in interlingual, intralingual, or intersemiotic translation (Jakobson 1959).

ology itself, but it also differs from the label as it is used to refer to the sociological turn in translation studies. For Latour, TRANSLATION is the “relation that does not transport causality but induces two mediators into coexisting” (Latour 2005: 108).

Latour more than once acknowledges the difficulty and complexity of ANT’s terminology. In 1992 already, Callon and Latour provided the key vocabulary for ANT, namely to use *actant* instead of *actor*, *actor-network* rather than *social relations*, and TRANSLATION to replace *interaction* or *negotiation*. The main reason for these differentiations are to make the distinction clear between the “sociology of the social” and the “sociology of association.” The latter is *not* human-centred and includes “the really natural and object-centred repertoires” (Callon and Latour 1992: 347). In what follows, I present the research design and methodology followed in this study – including guidelines taken from ANT as well.

5. ANT as method

Actor-network theory provides the researcher a methodological and analytical framework to investigate different forms of technology in the news production process (including translation). Although there are many ways in which ANT could be applied, I have opted to adapt his guidelines of slowing down the research process (the so-called *slowciology*) (Latour 2005: 122, 165), through following and tracing the actors themselves (12). The ANT researcher becomes an ant, “a blind, myopic, workaholic, trail-sniffing, and collective traveller” (9). This would provide the researcher access to data, because “*everything is data*” (133, italics in original). It also provides the researcher with the tools to observe routine activities to identify the positions of non-human actants as vital cogs in the operation of the day-to-day human existence. In Latour’s own words, the guidelines for ANT-researchers are:

[W]e go, we listen, we learn, we practice, we become competent, we change our views. Very simple really: it’s called inquiries. Good inquiries always produce a lot of new descriptions. (2005: 146)

In the data presentation and discussion below, I present excerpts from field notes during visits to the radio stations. These descriptions are numbered and presented in italic format.

6. Case studies

The two case studies identified for this study focus on two community radio stations, with different demographic profiles, in the Free State province of South

Africa.⁴ The Free State is the most central province of the country with a population of 2,834,714 (Statistics South Africa 2016: 19), which is 5% of the country's total population. The Free State is one of nine provinces and is also the third largest province in terms of land area, covering 129,825 square kilometres, which is 10.6% of the country's total land area (Statistics South Africa 2014: 15).

In the Free State province of South Africa, in which this study is situated, 71.9% of the population speaks Sesotho, with Afrikaans the second highest at 10.85% (see Table 1). The two radio stations chosen for this study, respectively, use Afrikaans (Radio Station A) and Sesotho (Radio Station B) in their news bulletins.

Table 1. Distribution of persons aged one year and older by language spoken most often in the household and province (Statistics South Africa 2016: 35)

Language	Percentage
Sesotho	71.90
Afrikaans	10.85
isiXhosa	5.69
Setswana	5.4
isiZulu	3.76
English	1.4

From quantitative and qualitative data collected and analyzed in Van Rooyen (2018), it has already been established that there are various forms of translation taking place in the community radio stations in the Free State province. As that paper showed, on the level of interlingual translation, news workers use sources in languages other than the broadcast language, for example in the form of dictionaries and hard-copy terminology lists (for example in Sesotho and English). Individual participants also referred to the act of translating on an interlingual level, and on an intralingual level, they explained processes that include the re-writing of texts, for example from newspapers and news websites to radio.

7. Data presentation

I visited the two radio stations in November and December 2016 – one week at Radio Station A and two weeks at Radio Station B. The aim was, as stated, to follow the actors – whether human or non-human – in order to identify traces

4. Details of each radio station is included in the introductory paragraph of each of these discussions.

made visible through their interactions (i.e. TRANSLATION) in the news production processes. In addition, I would gather anything that I could put my hands on, because (as emphasized earlier), *everything is data*. The main data collection methods included a period of observation at each of the radio stations, field notes, informal discussions with radio news participants, as well as photographs and audio recordings.

7.1 Radio station A

Radio Station A is situated within the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, which includes former white suburbs⁵ and informal settlements (or townships) within a 60-kilometre radius around the province's capital Bloemfontein. According to the listenership figures, as provided by the Radio Audience Measurement Survey (South African Advertising Research Foundation 2016: 3), Radio Station A has 31,000 listeners, described as Christian and Afrikaans. Programming is focused on Afrikaans as language and culture, and all of its news bulletins are presented in Afrikaans. The official figures regarding language distribution in the radio station's broadcast footprint indicate the use of 42.5% Afrikaans (see Table 2).

Table 2. Language distribution for broadcast footprint of Radio Station A (Statistics South Africa 2011a)

Language	Percentage
Afrikaans	42.5
Sesotho	33.4
English	7.5
isiXhosa	7.1
Setswana	5.9

With regard to internet access, 46.3% of the population in this area has no access to the internet and of those that do have access, 20.9% access the internet via mobile phones (see Table 3).

5. These references to white and black are necessary to provide sufficient context to the South African reality. Even though apartheid was abolished in 1994, there are still certain distinctions based on race, e.g. former white areas include residents of all races, while informal settlements (or townships) are populated with black South Africans only.

Table 3. Access to internet for broadcast footprint of Radio Station A (Statistics South Africa 2011b)

Access	Percentage
From home	17.5
From mobile phone	20.9
From work	9.7
From elsewhere	5.6
No access	46.3

7.1.1 *Radio station A: Data presentation*

In this discussion, I provide an overview of what the news manager's daily activities include. The news manager is responsible for writing the news from 8:00AM to 2:00PM, but he also manages and coordinates the work of two other news writers who are responsible for the early morning and late afternoon shifts. Both of them work from home and send their news bulletins to the broadcast studio via email. Radio Station A also has access to a secure internet connection (via Wi-Fi).

Throughout the duration of my visit to Radio Station A, the news manager was eager to assist with information and often disrupted my intention to be an ANT-ant, but I consistently aimed at overcoming this obstacle by keeping as much distance as possible.

- (1) Day 1: *The news manager arrives at 8:00AM, switches on his laptop and starts reading through his emails. He focuses on the morning's news bulletins compiled by one of his colleagues. The news manager turns his attention to emails sent by their main news sources – a private news agency – to which the radio station is subscribed. The agency provides news (at a specific monthly subscription fee), which is tailor-made for Afrikaans radio. Each of these bulletins include between seven and nine news items.*

Up to this point, the non-human actants include the news agency's news bulletins, the radio station's news bulletins, a laptop computer, and Wi-Fi internet connection. In Example (1), connections and interactions occur on various levels, for example between the news manager and his computer; the news manager and the internet or email; the news manager and the morning news bulletins; and the news manager and the news agency's news bulletin(s). All of these actants are mediators, because they are all making the other *do* something, e.g. the news manager switches on his computer, but the computer also *makes* the news manager switch it on and work on it. There are interactions between the two mediators (Latour's TRANSLATION), because without one another neither would have any effect on the news production process (including translation). This radio station

also has a stable internet Wi-Fi connection, which is not the case in Radio Station B. Furthermore, Radio Station A's subscription to a news agency providing radio news in Afrikaans is an advantage as news writers rarely need to do any form of interlingual translation. It is specifically important to mention that there are very few radio stations in the province who have access to news agency sources.

- (2) *The news manager receives and reads the news agency's latest news bulletin. He chooses four to five stories to be included in the radio news bulletin and then copies it into a Word document. He checks the facts of the news stories by logging onto two different websites – one being the news page of the public broadcaster's Afrikaans radio service, and the other, a private Afrikaans news and lifestyle website. Once the news manager completes the news bulletin, he saves it as a PDF document and emails it to the broadcast studio. The broadcaster then prints the news bulletin and reads it at the top of the hour.*

The news agency, like the news manager, is a mediator because it makes the other *do* something. The news manager opens the email, reads it, decides which stories to use, pastes it into a Word template and edits the stories where necessary. Thus, while editing and adapting the news, the news manager as mediator is effecting certain changes to the news bulletin. The interaction between these two mediators is thus also TRANSLATION. At that moment, a configuration takes place in which the traces of their associations can be identified.

- (3) *The news manager continues the news production process by editing news items that have been included in his radio news bulletin for various online platforms, such as the website and Facebook. This process includes intralingual translation according to which the radio news story is prepared for the website in print format. The radio news stories are only three to four lines in length and therefore the news manager searches for additional background information before publishing the stories on the station's website, Facebook page, and Twitter feed.*

In preparation for the online platforms, the news manager as actor (thus mediator) interacts with the text in order to bring about meaningful changes through intralingual translation. These changes include searching for additional information to expand on the original three to four lines provided by the Afrikaans news agency. The news moves across media platforms (a form of convergence) from the webpage, Facebook, or Twitter. A more detailed example follows in paragraph (4) below.

- (4) *In preparing the radio station's next news bulletin, the news manager often checks other websites in both Afrikaans and English. He identifies a news story (in English) that is not included in the news bulletin compiled by their*

main news provider. The news manager explains that translating is difficult, but he still chooses to translate this specific news story due to its relevance for a station's audience. The story focuses on three suspects that are set to appear in court after threatening a Free State farmer with a toy gun. The news manager explains that the station's listeners are interested in stories relating to the farming community, especially any form of crime affecting farmers in the province. The story is thus included in the next bulletin. Thereafter, the news manager prepares the story for the radio station's website. He searches, via Google, for an image that will fit the story, because as he indicates, an image or photograph attracts the reader's attention. He keeps the first four sentences of the radio news story the same, but adds three additional sentences for more background information. He also includes a hyperlink to the original source's website and shares the radio station's story on Facebook and Twitter.

Paragraph (4) provides various examples of technological and media convergence. Technologically, the internet (as non-human actant) is an *intermediary*, because it allows for a seamless transportation of information without any transformation in the news production process. However, other non-human actants, such as the website, Facebook, or Twitter (as *mediators*), force the news manager to *do* something else. Due to the new forms of media, the news manager translates the radio news story into print format for the website. There are different forms of media involved in this convergence process, including changing, adapting, rewriting, and translating the news story from English to Afrikaans for radio news, and thereafter (or simultaneously) translating the story for the website (adding more background information as well as an image of the toy gun). It is interesting to note that previous research on a pre-convergence radio newsroom only refers to translation from the printed format (for example from newspapers or websites) to the broadcast format (van Rooyen 2005, 2011; van Rooyen and Naudé 2009).

From the discussion above, the following links can be drawn between the findings related to Radio Station A and convergence. First, on the level of technological convergence, new forms of technology play a vital role in the news production process, namely accessibility through a stable internet connection, access to email facilities, laptop computers, and printers. Although the news editor refers to instances where the WhatsApp application is used to communicate with fellow news presenters or newsmakers, I did not observe any examples in the period of data collection. In terms of media convergence, new items are changed and adapted for different media platforms – the website, Facebook, and Twitter. There is no formal organizational convergence in this instance as Radio Station A is a radio station only.

7.2 Radio station B

Radio Station B is situated in a rural area of the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality. This specific area's population is black only, with 84.5% speaking Sesotho (see Table 4). The radio station has 102,000 listeners and broadcasts content in Sesotho, English, Setswana, and isiXhosa. The news, however, broadcast only in Sesotho.

Table 4. Language distribution for broadcast footprint of Radio Station B (Statistics South Africa 2011b)

Language	Percentage
Sesotho	84.5
isiXhosa	7.6
English	2
Afrikaans	1.6
Sign Language	1.5
Setswana	1.3

In this area, 74.2% of the population has no access to the internet. Of the total number of people that do have internet access, 17.1% make use of mobile phones (see Table 5).

Table 5. Internet access for broadcast footprint of Radio Station B (Statistics South Africa 2011b)

Access	Percentage
From home	2.8
From mobile phone	17.1
From work	1.5
From elsewhere	4.4
No access	74.2

7.2.1 Radio station B: Data presentation

In this discussion, I focus on one specific news event from the moment a news story “arrived” at the radio station, until it is distributed in more than one media format (see Appendix A).

- (5) *On Monday morning, November 14, 2016, three representatives of the governing party's youth league visit the radio station. They tell the news writer about a political march planned for two days later. The aim of the march is*

to protest against the legal and judicial system with regard to the early release on bail of criminal suspects. The news writer and the visitors communicate in Sesotho, but the news writer takes down his notes in English. Thereafter, he writes a broadcast notice – by hand – in Sesotho, which he then takes to the broadcast studio. The broadcaster reads the notice on air. In the meantime, the news writer prepares a Sesotho text (also by hand) that will be included in the next Sesotho news bulletin.

In (5), the human actants act as mediators. The three men arrive at the radio station with information on a political march. The information provided by the three men lead to the news writer jotting down the information. Thus, the information in itself (a non-human actant) is involved in the mediation process through which meaning is created. The interactions between the human actors (mediators) and the information are Latourian TRANSLATIONS. In addition, the news writer's pen and paper are mediators, because this is the only manner in which the news writer can capture the information. The news writer does not have access to a laptop computer. There is only one laptop available to the news team, but this computer is in the possession of one of the journalists responsible for the current affairs program.

- (6) *On Wednesday, November 16, 2016, the news writer realizes that there is no one available to cover the news event (i.e. the political march). Realizing this dilemma, he asks permission from a manager to scrap the 11 o'clock news bulletin in order to attend the march and cover the story. He explains that this is an important story about a political march that will be of great interest to the radio station's audience. The news writer invites me to accompany him to the nearby local court (within walking distance) where the youth party and its members hand over a memorandum to a local representative of the court. I observe the news writer interacting with members of the youth party, asking questions, recording their voices and taking down notes. One of the party's leaders addresses the crowd and reads the memorandum (written in English). The leaders then hand over the memorandum to the representative of the court.*

In section (6), the news writer is a mediator in his interactions with the manager on duty. The two human actors (mediators), but also the news event itself (thus also a mediator), lead to a news bulletin being scrapped. This is unusual in any broadcast newsroom, but it is indicative of the constraints regarding staff and other resources. The memorandum is also a non-human actant that acts as a *mediator*. It is involved in the interactions between the political party's leaders, the community, and the local court representative. The memorandum, therefore, adds *meaning* to the interactions between all the parties involved.

- (7) *In the meantime, I take photographs and make audio recordings with my smartphone for my own research purposes. The news writer asks me to take photographs and make recordings while he does his interviews. He explains that his mobile's battery is drained and that his recorder is not reliable.*

At this stage, the production process becomes even more complicated. Various questions arise: who is now involved, in what, for whom? My smartphone would have been a non-factor (with regard to the news production process) had it not been for the news writer asking me to get involved. I am no longer only an observer. Methodologically, my role evolved into that of a participant observer. In terms of ANT, I became a *mediator* in the news production process, effecting change by providing access to photographs and recordings captured on my smartphone, with the effect of a temporary form of technological convergence that otherwise would not have occurred. In addition, these non-human actants become mediators as they affect the way in which I interact with the political march and with the news writer. Thus, the news writer *makes* me do certain things and in effect, he makes my technology *do* certain things, as well. Furthermore, my involvement adds another level to the news production process, as well as the research process. My participation contributes to a deeper level of trust and cooperation in my relationship with the news writer.

- (8) *We return to the office where the news writer proceeds to write a news item (by hand) in Sesotho. He uses different sources, including his notes, a hard copy of the memorandum and audio recordings. He asks to look at the photographs I've taken and requests that I send them to him via Bluetooth. He says I shouldn't send it to him via WhatsApp or text messaging, as he doesn't have any data or airtime on his phone. He explains that the news team's ongoing struggle is access to email and internet sources. The radio station does not have an internet connection and therefore the news workers need to ask management for airtime vouchers. He says they usually only receive vouchers for small amounts of airtime or data. He explains that he needs the photographs for a print story that he's writing for a local community newspaper. The two organizations are not related, but both are aware that the news writer repurposes his own local news stories.*

Excerpt (8) includes numerous non-human actants, namely a handwritten news item, the news writer's notes, a hard copy of the memorandum, my smartphone, audio recordings, photographs, Bluetooth, and a news story written for a community newspaper. All of these are *mediators* in relationship to the news writer.

With regard to convergence at Radio Station B, technological examples are present in the form of mobile phones and Bluetooth, and they are enhanced by my participation in the form of a smartphone. Media convergence occurs on the level

of an individual (the news writer) providing news stories to both the radio station and a community newspaper. In comparison to Radio Station A, media convergence does not take place within the radio station. Although there are broadcasters with their own Facebook accounts, there is no specific Facebook page for the radio station's news feed. The radio station also has no webpage. This could be related to figures (see Table 5) that 74.2% of the population in this area has no access to the internet. It would be nonsensical to spend resources in the form of time and money on these media platforms.

The news writer is also innovative in repurposing his own news stories. The individual has initiated convergence and it does not occur on an organizational level. The news writer creates his own opportunities for growth and experience (and probably some form of remuneration). This links to the socio-economic circumstances of people in the Free State province where the unemployment rate is 27.7% (Statistics South Africa 2014). Thus, in this case the news writer makes use of the opportunity to present his news items in different media formats across media platforms. He imitates convergence as an individual that is not facilitated through any specific organization or institution.

8. Findings and conclusion

To answer the first research question regarding the forms of new media technology present in the convergence of the radio newsroom, the following had been identified: computers, access to the internet and email, and mobile phones.

Computers

In the case of Radio Station A, the news manager's laptop was an *intermediary*, as it did not have any effect on the news production process as observed during the research visit. However, if, for instance, the laptop should break, it could become a mediator – forcing the news manager to act in a certain way to solve the problem. In the case of Radio Station B, there are no laptops or desktop computers. This leads to the news writers writing news notices and news bulletins by hand. In this instance, the issue of time starts playing a vital role. The lack of technology (thus the lack of technological convergence) has an effect on the news production process.

Access to the internet and email

Radio Station A has a secure Wi-Fi internet connection that provides the news team access to emails and news websites. Through the internet and email, the

radio station's news writers received news stories, communicated with whomever was necessary, and translated news stories for online platforms, such as the website or Facebook. In a sense, the internet and email were *intermediaries* if there was no interruption in the signal, but they were also *mediators*, making the news writer *do* things, for example compiling, translating, copying, and pasting, searching for images, etc. In comparison, the news writer at Radio Station B had limited access to the internet and email. Although there was network coverage in the area, the radio station itself had no fixed internet line or Wi-Fi internet connections. The news workers relied on limited funding to buy airtime (or data).

Mobile phones

In the case of Radio Station A, I did not observe the news manager using either his mobile or landline phones. It could be because it was a quiet time of the year, or merely that internet and email access made it redundant to communicate via phones as well. However, at Radio Station B, the news writer and other news workers relied on mobile phones for most of their day-to-day activities. Some of these included taking photographs, making audio recordings, using the mobile phone to play pre-recorded sound bites, communicate with one another as well as members of the community and the audience via messaging applications, such as WhatsApp.

The specific manner in which these forms of technology, computers, access to the internet and mobile phones were used in each of these radio stations differ along the lines of the digital divide specific to the South African context. At Radio Station B, there were far fewer forms of new media technologies, and other forms of connectivity and accessibility. However, in spite of struggling with internet connectivity and recording equipment, nor having access to computers, the news writer was able to write, rewrite, and translate news items.

In the case of Radio Station A, the news team is able to include new media in their distribution of news, for example on Facebook, Twitter, and a webpage. At Radio Station B, the lack of access to the internet (due to financial constraints) led to the news team focusing on the primary media, namely radio. New forms of media, especially mobile phones and applications such as WhatsApp, also play a vital role in the news production process.

The last question regarding the translation or adaptation of news across media platforms was illustrated in the interlingual translation of Afrikaans news texts at Radio Station A – either from a website text to a radio news item or the other way around. From the examples provided, the following forms of translation were evident at Radio Station B: (1) the interlingual translation between information received in Sesotho, written down in English and then translated into a Sesotho news item; (2) compiling a Sesotho news item using handwritten notes, an English

memorandum as well as interviews with role-players in Sesotho; and (3) translating a Sesotho news story (in radio format) for an English community newspaper (in print format).

Although different non-human actants had been shown to be important mediators in the news production process, the examples also indicated that the translation of radio news – even in a converged environment – does not necessarily depend on the latest new media technologies.

In conclusion, this study has opened up other possibilities for future research, for example a detailed textual analysis of the translation processes involved in the transformations and adaptations between the different forms of media. In addition, it could be valuable to investigate the possibilities of training in the community radio context where journalists need to be multitaskers and translators without any form of formal training.

Returning to translation studies and the development of a sociology of translation, Latour's contribution is more than only tracing actions and following actors, but also acknowledging the complexity, instability, and uncertainty of the social. This is especially relevant in contexts that are not necessarily professionalized or stable. As elaborated by Berliner et al. (2013), Latour's aim is to include "multiple actants that are present in a situation, describing the way they are tied together, and analyzing how their co-presence modifies their being" (2013: 442). This provides a social scientist (also investigating social practices in translation studies) with the opportunity to emphasize "the complexity of operations of continuity and discontinuity that preside over social life" (Berliner et al. 2013: 442), as evident in news translation, specifically in community radio news.

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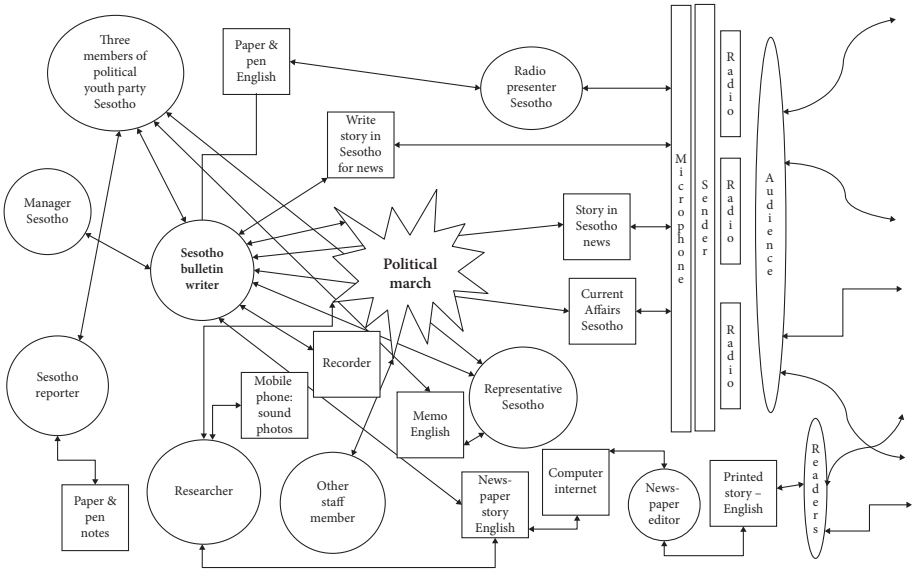
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Appendix A

Visual representation of interactions in the production of a news story at Radio Station B



Technological convergence threatening translation

The professional vision of francophone journalists in Canada

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Le Droit is a monolingual French-language regional newspaper targeting audiences in two Canadian provinces. Although its multimodal content appears to be in French only, English permeates the daily work of reporters. Data include sessions of observation, semi-structured interviews, and text collection on different platforms (print, website, applications, and social media). This chapter shows that, at the level of news-gathering, contacts with English sources seem partially unavoidable or even desirable. At the level of production, however, all traces of translation are erased in the written form, while French voices are systematically preferred in audiovisual content. The growing importance of audiovisual content seems to predict the exclusion of sources in a second language.

Keywords: cross-platform production, Canadian media, community of practice, fieldwork, news translation

1. Introduction

How do journalists deal with translation? The biggest change is not translation; the most important work is the choice of quotes, or so the editor-in-chief of the Swiss national newswire told me, at least in substance, in 2012. Journalists I have interviewed so far tend to downplay the role of languages and translation. However, I have shown in my previous research that language proficiency and notions of translation do influence the way journalists select their information (Davier 2017). If a reporter struggles with the wording of a press release in a second language, she may leave out a whole passage. An editor with a literal conception of translation may deselect a quote with an idiomatic expression in a second language because

it does not translate well word for word. As a result, some sources and social actors who do not master the language in which the journalists write the news are underrepresented (Davier 2017). In the context of two news agencies operating in several languages in multilingual Switzerland, the selection or deselection of quotes and information was a direct consequence of professional vision of translation when I was in the field from 2010 to 2012.

On my way to Canada to conduct the present study, I wanted to check whether similar phenomena would be at play in a different sociolinguistic context, and, above all, in media producing information for several platforms (print, online, and mobile editions). How do journalists view bilingualism and translation in the era of convergence?

The introductory chapter of this edited collection already shows that questions of convergence and multilingualism are deeply interrelated (Dor 2004; Halavais 2000; Quandt 2008). I wanted to investigate whether the “resilience of cultural structures” (Halavais 2000: 8) could also be observed in 2017 in the newsroom of a newspaper (or media outlet) that is serving a francophone audience in an area of Canada where French is partly a minority language.

The introduction of this volume also states that convergence can take a multiplicity of forms (Kolodzy 2006; Quinn 2005; Reich 2016) and that there is no agreed-upon definition of convergence. I therefore start this chapter with a working definition of convergence and refine it in the interpretation of data from the field. Here, convergence has to be understood as “cross-platform production” (Quandt and Singer 2009) or “cross-media production” (Larrondo et al. 2016), which covers the production of information for various platforms such as print, digital, and mobile editions. Publishing news for print, the internet, and mobile applications involves an increased number of multimedia components (Deuze 2007), such as videos or interactive maps, to name but a few.

2. Conceptual framework, method, and data

This section introduces the conceptual framework of this study, justifies the choice of qualitative and interpretive methods, and describes the field (the Canadian francophone daily *Le Droit*).

2.1 Professional vision in a community of practice

What exactly am I investigating when I discuss the journalists’ conceptions of a writing phenomenon involving several languages? I am not interested in the

“faithfulness” of their translations, but in their “professional vision” of translation and bilingualism.

The concept of “professional vision” was first developed by Goodwin in the 1990s (1994) and has been used in linguistic anthropology and sociology, among other places. A professional vision encompasses “discursive practices” (Goodwin 1994: 606) that are used and shared in a “community of practice” in the pursuit of a common enterprise (Wenger 1998). These discursive practices can also be described as a “shared repertoire” (Wenger 1998) or ways of categorizing the world (Goodwin 1994: 615; Sacks 1974). This chapter particularly focuses on “language practices” because “language is central to the activity” (Pennycook 2010) of production journalists are engaged in.

In the context of this study, all informants were collaborating in the newsroom of the daily *Le Droit*. In that sense, they were engaging with each other in the same day-to-day practice (“mutual engagement”) to attain a common goal (“joint enterprise” – meeting the evening deadline for the publication of their newspaper). I also take into consideration connections with other close communities of practice – “constellations of practice,” as Wenger calls them (1998: 126) – since “discourses can spread across an entire constellation” (129). This study sets out to investigate how *Le Droit*’s francophone journalists (and some of their colleagues working for other media outlets) make sense of translation and bilingualism within their community of practice.

Goodwin (1994) used videotapes of professional interactions and transcriptions suited for conversation analysis, while Wenger (1998) conducted ethnographic fieldwork. Fieldwork therefore appears to be a logical choice to produce “anthropologically informed analyses of human action and cognition as socially situated phenomena” (Goodwin 1994: 626).

2.2 Fieldwork with interpretive analysis

Scholars with a thematic focus on convergence also largely call for fieldwork: researchers should not “rely for their knowledge of journalistic practice on content analysis and untested testimony by journalists” (Schlesinger and Doyle 2015: 308). This type of approach is also encouraged by Paterson and Domingo (2008) in an edited collection in two volumes entitled *Making Online News* that pay tribute to Tuchman’s pioneer work in the sociology of journalism (Tuchman 1978).

While encouraging media scholars to go to newsrooms, Paterson also acknowledges that the “process of gaining the access to conduct ethnography of media production can be uncomfortably challenging, and that access, when granted, can be tenuous” (Paterson 2008: 8). In my case, the editor-in-chief of *Le Droit* was very open to my presence in the newsroom as a non-participant observer, but

the Research Ethics Board of the University of Ottawa required me to have every single person about whom I was taking notes sign a three-page consent form. As a consequence, I could not stay in the newsroom for an extended period of time, but had to make appointments with every single journalist who was interested in my research. These constraints have formalized my presence so much that it was impossible for me to convince someone at the next desk in the newsroom to be observed. This may explain the relatively low enthusiasm of reporters for observation.

In all, sixteen different journalists participated in my research out of a total editorial staff of thirty-five in 2016, according to the editor-in-chief. I conducted semi-structured interviews with fourteen of them (which corresponds to more than eleven hours of recordings) and was able to observe five of them (for a total of eight hours). My interpretation of their professional vision thus relies more on discourses about practices than observed practices. In the course of my investigation, I also gathered articles written by the interviewed reporters, a few press releases they had received, and their collective agreement (Le Droit 2010).

According to the literature on semi-structured interviews (Beaud and Weber 2010; Blanchet and Gotman 2015; Kaufmann 2008; Silverman 2011), I elaborated an interview guide (which can be consulted in Appendix 1) instead of a set list of questions, which are typical for structured interviews. The questions I asked could thus vary from an interviewee to the other, depending on the context and development of the conversation. Although this guide is similar to the one I developed in previous research (Davier 2017), it was created independently to echo the research question I ask in this news project. In the spirit of grounded theory, I explain the influence of the question I asked in the analysis if I consider that this question is likely to have influenced the answer of a participant in a significant way.

As regards the recordings, I transcribed them strictly verbatim, including false starts, stutters, and redundancies. However, as Poland (2001) notes, “verbatim” is a construction since informants usually speak in run-on sentences that scholars break down in sentences. In other words, every transcription is a form of entextualization (Urban 1996). The conventions I used for the transcription of this material can be found in Appendix 2. For transparency, the original quotes can be read in the footnotes. To protect the privacy of participants, following the ethical requirements of the University of Ottawa, I deleted all personal identifiers, such as proper names. Additionally, to avoid the identification of participants through gender, I refer to all cited participants with feminine pronouns.

I then coded interview transcripts and field notes with a qualitative data analysis software called QDA Miner (2012), which is similar to NVivo. Following the principle of grounded theory (Corbin and Strauss 2008), I used the first round of coding to determine initial categories, which I then refined iteratively after several cycles of fieldwork and additional coding.

2.3 The field: *Le Droit*

Le Droit is a francophone newspaper based in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, which was founded in 1913 to fight the implementation of a law called “the infamous Regulation XVII,” which almost completely abolished French-language schools by 1915 (Labrie 2010: 336; Mougeon and Beniak 1991: 45). *Le Droit* (which means “The Right” and refers to “the right to French-language schooling”) was founded among others by a priest (Charles Charlebois) as part of a movement of resistance put up by the francophone population (Tremblay 1963). This background still matters for the journalists, who frequently referred to it in the interviews.

Nowadays, French is a minority language in the English-speaking province of Ontario. According to the national census of 2016 (Statistics Canada 2016a), 568,340 individuals claim French as their mother tongue, which makes up around 4.3 per cent of the total population.¹ It means that Franco-Ontarians form the largest French-speaking community in Canada outside Quebec (the only predominantly francophone province), even though the province of New Brunswick has a higher percentage of francophones than Ontario (Mougeon and Beniak 1991: 22). According to Mougeon and Beniak, the rate of bilingualism among Franco-Ontarians is so high that “there is hardly any more room for bilingualism to progress,” but rather a shift towards English (1991: 28). Regarding legislation, the French Language Services Act passed in 1986 in Ontario “reiterates the official status of French in education as well as the courts and recognizes the right of Franco-Ontarians to be served in French by the government’s agencies” where they are demographically strong (Mougeon and Beniak 1991: 61–2). As far as media are concerned, Mougeon writes that the younger generations of francophone Ontarians do not make extensive use of French-language media (Mougeon and Beniak 1991: 60).

As a consequence, *Le Droit* is facing a language challenge, since it is catering to an audience that is partly turning to English-speaking media. *Le Droit* is sold in the national capital region around Ottawa (the capital city of Canada), which spreads over two provinces: Quebec (predominantly francophone) and Ontario (with a francophone minority). In a personal email correspondence, the editor-in-chief of *Le Droit* (February 2017) told me that 30 percent of their print readership is based in Ontario and 70 percent in Quebec.

Le Droit is part of a newspaper chain of six regional newspapers called Capitales Médias (Groupe Capitales Médias 2017a). The Groupe Capitales Médias webpage

1. “It is important to consider how Statistics Canada defines mother tongue, i.e. the first language learnt in childhood and still *understood* at the time of the census” (Mougeon and Beniak 1991: 21).

gives a few figures concerning readership on its three platforms: print, internet, and what it calls “digital” (mobile app, tablet app, Facebook, and Twitter). At the beginning of 2017, Groupe Capitales Médias said that it was reaching 53 percent of the French-speaking population in the national capital region, that is approximately 202,000 people every week: 166,000 readers of the print edition, 101,761 unique visitors of the webpage (according to Google Analytics), and 7,000 unique app openings (Groupe Capitales Médias 2017b). Additionally, Groupe Capitales Médias specifies that 17,785 users had liked its Facebook page, and 16,619 were following its Twitter account by April 2017 (*ibid.*).

Moreover, *Le Droit* is the only French-speaking daily in Ontario. However, as a webpage and information app, *Le Droit* competes with the regional section of the public broadcaster Ici Radio-Canada (Ici Radio-Canada 2017) and especially the digital platform TC Media (TC Transcontinental Media 2017) as far as advertising revenues are concerned.

3. News-gathering convergence: Including the other language community

The use of languages changes when journalists are collecting information (in the field, from press releases, or in other media) and when they are producing the artefacts that will be delivered to the public. Hence Gordon’s (2003) model distinguishing convergence in information gathering and presentation seems particularly pertinent for the present study. To help the reader understand the background of this study, this section starts with a description of convergent elements at *Le Droit* (including limitations of convergence), and presents the situations in which journalists absolutely need contacts with English language, or even favour these contacts.

3.1 Convergence at *Le Droit*: Institutional limitations

This section does not intend to analyze convergence in a detailed manner, but rather to give a descriptive account of it for readers to better understand later analyses.

As a member of a regional media group, *Le Droit* also exchanges content with francophone newspapers in Quebec. Convergence also takes the form of “cross promotion and cloning of content” (Mishra 2016: 105) from one newspaper to another inside the same media group. Both my observations and interviews confirmed that international and national news are bought from international news agencies and the national newswire (Canadian Press); political news about Quebec is purchased from the Canadian Press or produced by *Le Soleil*, a newspaper from

the chain based in the capital city of the province of Quebec; cultural news is written by *Le Droit* and *Le Soleil*, and then shared with all members of the chain.

Its convergent strategy remains “rooted in print – increasingly combined with digital services,” similarly to the one developed by the *Financial Times* (Schlesinger and Doyle 2015: 316). Access to the content on the website and applications is free and unlimited. Other than the traditional letters to the editor, *Le Droit* does not include much content produced by users, which is a specific form of convergence according to Quandt and Singer (2009). It sometimes asks a question, but mostly posts articles from its website and rarely answers user comments.

News-gathering does not vary from one platform to another. Reporters usually write a piece of news that is copied from print to digital, mobile editions, and posts on social media. The same phenomenon is observed by Erdal (2011), Mishra (2016), and Reich (2016) in the Norwegian, Indian, and Israeli contexts. Erdal calls this phenomenon “hard-drive journalism,” meaning that a reporter creates “a new version of an already existing news report for a different platform” (Erdal 2011: 220).

There is more convergence in presentation given the “new forms of storytelling enabled by multimedia tools” (Gordon 2003). Video footage is available on the newspaper’s website and mobile applications. According to interviews conducted with the editor-in-chief and two journalists, video material is expected to become more and more important in the near future.

Since the convergence of news-gathering is strictly limited by *Le Droit*’s collective agreement, at least up to 2017 (Le Droit 2010), roles are distributed among journalists in a traditional way, according to training and skills. The agreement specifies that no journalist should replace a photographer, and no photographer should replace a journalist unless agreed upon differently by the employer, the employee, and the union (Le Droit 2010: 26). This rule comes with two exceptions. First, reporters covering an event that occurs more than 35 kilometres away can take pictures if they want (*ibid.*). Second, reporters who witness an unplanned event that they consider newsworthy are also allowed to take photographs (*ibid.*). In an interview, a reporter explained that this rule is meant to protect employed photographers: “It’s like we’re taking their job away if we take pictures instead of them.”

However, when I asked her about this rule, the editor-in-chief saw it differently: in her eyes, this collective agreement was obsolete. It had not been changed since the emergence of the internet, Facebook, and Twitter, because it would take considerable work, but it had to be done soon. She described this rule as “incongruous” in the age of social media: “[T]he idea that reporter X, Y, or Z cannot take a picture, and you, you’re on the street, you snap a picture, you send it to me,

and I can use it, there's something illogical about that."² When I asked her about the future of this regulation, she answered that the profession of journalist would disappear if it did not change, and that journalism schools were already training multimedia reporters anyways. It will be difficult for me to keep an eye on the collective agreement without going back to the field, but I can expect it to change in the near future.

From there, I understood that I had to interview photographers, too, if I wanted to have a full overview of contacts with English during the process of news-gathering.

3.2 Contacts with English: A necessity

Contrary to the expectations I formed during my first exploratory interview with the editor-in-chief, *Le Droit's* reporters are in touch with their second language – English – on a very regular basis.

When I was negotiating access to the field, I explained to the editor-in-chief of *Le Droit* that my research was about bilingualism in daily practice and translations from English into French. She answered that I would probably encounter few examples of bilingualism: “Surprisingly, uh[...], we manage to do our job in French quite easily in Ottawa.”³ She summed up contacts with material in English as follows:

[...] we have two areas of activity, as far as regional news is concerned, the Ontario side and the Quebec side. Uh, on the Quebec side, which mainly covers the city of Gatineau, and other surrounding towns, everything happens in French. Uh, on the Ontario side, it's a little different, but what we cover most in Ontario is the city of Ottawa. The city of Ottawa has a bilingual policy, so all the material we receive is in both languages. It's a little trickier when we have to deal with private companies or individuals. There, indeed, uh[...], there has to be a translation, uh, but it's not[...], it's not the bulk of our work.⁴

2. Original: “[...] que le journaliste X, Y, Z ne puisse pas prendre une photo, et que vous, vous prenez, c'est dans la rue, vous prenez une photo, vous me l'envoyez, et puis je peux la prendre, il y a quelque chose d'illogique dans ça, là.”

3. Original: “Surprenamment, euh[...], on réussit à travers le français assez facilement [R : Oui.] à Ottawa.”

4. Original: “[...] on a deux champs d'activité, en couverture de l'actualité régionale, le côté ontarien et le côté québécois. Euh, le côté québécois, qui consiste essentiellement en la ville de Gatineau, et certaines autres localités environnantes [R : Hum, hum.], ça se passe en français [R : Oui.]. Euh, du côté ontarien, c'est un peu différent, mais il en demeure pas moins que, le principal champ de couverture, en Ontario, c'est la ville d'Ottawa [R : Hum, hum.]. La ville

This list of sections and places where French is deemed prominent is an interesting starting point. On this basis, I nearly decided to stop my field at *Le Droit*, thinking that I would only have few relevant results. However, when I started talking at length with the individual reporters and shadowing them in the field, I discovered that English represented a much higher proportion of their routine, be it in their reading of media sources or in the field.

Reading the press and other media is part of the job of columnists. Even if three of them were fierce defenders of the French language, they acknowledged that at least half of the media they consulted were in English: “Yeah, half, or even three quarters of them, yeah, yeah.”⁵ It has to be specified that these figures are personal approximations. During my observations, I could confirm that columnists were reading and watching a high percentage of news in English on the internet, TV, and social media. For reporters however, media consumption depended on their usual area of coverage. Several reporters told me that they had to consult media in English if they wanted to stay up to date with news about Ottawa because francophone media focus more on the Quebec area, even if francophones make up 17.2 percent of the population of Ottawa (Statistics Canada 2016b).

Contact with participants working for the different sections of *Le Droit* showed that the editor-in-chief’s initial description missed certain subtleties. For local reporters covering Ottawa news, English did form an integral part of their work. When I followed a reporter covering the Ottawa city council, I observed that most of the two-hour long council meeting was held in English, even though press releases were sent in both languages. The mayor gave a speech in English with selected sentences in French. However, when I asked the reporter if she was going to use these parts of the speech in French, she answered: “Well, the problem is, he says [in French] the sentences that are easier to understand and less interesting.”⁶ In other words, this bilingual policy is more symbolic than useful for the media.

The presence of English is even more striking in the sports section. Several journalists with more than ten years of experience told me that they spoke English most of the time while gathering news, as in the following example: “on some days, up to the moment where I sit in front of my screen, when I start thinking in French

d’Ottawa a une politique de bilinguisme [R : Oui.] qui fait que tout le matériel qu’on reçoit [R : D’accord.] est déjà dans les deux langues. Alors, là où on va avoir un peu plus de problèmes, c’est lorsqu’on fait affaire avec des entreprises privées [R : Hum, hum.] ou des individus en particulier [R : Oui.]. Alors là, effectivement [R : Hum, hum.], euh[...], y’a une traduction qui doit se faire, euh, mais c’est pas [...], c’est pas le gros de notre travail [R : D’accord.]”

5. Original: “Ouais, la moitié, sinon les trois quarts, ouais, ouais.”

6. Original: “Le problème, c’est qu’il dit les phrases les plus faciles à comprendre et les moins intéressantes.”

again, everything happens in English.⁷ In the arts section, however, the situation is different because, as a participant explained, “our mandate is to favour francophone culture.”⁸ As a consequence, artists that write, sing, or perform in English will only be reported upon if they are very important, live in or are originally from the region – and if there is sufficient time and space in the newspaper.

The strong presence of English in the daily environment of reporters is generally well accepted, and is not contested, as opposed to findings from a previous study in multilingual newswires based in Switzerland (Davier 2014, 2017).

Bilingualism and translation are not defined as a problem or a nuisance: they are completely integrated in the reporters’ routine, as an interviewee with around twenty years of experience told me: “[...] I have to read stuff in English every day, too [...]. Up to the point that, as I was saying earlier, I’m not so much aware of it anymore, English, French, *you* make me think about it.”⁹ Sports reporters, who work in a highly anglophone environment, seemed to accept this reality. They knew exactly what to expect before they started working in this section: they would be writing for a minority readership. Even if they proportionally give more space to French-speaking athletes, they speak English and translate almost on a daily basis. When I asked a journalist if bilingualism increased the difficulty of her work, she answered:

I’ve been doing this for [so many years], and, here, in the area, uh, you don’t have a choice, you have to go from English to French, pretty often, so uh, I think it’s second nature, there, you are, you get used to it, and, like for me, translating quotes, there, from English into French, it’s not a, it’s not a problem, there, it’s, it’s part of my job.¹⁰

In other sections, reporters also try to talk to francophone sources if they are known to their audience (e.g. French-speaking city councillors). However, looking specifically for sources in French is not an objective for reporters, even for

7. Original: “De fait là, il y a des journées où, jusqu’au moment où je suis assise devant mon écran d’ordinateur, puis là, je me remets à penser en français, tout se passe en anglais.”

8. Original: “[...] notre mandat, c’est quand même de privilégier la culture francophone.”

9. Original: “[...] Je dois lire chaque jour en anglais aussi [...]. Au point où, comme je te disais tantôt, j’en prends plus tellement conscience, ça, anglais, français, c’est toi qui me forces un peu à le faire.”

10. Original: “Ça fait [tellement longtemps] que je fais ça, puis, ici, dans la région ici, euh, t’as pas le choix de, d’aller de l’anglais au français, assez souvent, donc euh, je pense c’est un peu une deuxième nature, là [R : Ouais.], t’es, tu deviens habitué, et puis, comme pour moi, traduire des propos, là, de l’anglais au français, c’est pas un, c’est pas un problème, là, c’est, ça fait partie du travail.”

participants who are publicly fighting for the defense of French in a minority context. These journalists, whom I call “francophone activists,” demand for instance to be served in French in a coffee shop whose owner is French-speaking or criticize the use of anglicisms – especially when they came from me, a French-Swiss scholar. The interest to interview a source in French rather comes from reporters who self-assess their level of English as lower than their colleagues who are perfectly fluent in both languages, and who are afraid of missing nuances in the message. This might explain why the journalists I met in Switzerland were more willing to put up a fight to get information in their mother tongue: their proficiency in the second language (French or German) was generally lower than that of my French-speaking participants in Canada.

In their professional vision of journalism in a minority language area, French-speaking reporters of *Le Droit* deemed interactions with documents and sources in English necessary and did not try to challenge this reality even if they took a private or a public stance for the defense of French. Nevertheless I would like to close this section by acknowledging the limitations of my comments. I did not have the opportunity to interview reporters who only covered the predominantly French-speaking area of Gatineau because of decisions made during the negotiation of access to the field. It would have been interesting to see whether they also had contacts with English during news-gathering and, if so, whether they included these sources and documents in English all the same.

3.3 Contacts with English: A guilty pleasure

I was much more astonished to observe that many of my interviewees actually favoured material in English. A particular attraction for English media appeared both in interviews and sessions of observation. A journalist with more than twenty years of experience at *Le Droit* told me for instance that she was watching the English-speaking public television “because the English do better work” and their journalists are “more experienced.” A younger reporter explained that she read and listened to media in English because there were few francophone media in Ottawa and that anglophone media had “a bigger team, too.” A young journalist justified the fact that she was following sports events on the English edition of sports websites or TV channels because “they are usually faster” than their francophone counterparts. Another reporter with more than ten years of experience also hypothesized that the webpages in English “had more information.”

I also noticed that some journalists who actively defended French in our interactions, for example by criticizing francophones who did not ask for services in French where available, wrote a good part of their posts in English in social media, read novels in English, and watched movies or TV shows in English. I was able to

discuss this apparent contradiction with another interviewee, who was also a francophone activist. She confirmed that she had witnessed the same phenomenon:

[*Name of journalist working for a Montreal paper*], he's a good example of that, he's always out there in the public space to defend French, he's an activist, uh, waving signs, and in private, he's anglicized! He writes in English on his Facebook page. A total contradiction! Uh, so uh, I think that this illustrates our way of seeing English. We stand up for the rights of the French language, but you can see a major difference, between official positions, between the collective rapport we have with English, and private behaviour, there's like an integration of both languages that is, that is literally bewildering [laughter].¹¹

This contradictory attraction for the English language echoes Boudreau's study of francophone youth in another French minority in the bilingual province of New Brunswick (2001). Boudreau found similar discourses about the promotion of English culture and the parallel fear that French may disappear. Her concluding remarks resonate with my study: the representations of French and English she observed are "most of the time ambivalent and contradictory, which is typical of speakers who live in a conflictual diglossic context"¹² (Boudreau 2001: 98).

Contrary to what I observed in Switzerland (Davier 2014), all my participants in Ottawa said that, in English-majority contexts, it was easier to gather information in English and to translate it in their articles – with the exception of two journalists, who did not have a high opinion of their level of English (although they probably underestimated it in my opinion). First, they sometimes found it difficult to have access to a French-speaking person. Second, they said that some French-speaking anglophones might give them more elaborate answers in their mother tongue, as this quotation shows:

[...] sometimes, if you want a, uh, a more detailed answer, well, their first language is English, so it's a lot easier to ask them in English, because if you ask them in

11. Original: "[*nom d'un journaliste montréalais*], c'est un bon exemple, il est sur la place publique constamment en train de défendre le français, c'est un militant, euh, des pancartes brandies, et en privé, il est anglicisé ! Il écrit en anglais sur sa page Facebook. Une contradiction totale ! Euh, alors euh, je pense que ça traduit la, la, notre façon de voir l'anglais. On milite pour les droits du français, mais entre les positions officielles qu'on prend entre le rapport collectif qu'on a avec l'anglais, quand on regarde dans le comportement privé, on voit une différence majeure [R : Hum, hum.], il y a comme une intégration des deux langues qui est, qui est littéralement désarçonnante [rires]."

12. Original: "[...] les représentations qu'ils se font du français et de l'anglais, le plus souvent ambivalentes et contradictoires, ce qui est le propre des locuteurs vivant en milieu diglossique conflictuel."

French, it's gonna be, uh, simple words or some –, they may not go in depth, so, it's a little boring.¹³

Interestingly, a more experienced colleague of this reporter criticized her in an interview with me for asking her questions in English when she started in her position. This may indicate that the professional vision of the younger reporter was influenced by interactions with seasoned peers, as she was learning on the job and becoming a full participant in her community of practice (Wenger 1998): I actually watched her asking questions in French during my fieldwork.

As a whole, the journalists seem to have an ambivalent relationship with English during news-gathering and background readings. This ambivalence showed through in in-depth interviews: all the participants who had somehow explained their attraction to English media or sources felt the need to justify their behaviour, as if imbued with feelings of guilt. This form of sense-making can be interpreted as a way to reduce discrepancies with social expectations (Weick 1995: 12). The interviewees blamed this habit on someone else (e.g. “I was trained by X, and X does this”), justified the contextual need for the use of English (“in a moment of emotion, I wanted to speak to her in her mother tongue”), or openly acknowledged their guilt. As an illustration, a journalist with 20 years of experience at *Le Droit* confessed that she might turn to English sources first out of “laziness” and that she “should perhaps make a bigger effort to go to French sources.” She finally acknowledged that this attitude may be “dangerous.”¹⁴ What kind of danger is implied here? It came up later in the one-hour interview that she was referring to the danger of introducing anglicisms in her writing.

In the field, I witnessed an unexpected attraction for English media, sources, and culture altogether – an attraction that has to be interpreted and understood in a “conflictual diglossic context” (Boudreau 2001). This interpretation finds support in the fact that reporters who rate their level of English as lower than their colleagues’ tend to rely more on French sources, as I noticed in multilingual news agencies in Switzerland (Davier 2017). As a conclusion, it appears that in a conflictual diglossic context, journalists who are very confident in their second

13. Original: “[...] il y en a aussi que des fois, si tu veux une réponse plus euh, [R : Hum, hum.] détaillée, ben, leur langue première, c’est l’anglais, fait que c’est beaucoup plus facile de leur demander en anglais, parce que si tu leur demandes en français ça va être des, des mots simples ou des, iront peut-être pas en profondeur, fait que ça, c’est un peu platte.”

14. Original: “Mais en fait, peut-être que je devrais faire un, un plus gros effort pour aller vers les sources en français, mais souvent, avec, le principe, c’est, moi, je le fais aussi parce que j’ai commencé aussi il y a très longtemps, quand il y avait moins de français dans le, ça commence à s’améliorer, mais j’ai développé des réflexes où je vais beaucoup ramasser mon information en anglais. [...] Ce qui est dangereux.”

language attempt to reduce the “cognitive effort” (Gutt 2000 [1991]) created by a bilingual work environment by looking for background information and sources in their second language. On the contrary, reporters working in a context of “additive bilingualism” (Lambert 1975), with a strong first language and a second language with which they feel less comfortable, would rather turn to materials accessible in their mother tongue.

At *Le Droit*, and more specifically in sections where events are mainly English-speaking (minority language context), journalists are in contact with the English language on a daily basis during the process of news-gathering. They even favour these contacts unless they do not trust their English skills. There are very few elements of convergence or multimodality for reporters at this stage since they are not allowed to take pictures or videos because of their collective agreement.

4. Production convergence: Hiding the other

How does bilingualism affect the reporters’ tasks when they go back to their office? How much translation is involved? How do they view English at the time of news-writing? How does this vision affect their writing practices? As I started delving into these questions, I understood that part of the answer was in the distinction interviewees were making between textual and audiovisual productions.

4.1 Written content: Invisible translation

Looking at media products is always a good entry point to investigate news-writing. Is translation visible in the texts, or in the videos that are available on the website for some texts? Do some English words appear in the articles?

4.1.1 *No traces of translation*

The findings from my fieldwork at *Le Droit* are in line with most of the literature in news translation: translation is textually invisible (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Davier 2014; Gambier 2010; Hernández Guerrero 2011; Schäffner and Bassnett 2010). In other words, operations of translation are not marked with explicit indications such as “[...] said in English,” “translated,” or a sentence in the original language. This question had apparently never been discussed with the management. When I asked one reporter dealing with happenings in English on a daily basis why she

never mentioned the source language, she answered: “I don’t know, I never really asked myself this question. Perhaps I’d write it [‘said in English’] too often.”¹⁵

This echoes remarks participants made in earlier research: an AFP editor told me it is obvious for French readers for instance that Tony Blair spoke in English and that this quote was thus translated into French (Davier 2017: 151). However, cases are rarely so straightforward. In Canada, readers can recognize typically francophone and anglophone names, as several Canadian colleagues told me when I presented my preliminary results at conferences and workshops. Of course, a francophone name does not always guarantee that the person speaks French. Moreover, many people can speak both official languages in Canada (particularly in the national capital region), so it may be difficult to tell if the quotation was translated or not.

For this study, I have not collected a systematic corpus for content analysis, but “naturally occurring documents” or “publicly accessed documents” (Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl 2015: 171) since I chose a sociological design. Among others, I gathered texts written by the reporters I was interviewing and discussed these with them to know for sure when they had used English sources. To illustrate the previous point about invisibility, I have selected here one telling example – a report mainly based on a bilingual press conference. In Canada, press conferences held by representatives of officially bilingual institutions (such as the University of Ottawa) may start in French, go on in English, continue in French again, and so on, without ever repeating the information given in one language in the other. I cannot quote the article that was produced to prevent the identification of the interviewee, but I can describe its content. In this article of 432 words containing seven quotations, the first four were originally in English, and the next three in French. The journalist told me that the first four originated from the press conference. There is no information in the article about their original language. One quote in French was drawn from an email interview, and the last two from an interview which was given to the reporter in French.

There is one exception to this standard practice, however, in news about federal politics. This exception supports the hypothesis put forward by Gagnon (2012: 955), who sees a contrast between the invisibility of translation in international news and the interest of Canadian journalists for the translation of political speeches at the federal level. Out of the six articles about federal affairs that I collected during fieldwork (the equivalent of one week of production by a journalist), two explicitly mention translation. One text clearly refers to a federal document “that *Le Droit* has obtained in English and that has not been translated

15. Original: “[...] je ne sais pas, je me suis jamais vraiment posé la question. Je l’écritais peut-être trop souvent.”

yet.”¹⁶ In this federal context, the *Le Droit* journalist writes about a missing translation, which becomes newsworthy, as opposed to documents in English received by reporters in other contexts where a translation could not be legally required. The other article cites a paper published by the *New York Times* about the Canadian federal administration and its title in English, which gives visibility to the translation done by the journalist.

Triangulated data from the field (interviews, observations, and collection of documents) show that translation is invisible in texts published by *Le Droit*, in line with the practice investigated by most scholars of news translation up to now, with the telling exception of Canadian federal politics, as noticed by Gagnon (2012) in a content analysis conducted on archival press articles.

4.1.2 *The hunt for anglicisms*

Anglicisms are banned in the discourse of *Le Droit* journalists as symbolic signs of linguistic colonization of French. What is interesting here is that I had not planned to ask questions about anglicisms in my first interview guide, but the issue came up during my first contacts with participants as a consequence of my personal involvement in my qualitative methodology. My francophone Canadian interviewees immediately identified my accent as French, and, given my research topic, started to make jokes when I used what were anglicisms in their eyes (they were referring to loanwords from English that they considered inadequate French). This is how I started integrating anglicisms as a form of vision of bilingualism into my study.

Conflictual relationships between European and Canadian francophones about loanwords and calque syntax from English are not new. A Canadian linguist comments this phenomenon: the Canadians and the French keep accusing each other of using an exaggerated number of anglicisms (Bouchard 1999: 15). The difference she observes is that lexemes with French forms abound in Canadian French (a typical example is *fin de semaine*, literally ‘end of the week’), whereas there are more loanwords in French from France (such as the loanword “*week-end*”).

It was surprising to notice how reporters independently of their sections (e.g. local news, sports, etc.) and experience had internalized this professional vision. When I asked them about the use of anglicisms, I systematically received a “no” answer before I had finished formulating my question. “We try to avoid them as much as possible,”¹⁷ said a young reporter, because they are “French mistakes,” according to a senior editor. Journalists confirmed my observation after exploratory readings of *Le Droit*: loanwords are italicized, either by reporters or by copy

16. The original sentence in French is not given, so as to protect the identity of its author.

17. Original: “on essaie de les éviter le plus possible.”

editors, if the reporters have forgotten to do it. Several times, journalists needed some time before acknowledging that anglicisms could be acceptable under certain circumstances. Several journalists explained that anglicisms could appear in a quotation or occasionally in a column that uses an oral and colourful style to appeal to its audience. Two of them regretted that there were more anglicisms than one or two decades ago as a consequence of economic convergence, as illustrated in this quote: “Now, criteria are less strict. Because we don’t have real copy editors anymore.” In fact, I observed that the functions of layout and copy editing were fulfilled by the same employees – often times journalists in their twenties – who were often relying on spell-checkers to edit more articles in less time.

This conservative vision of French language is partly influenced by the perceived mission of the newspaper in a minority context and partly by feedback from the audience. First, *Le Droit* journalists are aware that their readers expect from them to deliver texts – and especially columns – that are “well written,” not only in a French that is “correct,” but in “superior French”¹⁸ (according to a seasoned columnist). Second, two journalists mentioned emails from readers that they had received personally or that were sent to colleagues of theirs. They did not disclose the wording of these messages, but I understood that they might have been aggressive in tone. Third, they seem to view anglicisms as a form of linguistic and cultural threat. Three seasoned journalists resorted to metaphors from the “source domain” (Heywood and Semino 2007) of danger to describe this phenomenon, as appears in this passage:

[...] the danger, English is like a *bug* you *catch*, and uh, you always have, you always have to be *careful*, uh, it’s obv-, it’s sure that anglicisms sneak in, English formulations, in our texts, and I know, if I consume more information in English, I know that I’m *at risk* of, *catching those bugs*, there, it’s, but I do it anyway. It’s my working language.¹⁹

I emphasized in italics the lexical field of diseases. Anglicisms become the active subject of the sentence, like an insidious force that is impossible to fight. In fact, several reporters confessed that anglicisms probably happened anyways.

18. Original: “[...] ils sont particulièrement aux aguets, que ce soit bien écrit, dans un français, euh, pas juste correct, mais un français supérieur.”

19. Original: “[...] le danger, l’anglais est une langue qui s’attrape, et puis euh, faut toujours, faut toujours faire attention, euh, c’est évid-, c’est certain qu’il se glisse des anglicismes, des formules de phrase en anglais, dans nos textes, puis je sais qu’en consommant plus de, de, d’informations en anglais, je suis sujet à, attraper ces bibittes-là, là, c’est, mais je le fais quand même. C’est la langue de travail, là.”

The difficult relationship the participants seem to have with conspicuous forms of English in their writing resonates again with the ambivalence mentioned in Boudreau's research (2001). From the perspective of anglicisms, Bouchard writes that French-speaking Canadians try to keep some critical distance with American language and culture – in spite of their fascination – because of their geographic proximity (Bouchard 1999: 22).

The fact that anglicisms worked themselves into my study shows that they play an important role in the daily business of news-writing. It seems that journalists working at *Le Droit* are conditioned by their readers and by the mandate of the newspaper to eliminate every possible trace of English from their writing, with the mentioned exceptions. Similarly, as explained in Section 4.1.1, indications of the existence of material in English are made invisible, too, when it does not come to federal affairs. *Le Droit* reporters seem to have developed a professional vision which makes English unwelcome in the final product.

4.2 Audiovisual content: Unwelcome translation

Even if news-gathering convergence is limited by *Le Droit*'s collective agreement (see Section 3.1), convergence is progressing. With the development of the new platforms (website, mobile applications, and pages in social networks), the demand for video clips is growing, as five interviewees told me. When I elicited her idea on the matter, the editor-in-chief replied that *Le Droit* was going to offer more and more videos in the near future. Reporters were also aware that their habits of news-gathering were about to change and that they would have to multitask more and freshen up their audiovisual skills, even if they had not been asked to make pictures or videos up to 2017.

Once again, I had not included questions about the difference between textual and audiovisual content in my original interview guide. This distinction came up spontaneously when I asked a reporter if she preferred to speak to sources in French if possible. She answered that it did not matter for her, as she was working for print and was able to translate quotes from English, as opposed to broadcast journalists who needed clips in French – thus implying that translation was impossible for them. After this interview, I asked all journalists (with one exception, due to lack of time) about their thoughts on this opposition, and they all confirmed it, mainly on the basis of comparisons with the practice of colleagues working for a neighbouring community of practice – a public French-language TV network.

This observation on its own did not satisfy me, though: I wanted to hear why. Therefore, this section focuses on the various levels of retrospective sense-making (Weick 1995) that reporters resorted to when asked to explain this difference:

institutional guidelines, technical justifications, externalized justifications, and activist explanations.

4.2.1 *Compliance with institutional guidelines*

When I asked participants to explain this opposition, I sometimes ran into fully externalized justifications. In other words, some interviewees said they only complied with guidelines given by their bosses without questioning them. As Wenger writes, “compliance does not require understanding” (1998: 39), but literal compliance is still telling about the vision of organization. By this attitude, participants refuse to negotiate the meanings that are presented by their management or to engage in a work of imagination (Wenger 1998: 190).

One interviewee described the need to have French voices on the record for video clips, but not for written text:

But it’s true that as a print medium, a written medium, for us, it doesn’t make a huge difference, because, well, we can always translate the quotes, and put, put them in French in the, the articles, but as time goes by, video is becoming more and more important on, on digital platforms, and, well, there, for sure, we, we need more francophone [sources] for that, because the, interviews in English are less fit, let’s say for, for digital platforms.²⁰

In fact, the interviewee refused to interpret this difference, and referred me to her superiors. When I tried to speculate about possible reasons for this choice, the participant (with 20 years of experience) repeated once more that she had not asked herself this question: “I was asked to rely mainly on francophones, and that’s what I do.”²¹

This discourse of literal compliance with official recommendation indicates at least that this practice originated in the management of *Le Droit*. It strongly contrasts with justifications that emphasized their complete identification with this principle (see Section 4.2.4). I then decided to interview the editor-in-chief again to better understand this organizational decision.

20. Original: “Mais c’est sûr qu’en tant que média imprimé, média écrit, pour nous, ça fait pas une énorme différence, parce que, bon, on peut toujours traduire les citations, puis les, les jouer en français dans les, les reportages [R : Oui, bien sûr.], mais le, plus le temps passe, plus la vidéo prend de l’importance, dans nos, nos plateformes numériques [R : Hum, hum.], et bien c’est sûr que là, on, on a plus besoin [de sources] francophones pour ça, parce que les, des entrevues en anglais passent moins bien, mettons dans les, les, sur les plateformes numériques.”

21. Original: “On m’a dit de principalement là miser sur les francophones, puis c’est ce que je fais.”

4.2.2 *Technical justifications*

The institutional choice to avoid translation of audiovisual material is related back to technological challenges. It means that technological convergence does have a direct influence on translation, or indirectly on the gathering of information and sources. This choice was made jointly by the editor-in-chief and camera operators, among others. Other stakeholders may have been involved in the discussions, but I am not aware of their role. Talking to the editor-in-chief and one camera operator made it possible for me to grasp the different technological agents (Cooren 2013) that were invoked during the decision.

According to the editor-in-chief, selecting francophone speakers or sources for video clips was “easier” for both *Le Droit* readers and staff. A reporter added that she would rather have someone speak to her in broken (but understandable) French with an English accent because “it’s easier than translating” (“translating” has to be understood here as subtitling). She also referred to this as a practice she had witnessed from colleagues working for French-language radio and television channels. Only a camera operator was able to give details about the technological constraints that were putting off all reporters: “[...] often times, [video clips] are watched on a smartphone, and I, I find, subtitles on a smartphone are awful. [...] they involve a lot of work compared to the outcome.”²² She even told me that she would prefer using a short original clip exclusively in English rather than subtitles.

Voice over would be another possible mode of audiovisual translation, but it made the videos boring. The photographer first invoked an external technological agent, but then gave me a medium-related justification when I asked her to dig into this question: “Well, it didn’t work, it’s, it was not dynamic enough, it, it was not catchy, we’re not like TV [...]”²³ Although the ideal tendency for technological convergence would be to merge all kinds of media and platforms, this camera operator explained to me that *Le Droit* was caught up in its pre-convergence (print) origins. The editor-in-chief agreed in another interview that *Le Droit*’s videos were not competing on an equal footing with those of Ici Radio-Canada, the public broadcaster. For her, Ici Radio-Canada as a broadcaster had a clear advantage to implement convergence: “[...] they start off from video, which is the most *complex* output, in the whole chain of production [...]”²⁴ *Le Droit*’s editors did not expect

22. Original: “[...] c’est souvent vu sur un téléphone intelligent, puis moi, je trouve, les sous-titres, sur un téléphone intelligent, c’est nul. [...] puis c’est quand même beaucoup de travail pour ce que ça peut donner.”

23. Original: “Ben ça marchait pas, c’est, ça manquait de dynamisme, ça, ça pognait pas, là, on est pas comme à la télé [...]”

24. Original: “[...] eux autres, ils partent de la vidéo, qui est le plus *complexe*, dans toute la chaîne de production [...]”

their journalists to appear on the camera. As a consequence, they considered that voice-over translations would be boring to watch since only the speakers would appear on the screen, but not with their original voice.

These retrospective justifications of an organizational choice put heavy emphasis on “technological agents” (Cooren 2013), make them speak and even act to refuse all modes of audiovisual translation. In interviews, these agents are referred to as a reified power (“ça”/‘it’: “it limits us a lot”)²⁵ that restrain the inclusion of content in a second language. Technique is given a strong agentivity (Cooren 2013) as if the medium ruled.

4.2.3 Risk management: The fear of complaints

Imagined risks have already proved to play an important role in the choices made by journalists in earlier news translation studies (Davier 2017; Matsushita 2014). *Le Droit* reporters give much credit to readers’ reactions, as shown in the section dedicated to anglicisms (4.1.2). Here again, the anonymous shadow of unsatisfied readers guides the choices of editors and journalists in the form of internalized feedback (Toury 1995: 249–50) and risk management (Pym 2008, 2015).

The possible complaints of readers have agentivity, but it has to be noted that they come second to technological agents. To paraphrase the editorial choices made as regards videos, subtitles, voice over, and dubbing are ruled out because of medium-related constraints. It leaves staff at *Le Droit* with only the option of posting untranslated videos with a soundtrack in English. However, this solution is highly problematic as far as the mandate of *Le Droit* is concerned. A camera operator told me that she uploaded a video with passages in English only on rare occasions, when she was unable to find a francophone source and that the anglophone speaker was essential to the story. Nonetheless, this choice was conditioned by her fear of negative feedback from the audience:

[...] there are some watchdogs, out there, like, there are, associations are there for that, and that’s all right, to defend French, uh, especially in our border region, where there’s a lot of English [...], so, I could understand them if, they could react strongly [...].²⁶

I tried to find out what types of complaints could be filed and what they would mean to the editors, but the interviewee only invoked an unidentified activist agent

25. Original: “[...] ça nous limite beaucoup [...]”

26. Original: “[...] y’a quand même les chiens de garde qui existent, là, comme il y a des, des associations qui sont là pour ça, et puis c’est correct, pour défendre le français, euh, surtout dans notre région frontalière, qui a beaucoup d’anglais [...], fait, je pourrais les comprendre qu’ils pourraient réagir fort [...]”

again: “[...] and it’s useless, because, as I was telling you, we [camera operators] only want to bring a plus, [...] I, I don’t want to bring more trouble, [...] I want to bring solutions.”²⁷

This participant does not try to negotiate meanings any further, but she distances herself partly from the institutional practice. To come back to Wenger’s conceptual framework (1998), she does not identify with what she describes as the mission of the organization (the protection of French), but points to an unidentified external agent (watchdogs of French language). The consequence of this professional vision of translation is again the exclusion or deselection of English voices in video footage.

4.2.4 *The defense of a minority language*

The mandate of *Le Droit* seems to be well internalized by all the participants I met: all of them, without exception, referred to the history or the mission of the newspaper as a safeguard of the French language in Canada at some point during the interview or session of observation. Young and old have integrated this discourse or, in Wenger’s words (1998: 173–81), have successfully aligned with the goals of the broader organization.

As *Le Droit* is one of several daily newspapers in a private media group, it does not share its mission on its website or in official documents. However, a blog was created to celebrate *Le Droit*’s hundredth anniversary in 2013. There, Jean Gagnon, editor-in-chief at the time, wrote that *Le Droit* was “a bridge [between francophones in Quebec and Ontario] and an act of resistance” (2013). During in-depth interviews, the editor-in-chief orally confirmed this aim: “To make sure readers who have chosen you as a news medium, that the readers have chosen you because they would have the information *in French*.”²⁸ This broad formulation of *Le Droit*’s mission is self-evidently open to various interpretations.

Nonetheless, as regards the production of video clips, this mission translated in one way: favouring francophone speakers as much as possible. Or, as one journalist said, deselecting anglophone speakers: “[...] I think we wouldn’t have the choice, we, we’d have to leave out some things [in English].”²⁹ This principle is justified with an alignment with *Le Droit*’s mandate:

27. Original: “[...] c’est inutile, parce que comme je vous disais, nous, on veut juste apporter un plus, [...] moi, je veux pas apporter plus de problèmes, [...] je veux apporter des solutions.”

28. Italics mean that the word was orally emphasized. Original: “Faire en sorte que le lecteur qui t’a choisi comme moyen d’information, comme organe d’information, que le lecteur qui t’a choisi, il t’a choisi parce que il aurait de l’information *en français*.”

29. Original: “[...] je pense qu’on aurait pas le choix de, de préférer passer à côté de certaines choses.”

Our newspaper was founded by francophones who were fighting for the French language, in time past, so it's, it's a heavy responsibility we've been given, too, so I think that for our customers, for the respect of our customers, I think we wouldn't have the choice [...].³⁰

The words chosen by this participant also betray the distance she is personally taking from this mission, since her original word choice in French has negative connotations (*'un gros héritage qu'on traîne'*), although these do not appear in the English translation.

This practice of favouring French speakers in video clips seems to cohere across two communities of practice, as if French-speaking media in an area where French is a minority language were part of the same “constellation of practices” (Wenger 1998). A reporter made a comparison with practices she was able to observe in her colleagues from the public broadcaster in the field: “[...] you know, it's not CBC [the anglophone broadcaster], it's Radio-Canada [the francophone broadcaster], so they will try to prioritize, to have, French content because it's like, it's like their mission, too, to, to inform in French [...]”³¹ I was able to interview several Ici Radio-Canada reporters as part of a larger project, and they all confirmed they were pursuing a similar institutional mission.

The goal of giving precedence to French voices in videos produced for digital platforms by *Le Droit* is viewed as the mandate of a newspaper with a specific history in a minority language community – a goal that seems to be shared by Ici Radio-Canada. Members of both communities of practice align with the broad goal of the organization, but either distance themselves from it personally, or identify and make this their own fight for French.

4.2.5 *Making the other invisible*

Beyond the literal meaning of the justifications I received, I have interpreted the lines drawn between news-gathering and production, as well as written and oral material, as professional choices that make the other – or the other language community – invisible. I want to clarify here that this section is the result of my interpretations, and not a goal that would have been verbalized by my interviewees. On the contrary, when I confronted them with this idea, resorting to “respondent

30. Original: “Notre journal a été bâti par des francophones qui se battaient pour la langue française, dans le temps, fait que ça, c'est un gros héritage qu'on traîne aussi [R : Hum, hum.], que je pense que pour notre clientèle, pour le respect de notre clientèle, je pense qu'on aurait pas le choix [...]”

31. Original: “[...] tu sais, c'est pas CBC, c'est Radio-Canada [R : Ouais.], fait qu'ils vont essayer de prioriser d'avoir, du contenu francophone [R : Ouais.] parce que c'est comme, c'est comme un peu leur mission aussi de [R : Hum, hum.], d'informer en français [...]”

validation” or “member checks” (Ravitch and Mittenfelner Carl 2015: 198; Silverman 2011: 372), they disagreed with my wording. The point I want to make is the following: even though reporters and editors do not take the intentional decision of making English disappear as much as possible in the final product, it becomes invisible to the reader.

First, the term “linguistic barrier” appears nine times in interviews with the editor-in-chief and a camera operator. The barrier that separates both language communities may take shape because of the technological constraints mentioned earlier. These technological constraints are agentified as the reason why English cannot be used in video clips even though audiovisual translation would be possible. Interestingly, this linguistic barrier poses a problem only when the voice of the other can be heard by the end user: “What we want is, we don’t want readers to have to experience this *barrier*, we want to make their life easier. If it’s written only, we do the same, but customers do not realize it. And there [for audiovisual content], they do realize.”³² Similarly to technological constraints, this barrier is agentified, such as in the following excerpt: “[...] when there’s someone [who talks in English], then the linguistic barrier shows up.”³³ This mysterious barrier does not refer to a problem of understanding, since (1) translation is possible (even though not desirable) and (2) the vast majority of francophones in the broad Ottawa area understand English. Therefore, it has to be understood as a political or symbolic barrier that is lifted when the process of translation is made invisible in written content.

Second, the easy use of “written” (or non-audiovisual) translation was emphasized by six interviewees: translation is an unproblematic practice when the process stays invisible for text production (no traces are left as shown in Section 4.1.1). This principle is perfectly well understood even by reporters with less than five years of experience at *Le Droit*. As a participant told me, anglophones will be cited in text, appear in a picture, but not in video clips. As a consequence, a newspaper turning towards convergence, and thus increased multimodality, will reinforce its tendency to exclude sources in the second language, which was already an “ethnic” choice to match readers’ expectations, as a reporter told me. As with most media, *Le Droit* already tended to provide its audience with articles about people from the community: “You know, there’s like something ethnic about it, there, I wanna say, the, the lady uh, Mme. Danis, uh, on rue Montréal,

32. Original: “Nous, nous, ce qu’on veut éviter, c’est que le, client, ait à *vivre*, cette barrière linguistique [R : Hum hum, hum hum.], on va lui faciliter la tâche [R : Hum hum.]. Lorsque c’est à l’écrit seulement, on fait la même chose, sauf que le client s’en rend pas compte [R : Ouais.]. Et là, il s’en rend compte.”

33. Original: “[...] lorsqu’il y a quelqu’un en anglais, la barrière linguistique se présente.”

chemin Montréal [R: Laughter.], it's not Mrs. Thompson on, uh, Nepean Road, you know."³⁴ However, this phenomenon is reinforced by the growing importance of videos in the era of convergence.

These institutional decisions may not reflect an intention to exclude English voices, but they do exclude them and erase all traces of translation. Perhaps this barrier invoked as a mighty obstacle is more a translational barrier than a linguistic barrier. Indeed, translation is a welcome practice as long as it stays hidden in the final product, as an experienced journalist told me while reacting to my preliminary findings: "It's not that we don't want to hear English, it's just that we want to hear it [the clip] in our language, we don't want to hear a translated voice."³⁵

5. Concluding remarks

In the community of practice of *Le Droit* journalists (which intersects in the field with the community of broadcast journalists working for Ici Radio-Canada), the second language and translation as a process are not viewed as problems (with a couple of exceptions on the side of reporters who have a lower confidence in their English). The discourses of participants showcase a difference that echoes Gordon's (2003) opposition between the gathering of information and the creation of content. In fact, *Le Droit's* collective agreement prevents almost any form of news-gathering convergence to preserve the professions of camera operator and reporter, even if this regulation is expected to change in the near future. As a consequence, *Le Droit's* reporters only collect information that they will turn into written texts, which will be displayed almost identically in the print, digital, and mobile editions of the newspaper.

During the collection of information and quotes, journalists are necessarily in daily contact with English-language documents and sources, especially if they work for the sports, op-ed, or local sections (and arts to a lesser extent). Regarding the local section, a distinction has to be made between events covered in areas where French is a minority (in Ontario) versus a majority language (in Eastern Ontario and Quebec). I can hypothesize that English is present in French majority

34. Original: "Tu sais, y'a comme quelque chose d'ethnique à ça, là, je veux dire, la, la madame, euh, M^{me} Danis euh, sur la rue Montréal, le chemin Montréal, [R: Rires.] c'est pas M^{me} Thompson sur, le, Nepean Road, tu sais." Note that Montreal Road (rue Montréal) is in the eastern part of Ottawa, which has a high percentage of francophones. Nepean is a former suburb in what is now the western part of Ottawa. It is predominantly anglophone.

35. Original in French: "C'est pas qu'on veut pas entendre de l'anglais, c'est qu'on veut l'entendre [la vidéo] dans sa langue, on veut pas entendre une voix traduite."

areas all the same, though much less than in minority areas, but I do not have first-hand information from the field to confirm it. At the time of news-gathering, contacts in English (either with anglophones or English-language documents) are usually not avoided. Quite the contrary, in fact. Even participants who behaved as French activists in their public life did not try to put up a fight against English in their professional environment. They accepted the status quo, contrary to French activist attitudes observed in Swiss newswire journalists (Davier 2017). However, journalists with less experience, or who assess their language skills as lower than those of their bilingual colleagues, tend to favour sources in their first language to guarantee the accuracy of their understanding. In all, English does seem to exert a strong attraction on my participants, be it in their professional or private spheres, even though few of them are willing to acknowledge it.

At the time of news-writing or video-editing however, English and translation are not welcome anymore. Reporters working in mostly anglophone environments do translate on a very regular basis in their texts, but these translations are never marked as such – except in the case of federal affairs, where translation becomes a newsworthy sign of the absence of French skills or translation on the side of federal bureaus or representatives. Anglicisms are also hunted down by all members of the professional community of *Le Droit*, from young reporters to copy editors to renowned columnists. These practices can be interpreted as efforts to make visible forms of English disappear. This interpretation is further corroborated by the organizational decision to include video clips in English only if editors and camera operators consider an event as extremely newsworthy. All the justifications that I elicited to explain this written/spoken dichotomy show that English voices are not deemed welcome for the imagined audience of *Le Droit*, which is viewed as very protective of French in the tradition of the founding father of *Le Droit* more than a century ago. I have noticed that all reporters effectively align with this original mandate even if they are less experienced. This vision is also influenced in the broader constellation of practices in which *Le Droit's* journalists are involved, notably by their contacts with colleagues working for the francophone public broadcasting corporation.

News-gathering convergence is still on its way at *Le Droit*, but since cross-platform production requires more audiovisual material, I predict that it may reinforce the trend to exclude sources in the second language. The case of this paper producing news partly for a minority language readership exemplifies a telling contradiction: translation and the language of the other are accepted as long as they remain inconspicuous – in written content. In audiovisual content however, modes of translation make the activity of translation and the language of the other visible. Translation is thus avoided and sources in the second language are deselected. As a result, bilingualism is accepted (not to say enjoyed) in the

process, while French dominates the final product. This may be an unconscious way of delivering to the audience a media product that gives the impression of “true” Canadian bilingualism, where minority language communities are able to be served in their mother tongue without the need to rely on experts or documents from the other language group.

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Appendix 1. Interview guide

For reporters, journalists, and editors

- Language biography
- Self-assessment of skills in the second language used at work
- Assessment of language skills in the hiring process, language classes if any
- Frequency of contact with the second language in the work environment
- Use of news sources in the second language: frequency (from platform to platform), motivations, translations (if applicable)
- Use of language resources if necessary

For managing editors and editors-in-chief

Same guide plus the following topics of discussion

- Description of newspaper structure, cross-platform strategy, audience
- Use of the second language as a passive language in the newsroom/on the field/across the different platforms
- Norms and quality assurance as regards the use of the first and second languages

Appendix 2. Conventions of transcription

<!> literal transcription including stutters, repetitions, hesitations, pauses, etc.

,	short break in sentence (even if not grammatically correct)
[...]	short pause
[...] [...]	long pause
.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
<i>italics</i>	emphasis in sentence on the marked word
[...]	data deliberately omitted to protect participant anonymity → nature of the data highlighted, e.g. [<i>name of colleague</i>]
[XXX]	inaudible fragment or piece of an utterance
J	participant speaking
R	researcher speaking
[J/R:...]	expression of approval (e.g. [J: Okay.]) or non-verbal information (e.g. [R: Laughter.])
–	interruption in word or sentence (e.g. “a ques-, a question”)

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How has convergence affected news and translation? Convergence is a chameleon, taking a new colour in each new context, from the integrated, bilingual newsroom of a legacy broadcaster to a newsroom in an outlet that has embraced multimodality from the very start. And yet, translation scholars studying the news have ignored convergence, while media scholars studying convergence have ignored translation. They have missed the fact that convergence is intrinsically linked to language and culture. This volume brings together translation and media scholars to investigate different modes of convergence across platforms as they shape how journalists frame stories and understand their role in a multilingual, convergent world. It opens a dialogue with scholars and students in applied linguistics, communication, journalism, languages, and translation, as well as translators, interpreters, and, ultimately, journalists.

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